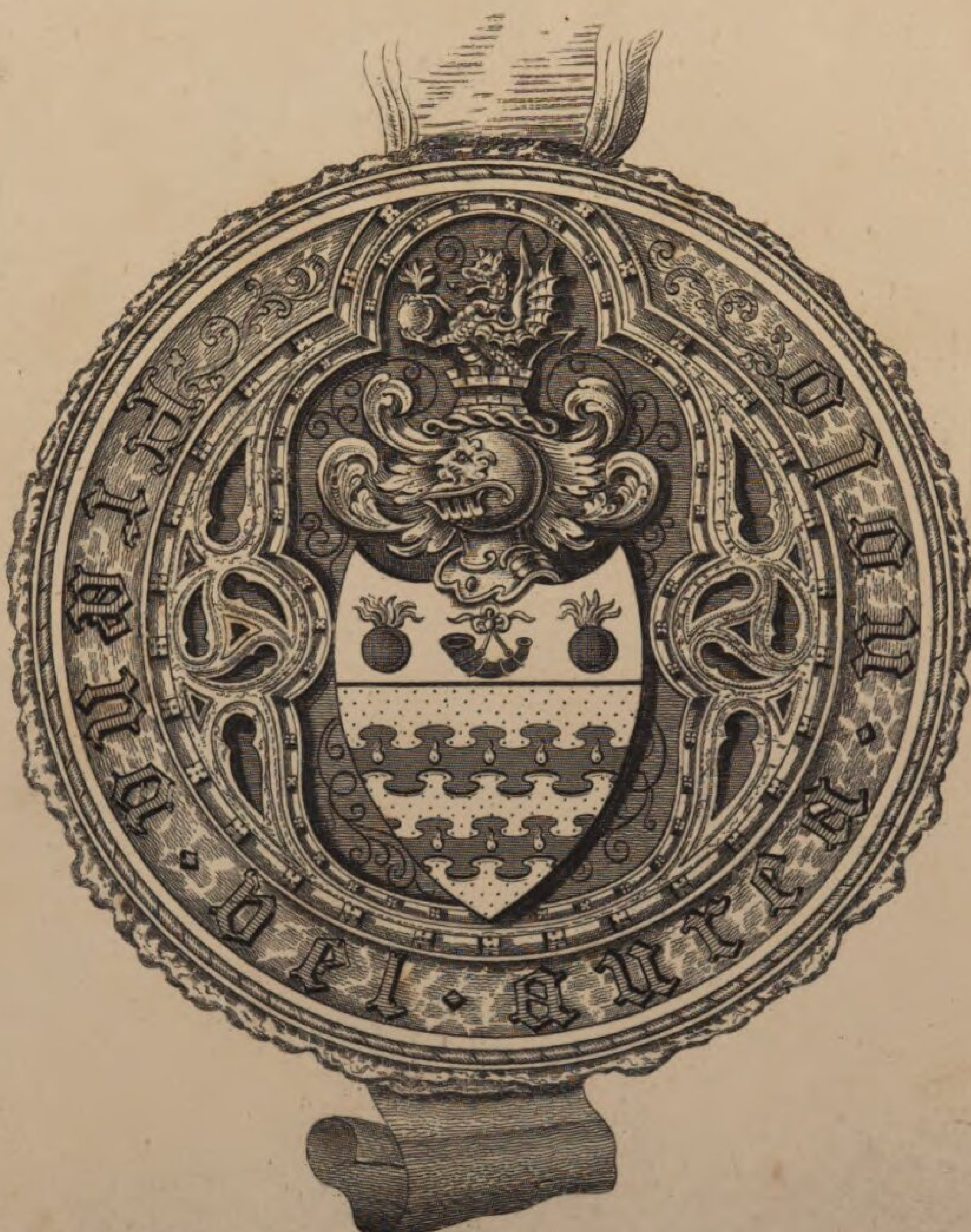
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A

GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE,
BY SEA AND LAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

ROBERT KERR, F.R.S. & F.A.S. EDIN.

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.

VOL. VI.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by George Ramsay and Company,

FOR WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, SOUTH BRIDGE STREET;
J. MURRAY, FLEET STREET, R. BALDWIN, PATERNOSTER ROW,
LONDON; AND J. CUMMING, DUBLIN.

1812.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II. BOOK II. CONTINUED.

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY TO AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH we have already, in the Introduction to the *Second* Chapter of this Book, Vol. III. p. 346. given some notices of the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot to America in the service of Henry VII. and VIII. it appears proper on the present occasion to insert a full report of every thing that is now known of these early navigations: As, although no immediate fruits were derived from these voyages, England by their means became second only to Spain in the discovery of America, and afterwards became second likewise in point of colonization in the New World. The establishments of the several English colonies will be resumed in a subsequent division of our arrangement.

It has been already mentioned that Columbus, on leaving Portugal to offer his services to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain for the discovery of the Indies by a western course through the Atlantic, sent his brother Bartholomew to make

a similar offer to Henry VII. King of England, lest his proposals might not have been listened to by the court of Spain. Bartholomew, as has been formerly related, was taken by pirates; and on his arrival in England was forced to procure the means of living, and of enabling himself to appear before the king, by the construction and sale of sea-charts and maps, in which he had been instructed by his brother. Owing to this long delay, when he at length presented himself to King Henry, and had even procured the acceptance of his brothers proposals, so much time had been lost that Isabella queen of Castille had already entered into the views of his illustrious brother, who had sailed on his second voyage to the West Indies, while Bartholomew was on his journey through France to announce to him that Henry King of England had agreed to his proposals.

The fame of the astonishing discovery made by Columbus in 1591, soon spread throughout Europe; and only *four* years afterwards, or in 1595, a patent was granted by Henry VII. to John Cabot, or Giovani Cabota, a Venetian citizen, then resident in England, and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, and their heirs and deputies, to sail to all parts countries and seas of the east west and north, at their own cost and charges, with five ships; to seek out discover and find whatsoever islands, countries, regions, or provinces belonging to the heathen and infidels, were hitherto unknown to Christians, and to subdue, occupy, and possess all such towns, cities, castles, and islands as they might be able, setting up the royal banners and ensigns in the same, and to command over them as vassals and lieutenants of the crown of England, to which was reserved the rule, title, and jurisdiction of the same. In this grant Cabot and his sons, with their heirs and deputies, were bound to bring all the fruits, profits, gains, and commodities acquired in their voyages to the port of Bristol; and, having deducted from the proceeds all manner of necessary costs and charges by them expended, to pay to the king in wares or money the fifth part of the free gain so made, in lieu of all customs or other dues of importation on the same. By these letters patent, dated at Westminster on the 5th of March in the eleventh year of Henry VII all the other subjects of England are prohibited from visiting or frequenting any of the continents, islands, villages, towns, castles, or places which might be discovered

by John Cabot, his sons, heirs, or deputies, under forfeiture of their ships and goods[1].

No journal or relation remains of the voyages of Cabot and his sons in consequence of this grant, and we are reduced to a few scanty memorials concerning them, contained in the third volume of *Hakluyt's Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries of the English Nation.* We quote from the new edition, *with additions*, published at London in 1810.

Two years after the before-mentioned letters patent, or on the 13th of February 1497, a licence was granted by the same king of England, Henry VII. to John Cabot, to take six English ships in any haven or havens of England, being of 200 tons burden or under, with all necessary furniture; and to take also into the said ships all such masters, mariners, or other subjects of the king as might be willing to engage with him.

It would appear that the patent of 1495 had never been acted upon; but in consequence of this new licence, John Cabot and his son Sebastian proceeded from the port of Bristol and discovered an island somewhere on the coast of America to which they gave the name of *Prima Vista*, probably the island of Newfoundland. The short account of this voyage of discovery left to us by Hakluyt, is said to have been inserted in Latin on a map constructed by Sebastian Cabot, concerning his discovery in America, then called the West Indies; which map, engraved by Clement Adams, was to be seen in the time of Hakluyt in the private gallery of Queen Elizabeth at Westminster, and in the possession of many of the principal merchants in London. This memorandum, translated into English, is as follows[2].

SECTION I.

Discovery of Newfoundland by John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497, in the service of Henry VII. of England.

"IN the year 1497, John Cabot a Venetian and his son Sebastian, discovered on the 24th of June, about five in the morning,

1 Hakluyt, III. 26. 2 Id. III. 27.

morning, that land to which no person had before ventured to sail, which they named *Prima Vista*[1], or *first-seen*, because as I believe it was the first part seen by them from the sea. The island which is opposite[2] he named St Johns Island, because discovered on the day of St John the Baptist. The inhabitants of this island use the skins and furs of wild beasts for garments, which they hold in as high estimation as we do our finest clothes. In war they use bows and arrows, spears, darts, clubs, and slings. The soil is sterile and yields no useful production; but it abounds in white bears and deer much larger than ours. Its coasts produce vast quantities of large fish, among which are *great seals*, salmons, soles above a yard in length, and prodigious quantities especially of cod, which are commonly called *bacallaos*[3]. The hawks, partridges, and eagles of this island are all black."

Besides the foregoing memorandum on the ancient map, Hakluyt gives the following testimonies respecting the discovery of the northern part of America by Cabot.

SECTION II.

Discourse by Galeacius Butrigarius, Papal Legate in Spain, respecting the Discoveries in America, by Sebastian Cabot[1].

Do you know how to sail for the Indies towards the northwest, as has been lately done by a Venetian citizen, a valiant man and so learned in all things pertaining to navigation and cosmography, that no one is permitted to sail as pilot to the West Indies who has not received his licence, he being pilot-major of Spain? This person, who resides in the city of Seville, is Sebastian Cabot, a native of Venice, who is most expert

1 Presuming that this discovery was Newfoundland, a name nearly of the same import, perhaps the land first seen was what is now called Cape Bonavista, in lat. 48° 50′ N. long. 62° 32′ W. from London. In the text, there is every reason to believe that it is meant to indicate, that Cabot named the island he discovered St Johns, and only the first seen point of land Prima-Vista.—E.

2 By this phrase is probably to be understood, the island behind this first-seen cape named *Prima-Vista*.—E.

3 *Vulgari Sermoni*, is translated by Hakluyt, *in the language of the savages;* but we have given it a different sense in the text, that used by Hakluyt having no sufficient warrant in the original.—E.

1 Hakluyt, III. 27. from the second volume of Ramusio.

expert in these sciences, and makes excellent sea-charts with his own hands. Having sought his acquaintance, he entertained us in a friendly manner, shewing us many things, and among these a large map of the world containing sundry navigations, both those of the Spaniards and Portuguese. On this occasion he gave us the following information.

His father went many years since from Venice to England, where he followed the profession of a merchant, taking this person his son along with him to London, then very young, yet having received some tincture of learning, and some knowledge of the sphere. His father died about the time when news was spread abroad that Don Christopher Columbus, the Genoese, had discovered the coasts of the Indies by sailing towards the west, which was much admired and talked of at the court of King Henry VII. then reigning in England, so that every one affirmed that it was more attributable to divine inspiration than human wisdom, to have thus sailed by the west unto the east, where spices grow, by a way never known before. By these discourses the young man, Sebastian Cabot, was strongly incited to perform some notable and similar action; and conceiving by the study of the sphere that it would be a shorter route for going to India, than that attempted by Columbus, to sail by the north-west, he caused the king to be informed thereof, who accordingly gave orders that he should be furnished with two ships, properly provided in all things for the voyage. He sailed with these from England in the beginning of summer 1496, if I rightly remember, shaping his course to the north-west, not expecting to find any other land intervening between and Cathay or Northern China. He was much disappointed by falling in with land running toward the north, the coast of which he sailed along to the lat. of 56° N. and found it still a continent. Finding the coast now to turn towards the east, and despairing to find the passage to India and Cathay of which he was in search, he turned again and sailed down the coast towards the equinoctial line, always endeavouring to find a passage westwards for India, and came at length to that part of the continent which is now called Florida[2]. And his victuals running short, he

2 Florida is here to be taken in the extended sense as at first applied to the whole eastern coast of North America, to the north of the Gulf of Mexico. The commencement of this voyage appears to have been in search of

he bore away for England; where he found the country in confusion preparing for war with Scotland, so that no farther attention was paid to his proposed discoveries.

He went afterwards into Spain, where he was taken into the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, who furnished him with ships at their expence, in which he went to discover the coast of Brazil, where he found a prodigiously large river, now called the *Rio de la Plata*, or Silver River, up which he sailed above 120 leagues, finding every where a good country, inhabited by prodigious numbers of people, who flocked from every quarter to view the ships with wonder and admiration. Into this great river a prodigious number of other rivers discharged their waters. After this he made many other voyages; and waxing old, rested at home discharging the office of chief pilot, and leaving the prosecution of discovery to many young and active pilots of good experience.

Section III.

Notice concerning Sebastian Cabot by Ramusio, in the Preface to the third Volume of his Navigations[1].

In the latter part of this volume are contained certain relations of Giovani de Varanzana of Florence, of a certain celebrated French navigator, and of two voyages by Jacques Cartier a Breton, who sailed to the land in 50° north latitude, called New France; it not being yet known whether that land join with the continent of Florida and New Spain, or whether they are separated by the sea into distinct islands, so as to allow of a passage by sea to Cathay and India. This latter was the opinion of Sebastian Cabota, our countryman, a man of rare knowledge and experience in navigation, who wrote to me many years ago, that he had sailed along and beyond this land of New France in the employment of Henry VII. of England. He informed me that, having sailed a long way to the north-west, beyond these lands, to the lat. of 67½° N. and finding the sea on the 11th of June entirely open and without impediment, he fully expected to have passed on that way

of a north-west passage; but Sebastian must have gone far above 56° N. to find the land trending eastwards: He was probably repelled by ice and cold weather.—E.

1 Hakluyt, III. 28.

way to Cathay in the east; and would certainly have succeeded, but was constrained by a mutiny of the master and mariners to return homewards. But it would appear that the Almighty still reserves this great enterprise of discovering the route to Cathay by the north-west to some great prince, which were the easiest and shortest passage by which to bring the spiceries of India to Europe. Surely this enterprise would be the most glorious and most important that can possibly be imagined, and would immortalize him who succeeded in its accomplishment far beyond any of those warlike exploits by which the Christian nations of Europe are perpetually harassed.

SECTION IV.

Notice respecting the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the north-west, from Peter Martyr ab Angleria[1].

THESE northern seas have been searched by Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, who was carried when very young to England by his parents, who, after the manner of the Venetians, left no part of the world unsearched to obtain riches. Having fitted out two ships in England at his own expence, with three hundred men, he first directed his course so near the north pole, that on the 11th of July he found monstrous heaps of ice swimming in the sea, and a continual day, so that the land was free from ice, having been thawed by the perpetual influence of the sun. By reason of this ice he was compelled to turn southwards along the western land, till he came into the latitude of the Straits of Gibraltar[2]. In the course of this north-west voyage he got so far to the west as to have the island of Cuba on his left hand, having reached to the same longtitude[3]. While sailing along the coast of this great

1 Haklyut, III. 29. quoting P. Martyr, Dec. III. Ch. vi.

2 The Straits of Gibraltar are in lat. 36° N. which would bring the discovery of the eastern coast of North America by Cabot, all the way from 67½° N. beyond Hudsons Bay, to Albemarle Sound on the coast of North Carolina.—E.

3 The middle of the island of Cuba is in long. 80° W. from Greenwich, which would have carried Cabot into the interior of Hudsons Bay, to which there is no appearance of his having penetrated, in the slight notices remaining of his exploratory voyage.—E.

great land, which he called *Baccalaos* [4], he found a similar current of the sea towards the west [5] as had been observed by the Spaniards in their more southerly navigations, but more softly and gently than had been experienced by the Spaniards. Hence it may be certainly concluded that in both places, though hitherto unknown, there must be certain great open spaces by which the waters thus continually pass from the east to the west; which waters I suppose to be continually driven round the globe by the constant motion and impulse of the heavens, and not to be alternately swallowed and cast up again by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some have imagined on purpose to explain the ebb and flow of the sea. Sebastian Cabot himself named these lands *Baccalaos*, because he found in the seas thereabout such multitudes of certain large fishes like tunnies, called *baccalaos* by the natives, that they sometimes stayed his ships. He found also the people of these regions clothed in the skins of beasts, yet not without the use of reason. He says also that there are great numbers of bears in those countries, which feed on fish, and catch them by diving into the water; and being thus satisfied with abundance of fish, are not noisome to man. He says likewise that he saw large quantities of copper among the inhabitants of these regions. Cabot is my dear and familiar friend, whom I delight to have sometimes in my house. Being called out of England by the Catholic king of Castille, on the death of Henry VII. of England, he was made one of the assistants of our council respecting the affairs of the new found Indies, and waits in daily expectation of being furnished with ships in which to discover these hidden secrets of nature.

SECTION

4 We have before seen that he named the country which he discovered, the island of St John, and that he gave the name in this part of the text, *baccalaos*, to the fish most abundant in those seas, which we name cod. —E.

5 It is probable this applies to the tide of flood setting into the Gulf of St Lawrence or Hudsons Bay or both; which led Cabot to expect a passage through the land to the west.—E.

SECTION V.

Testimony of Francisco Lopez de Gomara, concerning the discoveries of Sebastian Cabota[1].

SEBASTIAN Cabota, who came out of England into Spain, brought most certain information of the country and people of Baccalaos. Having a great desire to traffic for spices, like the Portuguese, he fitted out two ships with 300 men, at the cost of Henry VII. of England, and took the way towards Iceland from beyond the Cape of Labradore, until he reached the lat. of 58° N. and better. Even in the month of July, the weather was so cold and the ice in such quantities, that he durst not proceed any farther. The days were so long as to have hardly any night, and what little there was, was very clear. Being unable to proceed farther on account of the cold, he turned south; and having refreshed at Baccalaos, he sailed southwards along the coast to the 38° of latitude[2], from whence he returned into England.

SECTION VI.

Note respecting the discoveries of Sebastian Cabot; from the latter part of Fabians Chronicle[1].

IN the 13th year of Henry VII. by means of John Cabot, Venetian, who was very expert in cosmography and the construction of sea-charts, that king caused to man and victual a ship at Bristol, to search for an island which Cabot said he well knew to be rich and replenished with valuable commodities. In which ship, manned and victualled at the kings expence, divers merchants of London adventured small stocks of goods under the charge of the said Venetian. Along with that ship there went three or four small vessels from Bristol, laden with slight and coarse goods, such as coarse cloth,

1 Hakluyt, III. 30. quoting Gomara, Gen. Hist. of the W. Indies, Book II. Ch. iv.

2 By this account the progress of Cabot to the south along the eastern coast of North America, reached no farther than coast of Maryland.—E.

1 Hakluyt, III. 30. quoting from a MS. in possession of Mr John Stow, whom he characterizes as a diligent collector of antiquities.

cloth, caps, laces, points, and other trifles. These vessels departed from Bristol in the beginning of May; but no tidings of them had been received at the time of writing this portion of the chronicle of Fabian.

In the 14th year of the king however, three men were brought from the New-found-Island, who were clothed in the skins of beasts, did eat raw flesh, and spoke a language which no man could understand, their demeanour being more like brute beasts than men. They were kept by the king for some considerable time; and I saw two of them about two years afterwards in the palace of Westminster, habited like Englishmen, and not to be distinguished from natives of England, till I was told who they were; but as for their speech, I did not hear either of them utter a word.

SECTION VII.

Brief notice of the discovery of Newfoundland, by Mr Robert Thorne[1].

As some diseases are hereditary, so have I inherited an inclination of discovery from my father, who, with another merchant of Bristol named Hugh Eliot, were the discoveries of the Newfoundlands. And, if the mariners had followed the directions of their pilot, there can be no doubt that the lands of the West Indies, whence all the gold cometh, had now been ours; as it appears by the chart that all is one coast.

SECTION VIII.

Grant by Edward VI. of a Pension, and the Office of Grand Pilot of England to Sebastian Cabot[1].

EDWARD the Sixth, by the Grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, to all believers in Christ to whom these presents

1 Hakluyt, III. 31. quoting a book by Mr Robert Thorne, addressed to Doctor Leigh.

1 Hakluyt, id. ib. Supposing Sebastian to have been sixteen years of age in 1495, when he appears to have come to England with his father, he must have attained to seventy years of age at the period of this grant.—E.

presents may come, wisheth health. Know ye, that in consideration of the good and acceptable service, done and to be done to us by our well-beloved servant Sebastian Cabot, we of our special grace, certain knowledge and good will, and by the councel and advice of our most illustrious uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our kingdoms, dominions, and subjects, and by advice of the rest of our councillors, have given and granted, and by these presents give and grant to the said Sebastian Cabot a certain annuity or yearly revenue of *one hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling* [2], to have, enjoy, and yearly to receive during his natural life from our treasury at the receipt of our exchequer at Westminster, by the hands of our treasurers and chamberlains for the time being, by equal portions at the festivals of the annunciation of the blessed virgin, the nativity of St John the Baptist, of St Michael the Archangel, and the nativity of our Lord. And farther, as aforesaid, we grant by these presents so much as the said annuity would amount to from the feast of St Michael the Archangel last past unto this present time, to be received by said Sebastian from our foresaid treasurers and chamberlains in free gift, without account or any thing else to be yielded, paid or made to us our heirs or successors for the same.

In witness whereof, &c. Done by the King at Westminster on the 6th of January 1548, in the second year of his reign.

Section IX.

Voyage of Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot about the year 1516, *to Brazil, St Domingo, and Porto Rico*[1].

"That learned and painefull writer Richard Eden, in a certain epistle of his to the Duke of Northumberland, before a work which he translated out of Munster in 1553, called *A Treatise of New India*, maketh mention of a voyage of discoverie undertaken out of England by Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the *eighth* year of Henry VIII. of famous

2 At the rate of six for one, as established by the Historian of America for comparing sums of money between these two periods, this pension was equal to L.1000 in our time.—E.

1 Hakluyt, III. 591. In this article we have preserved the antique language and orthography of Hakluyt, as a literary curiosity.—E.

famous memorie, imputing the overthrow thereof unto the cowardice and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in manner following:

"If manly courage, saith he, (like unto that which hath bene seene and proved in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this our country) had not bene wanting in others in these our dayes, at such time as our souereigne lord of famous memorie king Henry VIII. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes under the governance of Sebastian Cabot yet living, and one Sir Thomas Pert, who was vice-admiral of England and dweleth in Poplar at Blackwall, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage took none effect. If, I say, such manly courage, whereof we have spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily have come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Perularia, (which is nowe in Spaine in the citie of Seville, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland kingdom of Peru) might long since have beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and the wealth of this realme.

"Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull Mr Robert Thorne wrote to the saide king Henry VIII. in the yeere 1527, by Doctor Leigh his ambassador sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles V. whose wordes bee these:

"Now rest to be discovered the north parts, the which it seemeth unto me is onely your highnes charge and dutie; because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you have taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger be followed and obteined. Though hitherto your grace have made thereof a proofe, and found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shal be none impediment: for there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better than hitherto: by reason whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect.

 "And

"And where as in the aforesayd wordes Mr Robert Thorne sayth, that he would have the old courses to bee changed, and the new courses [to the north] to be followed: It may plainely be gathered that the former voyage, whereof twise or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set foorth by the king, was made towards Brazil and the south parts. Moreover it seemeth that Gonzalvo de Oviedo, a famous Spanish writer, alludeth unto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresayd voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusio[2].

"In the year 1517, an English rover under the colour of travelling to discover, came with a great shippe unto the parts of Brazill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed over unto this island of Hispaniola, and arrived near unto the mouth of the haven of this citie of San Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leave to enter into this haven, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the governour of the castle, Francis de Tapia, caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the shippe, for she bare in directly with the haven. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselves out, and those that were in the shipboate got themselves with all speede on shipboard. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an oversight: for if the shippe had entered into the haven, the men thereof could not have come on lande without leave both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the shippe seeing how they were received, sayled toward the Island of St John de Puerto Rico, and entering into the port of St Germaine, the Englishmen parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needful to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of St Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certain victuals, and for recompence they gave and paid them with certain vessels of wrought

2 At this place Hakluyt gives the Italian of Ramusio; we are satisfied on the present occasion with his translation.—E.

wrought tinne and other things. And afterwards they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arrived not, for we never heard any more news of them.

"Thus farre proceedeth Gonzalvo de Oviedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rover, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discover, and by their traffique for pewter vessels and other wares at the town of St Germaine in the iland of San Juan de Puerto Rico, it cannot bee denied but they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoever is conversant in reading the Portugal and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rovers and theeves, which visite any heathen coast that they have once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee prejudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable travels in discoverie."

Section X.

Brief note of a voyage by Thomas Tison to the West Indies, before the year 1526[1].

It appears from a certain note or memorandum in the custody of me Richard Hakluyt, taken out of an old ledger-book formerly belonging to Mr Nicholas Thorne senior, a respectable merchant of Bristol, written to his friend and factor Thomas Midnall and his servant William Ballard, at that time residing at San Lucar in Andalusia; that before the year 1526, one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found his way to the West Indies, and resided there as a secret factor for some English merchants, who traded thither in an underhand manner in those days. To this person Mr Nicholas Thorne appears to have sent armour and other articles which are specified in the memorandum or letter above mentioned.—This Thomas Tison, so far as I can conjecture, appears to have been a secret factor for Mr Thorne and other English merchants, to transact for them in these remote parts; whence it

1 Hakluyt, III. 593.

it is probable that some of our merchants carried on a kind of trade to the West Indies even in those ancient times; neither do I see any reason why the Spaniards should debar us from it now.

CHAPTER XII.

THE VOYAGES OF JACQUES CARTIER FROM ST MALOES TO NEWFOUNDLAND AND CANADA, IN THE YEARS 1534 AND 1535 [1].

INTRODUCTION.

THESE voyages are to be considered as among the early discoveries of the New World, and are therefore inserted in this place. The only edition of them which we have been able to procure, is that which is inserted in the ancient and curious collection of voyages by Hakluyt, which appears to have been abridged from the original in French, published at Rouen in 8vo 1598 [2]. Of this voyage, the author of the Bibliotheque des Voyages gives the following notice. "So early as the year 1518, the baron *De Levi* had discovered a portion of Canada, and Jacques Cartier not only added to this first discovery, but visited the whole country with the judgment of a person well instructed in geography and hydrography, as is apparent in the relation of his voyages; which contain an exact and extended description of the coasts, harbours, straits, bays, capes, rivers, and islands which he visited, both in his voyages on the river St Lawrence, and in his excursions by land into the interior of Canada. To this day navigators use most of the names which he affixed to the various parts which he explored with indefatigable industry." In the present edition, the only freedom used is reducing the antiquated language of Hakluyt to the modern standard.—Ed.

SECTION

1 Hakluyt, III. 250. 2 Bibl. Univ. des Voy. VI. 15.

Section I.

The first Voyage of Jacques Cartier to Newfoundland and Canada, in 1534.

The Chevalier de Mouy lord of Meylleraye and vice-admiral of France, having administered the oaths of fidelity to the king, and of obedience to M. Cartier, to the captains, masters, and mariners of the ships employed in this expedition, we left the port of St Maloes on the 20th of April 1534, with two ships of 60 tons, and having sixty-one chosen men. Having prosperous weather, we reached Newfoundland on the 10th of May, making Cape *Bonavista*, in lat. 48° 30′ N [1]. Owing to the great quantities of ice on the coast, we were obliged to go into port St Catherine [2], which is about five leagues S. S. E. from the harbour of Cape Bonavista, in which we remained ten days waiting fair weather, and employed ourselves in repairing and fitting out our boats.

On the 21st of May we set sail with the wind at west, steering N. and by E. from Cape Bonavista till we came to the Isle of Birds, which we found environed by ice, but broken and cracked in many places. Notwithstanding the ice, our two boats went to the island to take in some birds, which are there in such incredible numbers that no one would believe unless he had seen them. The island is only a league in circuit, and so swarms with birds as if they had been strewed on purpose; yet an hundred times as many are to be seen hovering all around. Some of these are black and white, as large as jays, and having beaks like crows, which lie always on the sea, as they cannot fly to any height on account of the smallness of their wings, which are not larger than the half of ones hand; yet they fly with wonderful swiftness close to the water. We named these birds *Aporath*, and found them very fat. In less than half an hour we filled two boats with them; so that, besides what we eat fresh, each of our ships salted five or six barrels of them to aid our sea stock. Besides these, there is another and smaller kind, which hovers in the air, all of which gather themselves on the island, and put themselves under the wings of the larger birds. These smaller birds

1 In our most recent maps, Cape Bonavista is laid down in lat. 48° 53′ N.—E.

2 Named in English charts Catalina Harbour, in lat. 48° 44′ N.—E.

birds we named *Godetz.* There was also another kind, which we called *Margaulx*, considerably larger and entirely white, which bite like dogs. Although this island is 14 leagues from the main [3], yet the bears swim off to it to eat the birds, and our men found one there as large as an ordinary cow, and as white as a swan. This monstrous animal leapt into the sea to avoid our men; and upon Whitson Monday, when sailing towards the land, we fell in with it swimming thither as fast almost as we could sail. We pursued in our boats, and caught it by main strength. Its flesh was as good eating as a steer of two years old. On the Wednesday following, the 27th of May, we came to the Bay of *the Castles;* but, on account of bad weather and the great quantities of ice, we were obliged to anchor in a harbour near the entrance of that bay, which we named Carpunt. We were forced to remain there till the 9th of June, when we departed, intending to proceed beyond Carpunt, which is in lat. 51° N [4].

The land between Cape *Razo* and Cape *Degrad* [5], which lie N. N. E. and S. S. W. from each other, is all parted into islands so near each other, that there are only small channels like rivers between them, through most of which nothing but small boats can pass; yet there are some good harbours among these islands, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. From the top of the highest of these islands, two low islands near Cape Razo may be seen distinctly; and from Cape Razo to Port Carpunt, the distance is reckoned 25 leagues. Carpunt harbour has two entries, one of which is on the east side of the island, and the other on the south. But the eastern entrance is very unsafe, as the water is very shallow and full of shelves. The proper entry is to go about the west side of the island, about a cables length and a half, and then to make the south entrance of Carpunt. It is likewise necessary to remark, that there are three shelves under water in this channel, and towards the island on the east side in

3 This island of birds, judging by the course steered and its distance from the main of Newfoundland, appears to be that now called *Funk* Island, in lat. 50° N. 15 leagues N. E. from Cape Freels.—E.

4 From the latitude in the text, Carpunt appears to have been what is now called Carouge Harbour, and the Bay of the Castles may be that now named Hare Bay, 6½ leagues farther north.—E.

5 Capes Rouge and De Grat. The former being the north head land of Carouge Bay, the latter the north-eastern extremity of Newfoundland, in lat. 51° 40' N.—E.

in the channel, the water is three fathoms deep with a clear bottom. The other channel trends E. N. E. and on the west you may go on shore.

Going from Point Degrad, and entering the before-mentioned Bay of the Castles, we were rather doubtful of two islands on the right hand, one of which is 3 leagues from Cape Degrad and the other seven. This last is low and flat, and seemed part of the main land. I named it St Catherines Island. Its north-east extremity is of a dry soil, but the ground about a quarter of a league off is very foul, so that it is necessary to go a little round. This island and the Bay of the Castles trend N. N. E. and S. S. W. 15 leagues distant from each other. The port of the Castles and Port Gutte, which is in the northern part of the bay, trend E. N. E. and W. S. W. distant 12½ leagues. About two leagues from Port Balance, or about a third part across the bay, the depth of water is 38 fathoms. From Port Balance to *Blanc Sablon*, or the White Sands, it is 15 leagues W. S. W. but about 3 leagues from the White Sands to the S. W. there is a rock above water like a boat. The *White Sands* is a roadstead quite open to the S. and S. E. but is protected on the S. W. by two islands, one of which we called the Isle of Brest, and the other the Isle of Birds, in which there are vast numbers of Godetz, and crows with red beaks and red legs, which make their nests in holes under ground like rabbits. Passing a point of land about a league beyond the White Sands, we found a port and passage which we called the *Islets*, which is a safer place than the White Sands, and where there is excellent fishing. The distance between the Islets and a port named Brest is about 10 leagues. The port of Brest is in lat. 51° 55′ [6]. Between it and the Islets there are many other islands, and the said port of Brest is among them, being surrounded by them for above three leagues farther. All these small islands are low, and the other lands may be seen beyond them. On the 10th of June we went into the port of Brest, to provide ourselves with wood and water; and on St Barnabas Day, after hearing divine service, we went in our boats to the westwards, to examine what harbours there might be in that direction.

We passed through among the small islands, which were so

6 If right in the latitude in the text, Cartier seems now to have got upon the coast of Labradore, to the north-west of Newfoundland ; yet from the context he rather appears to have been on the north-end of Newfoundland, about Quirpon Harbour, the Sacred Isles, or Pistolet Bay.—E.

so numerous that they could not be counted, as they extended about 10 leagues beyond that port. We rested in one of them all night, where we found vast quantities of duck eggs, and the eggs of other birds which breed there. We named the whole of this group the *Islets.* Next day, having passed beyond all these small isles, we found a good harbour which we named Port St Anthony. One or two leagues beyond this we found a little river towards the S. W. coast, between two other islands, forming a good harbour. We set up a cross here, and named it St Servans Port. About a league S. W. from this port and river there is a small round island like an oven, surrounded with many little islands, and forming a good mark for finding out Port St Servan. About two leagues farther on we came to a larger inlet, which we named James River, in which we caught many salmon. While in this river we saw a ship belonging to Rochelle, which intended to have gone a fishing in Port Brest, but had passed it as they knew not whereabout they were. We went to her with our boats, and directed them to a harbour about a league west from James River, which I believe to be one of the best in the world, and which therefore we named James Cartiers Sound. If the soil of this country were as good as its harbours, it would be a place of great consequence: But it does not deserve the name of the New-found-*land*, but rather the new stones and wild crags, and is a place fit only for wild beasts. In all the north part of the island I did not see a cart load of good earth, though I went on shore in many places. In the island of White Sand there is nothing growing but moss and stunted thorn bushes scattered here and there, all dry and withered. In short, I believe this to have been the land which God appointed for Cain. There are however, inhabitants of tolerable stature, but wild and intractable, who wear their hair tied upon the top of their heads, like a wreath of hay, stuck through with a wooden pin, and ornamented with birds feathers. Both men and women are clothed in the skins of beasts; but the garments of the women are straiter and closer than those of the men, and their waists are girded. They paint themselves with a roan or reddish-brown colour. Their boats are made of birch bark, with which they go a fishing, and they catch great quantities of seals. So far as we could understand them, they do not dwell all the year in this country, but come from warmer countries on the main land, on purpose to catch seals and fish for their sustenance.

On

On the 13th of June we returned to our ships, meaning to proceed on our voyage, the weather being favourable, and on Sunday we had divine service performed. On Monday the 15th, we sailed from Brest to the southwards, to explore some lands we had seen in that direction, which seemed to be two islands. On getting to the middle of the bay, however, we found it to be the firm land, being a high point having two eminences one above the other, on which account we called it *Double* Cape. We sounded the entrance of the bay, and got ground with a line of 100 fathoms. From Brest to the Double Cape is about 20 leagues, and five or six leagues farther on we had ground at 40 fathoms. The direction between Port Brest and Double Cape is N. E. and S. W. Next day, being the 16th, we sailed 35 leagues from Double Cape S. W. and by S. where we found very steep and wild hills, among which we noticed certain small cabins, resembling what are called granges in our country, on which account we named these the *Grange Hills*. The rest of the coast was all rocky, full of clefts and cuts, having low islands between and the open sea. On the former day we could not see the land, on account of thick mists and dark fogs, but this evening we espied an entrance into the land, by a river between the Grange Hills and a cape to the S. W. about 3 leagues from the ships. The top of this cape is blunt, but it ends towards the sea in a sharp point, on which account we named it *Pointed* Cape. On its north side there is a flat island. Meaning to examine if there were any good harbours at this entrance, we lay to for the night; but on the next day we had stormy weather from the N. E. for which reason we stood to the S. W. till Thursday morning, in which time we sailed 37 leagues. We now opened a bay full of round islands like pigeon-houses, which we therefore named the *Dove-cots*. From the Bay of St Julian to a cape which lies S. and by W. called Cape *Royal*, the distance is 7 leagues; and towards the W. S. W. side of that cape there is another, the lower part of which is all craggy, and the top round. On the north side of this cape, which we called Cape Milk, there is a low island. Between Cape Royal and Cape Milk there are some low islands, within which there are others, indicating that there are some rivers in this place. About two leagues from Cape Royal we had 20 fathom water, and found cod in such abundance, that while waiting for our consort we caught above a hundred in less than an hour.

Next day, the 18th, the wind turned against us with such fury that we were forced back to Cape Royal; and, sending the boats to look for a harbour, we found a great deep gulf above the low islands, having certain other islands within it. This gulf is shut up on the south, and the low islands are on one side of the entrance, stretching out above half a league to seawards; it is in lat. 48° 30′ N. having an island in the middle of the entrance. The country about is all flat, but barren. Finding we could not get into any harbour that night, we stood out to sea, leaving Cape Royal towards the west. From that time to the 24th of the month, being St Johns Day, we had such stormy weather, with contrary winds and such dark mists, that we could not see the land; but on that day we got sight of a cape, about 35 leagues S. W. from Cape Royal, which we named Cape St John. On that day and the next the weather still continued so foggy and dark, with wind, that we could not come near the land; yet we sailed part of the 25th to the W. N. W. and lay too in the evening, about 7½ leagues N. W. and by W. of Cape St John. When about to make sail, the wind changed to the N. W. and we accordingly sailed S. E. After proceeding about 15 leagues in that direction, we came to three islands, two of which are as steep and upright as a wall, so that it is impossible to climb them, and a small rock lies between them. These islands were closely covered over with birds, which breed upon them; and in the largest there was a prodigious number of those white birds we named Margaulx, larger than geese. Another of the islands, which was cleft in the middle, was entirely covered with the birds called Godetz; but towards the shore, besides Godetz, there were many *Apponatz* [7], like those formerly mentioned. We went ashore on the lower part of the smallest island, where we killed above a thousand godetz and apponatz, putting as many as we pleased into our boats; indeed we might have loaded thirty boats with them in less than an hour, they were so numerous and so tame. We named these the Islands of *Margaulx*. About five leagues west from these islands, we came to an island two leagues long and as much in breadth, where we staid all night to

7 This word has not been used before, but is probably meant for the same bird formerly called *Aporath*. These names of birds in Newfoundland are inexplicable.—E.

to take in wood and water, which we named *Brions* Island. It was full of goodly trees, verdant fields, and fields overgrown with wild-corn and pease in bloom, as thick and luxuriant as any we had seen in Brittany, so that it seemed to have been ploughed and sown; having likewise great quantities of gooseberries, strawberries, roses, parsely, and many other sweet and pleasant herbs; on the whole it had the best soil of any we had seen, and one field of it was more worth than the whole of Newfoundland. The whole shore was composed of a sandy beach, with good anchorage all round in four fathom water; and the shore had great numbers of great beasts, as large as oxen, each of which have two large tusks like elephants teeth [8]. These animals live much in the sea. We saw one of them asleep on the shore, and went towards it in our boats in hopes of taking it, but as soon as he heard us, he threw himself into the sea and escaped. We saw also wolves and bears on this island, and there were considerable lakes about it towards the S. E. and N. W. As far as I could judge, there must be some passage between this island and Newfoundland, and if so it would save much time and distance, if any useful purpose is to be had in these parts.

About four leagues W. S. W. from Brions Island we saw some other land surrounded by small isles of sand, which we believed to be an island, and to a goodly cape on this land we gave the name of Cape Dauphin, as the good grounds begin there. We sailed along these lands to the W. S. W. on the 27th of June, and at a distance they seemed to be composed of low lands with little sand-hills; but we could not go near, as the wind was contrary. This day we sailed 15 leagues. Next day we went about 10 leagues along this land, which is all low, till we came to a cape composed of red and craggy rocks, having an opening which fronts to the north, and we noticed a pool or small lake, having a field between it and the sea. About 14 leagues farther on we came to another cape, the shore between forming a kind of semicircular bay, and the beach was composed of sand thrown up like a mound or dike, over which the whole country appeared nothing but marshes and pools of water as far as the eye could reach. Just before coming to the first of these capes,

8 Probably the Morse, vulgarly called the sea-horse.—E.

capes, which we named St Peter, there are two small islands, very near the main land. About 5 leagues from the second cape toward the S. W. there is a high pointed island which we named *Alezai.* From Brions Island to Cape St Peter there is a good anchorage on a sandy bottom in 25 fathoms water five leagues from shore; a league off the land the depth is 12 fathom, and 6 fathom very near the shore, seldom less, and always good ground. Next day, the 29th of June, with the wind S. and by E. we sailed westwards, till the following morning about sunrise without being able to see any land, except that about sunset we saw some land about 9 or 10 leagues W. S. W. which we believed to be two islands. All next day we sailed westwards about 40 leagues, when we discovered that what we had taken for islands was the main land; and early next morning we came to a good point of land, which we named Cape *Orleans;* the whole of the land being low and plain, full of fine trees and meadows, and very pleasant to behold. This coast trends S. S. E. and N. N. W. but on this great extent of coast we could find no harbour, it being everywhere full of shelves and sand-banks. We went on shore in many places with our boats, and in one place we entered a fine river, very shallow, which we named Boat River, because we saw some boats full of savages crossing the river. We had no intercourse with these people; for the wind came from the sea, and beat our boats in such a manner against the shore, that we were forced to put off again to the ships. Till next morning, the 1st July, at sunrise, we sailed N. E. when we struck our sails in consequence of thick mists and squalls. The weather cleared up about two in the afternoon, when we got sight of Cape Orleans, and of another about 7 leagues N. and by E. from where we were, which we named Cape *Savage.* On the north side of this cape, there is a very dangerous shelf and a bank of stones about half a league from shore. While off this cape and our boats going along shore, we saw a man running after the boats and making signs for us to return to the cape; but on pulling towards him he ran away. We landed and left a knife and a woollen girdle for him on a little staff, and returned to our ships. On that day we examined nine or ten leagues of this coast for a harbour, but found the whole shore low and environed with great shelves. We landed, however, in four places, where we found many sweet-smelling trees, as cedars, yews, pines, white-elms, ash, willow, and

many

many others unknown, but without fruit. Where the ground was bare of trees, it seemed very fertile, and was full of wild-corn, pease, white and red gooseberries, strawberries, and blackberries, as if it had been cultivated on purpose. The wild-corn resembled rye. This part of the country enjoyed a better temperature than any we had seen, and was even hot. It had many thrushes, stock-doves, and other birds, and wanted nothing but good harbours.

Next day, 2d July, we had sight of land to the north, which joined the coast already mentioned, having a bay which we named *St Lunario*, across which our boats went to the north cape and found the bay so shallow that there was only one fathom water a league off shore. N. E. from this cape, and 7 or 8 leagues distant, there is another cape, having a triangular bay between, compassed about with shelves and rocks about ten leagues from land. This bay has only 2 fathoms water, but appeared to penetrate far into the land towards the N. E. Passing this cape, we observed another head-land N. and by E. All that night we had very bad weather and heavy squalls, so that we could carry very little sail. Next morning, 3d July, the wind was from the west, and we sailed north that we might examine the coast, where we found a gulf or bay about 15 leagues across, and in some places 55 fathoms deep. From the great depth and breadth of this gulf, we were in hopes of finding a passage through, like that of the *Castles* before mentioned. This gulf lies E. N. E. and W. S. W. The land on the south side of this gulf is of good quality and might be easily cultivated, full of goodly fields and meadows, quite plain, and as pleasant as any we had ever seen. The north side is altogether hilly, and full of woods containing large trees of different kinds, among which are as fine cedars and firs as are to be seen anywhere, capable of being masts for ships of three hundred tons. In two places only of this side we saw open meadows, with two fine lakes. The middle of this bay is in lat. 47° 30′ N. We named the southern cape of this bay Cape *Esperance*, or the Cape of Hope, as we expected to have found a passage this way.

On the 4th of July we went along the northern coast of this bay to look for a harbour, where we entered a creek which is entirely open to the south, having no shelter from the wind when in that quarter. We named this *St Martins* Creek, in which we remained from the 4th to the 12th of July; and on the 6th, going in one of our boats to examine a cape

or

or head-land on the west side, about 7 or 8 leagues from the ships, and having got within half a league of the point, we saw two fleets of canoes of the savages, 40 or 50 in all, crossing over from one land to another, besides which there were a great number of savages on shore, who made a great noise, beckoning to us to come to land, and holding up certain skins on pikes or poles of wood, as if offering them for barter. But as we had only one boat and they were very numerous, we did not think it prudent to venture among them, and stood back towards the ships. On seeing us go from them, some savages put off in two canoes from the shore, being joined by five other canoes of those which were crossing, and made towards us, dancing and making many signs of joy, as if inviting us to their friendship. Among other expressions we could distinctly make out the following words, *Napeu tondamen assurtah*, but knew not what they meant. We did not incline to wait their civilities, as we were too few in case they chose to assail us, and made signs therefore for them to keep at a distance. They came forwards notwithstanding, and surrounded our boat with their canoes; on which we shot off two *pieces*[9] among them, by which they were so much alarmed that they immediately took to flight towards the point, making a great noise. After remaining there some time, they came again towards us and surrounded our boat as before. We now struck at them with two lances, which again put them in fear and put them to flight, after which they followed us no more. Next day, a party of the savages came in nine canoes to the point at the mouth of the creek, where our ships were at anchor; on which we went ashore to them in our boats. They appeared much alarmed at our approach, and fled to some distance, making signs as if they wished to traffic with us, holding up to our view the skins of which they make their apparel, which are of small value. We likewise endeavoured to explain by signs that we had no intention to injure them; and two of our men ventured to land among them, carrying some knives and other iron ware, and a red hat for their chief. Encouraged by this confidence, the savages likewise landed with their peltry, and began to barter with them for our iron wares, which they seemed to prize much, and shewed their satisfaction by dancing and many other ceremonies, throwing at

9 The nature of these is not explained, but they must have been fire-arms of some kind.—E.

at times sea-water from their hands on their heads. They gave us every thing they had, so that they went away almost naked, making signs that they would return next day with more skins.

On Thursday the 8th of July, as the wind was contrary for using our ships, we proceeded in our boats to explore the bay, and went that day 25 leagues within it. As the next day was fine, with a fair wind, we sailed till noon, in which time we had explored most part of this bay, the shore of which consisted of low land, beyond which were high mountains. Finding no passage through the bottom of the bay, we turned back along the coast, and at one place saw a good many of the savages on the shore of a lake among the low grounds, where they had kindled some fires. As we proceeded, we noticed that a narrow creek or channel communicated between the bay and the lake, into which creek our boats went. The savages came towards us in one of their canoes, bringing some pieces of boiled seals flesh, which they laid down on pieces of wood, and then retired, making signs that they gave them to us. We sent two men to them with hatchets, knives, beads, and such wares, with which they were much pleased; and soon afterwards great numbers of them came to where we were in canoes, bringing skins and other things, to barter for our commodities. There were at least 300 of them collected at this place, including women and children; some of the women who remained on the other side of the inlet, were seen up to their knees in the water, singing and dancing; while other women, who were on the same side with us, came up to us in a friendly manner, rubbing our arms with their hands, and then holding up their hands towards heaven, as if in token of admiration and joy. So much confidence was established on both sides, that the savages bartered away every thing they possessed, which was indeed of small value, and left themselves entirely naked. These people might easily be converted to our religion. They wander about from place to place, subsisting entirely by fishing, for which they have stated seasons. The country is warmer even than Spain, and exceedingly pleasant, being entirely level, and though sandy, it is everywhere covered with trees. In some places where there are no trees, it is luxuriantly covered with wild corn or pease. The corn resembles oats, but with an ear like that of rye; and the pease are small, but as thick as if the ground had been ploughed and sown. It produces, likewise, white and red gooseberries, strawberries, blackberries, white and red

roses, and many other sweet-smelling flowers. The whole country is interspersed with fine grass meadows, and lakes abounding in salmon. In their language, a hatchet is named *cochi* and a knife *bacon*. We named this fine bay, *Baye de Chaleur*, or the Warm Bay[10].

Having ascertained that there was no passage through this bay, we set sail from St Martins Creek on Sunday the 12th July, to proceed on farther discoveries beyond, going eastwards about 18 leagues along the coast, till we came to Cape *Prato*, where we found shallow water, with a great tide and stormy sea, so that we had to draw close in shore, between that cape and an island about a league to the eastwards, where we cast anchor for the night. Next morning we made sail to explore the coast to the N. N. E. But the wind, which was contrary, rose almost to a storm, and we were forced to return to our former anchorage. We sailed again next day, and came to a river five or six leagues to the northward of Cape Prato, where the wind became again contrary, with thick fogs, by which we were obliged on the 14th to take shelter in the river, where we remained till the 16th. On that day, the wind became so boisterous that one of our ships lost an anchor, and we had to run 7 or 8 leagues up the river for shelter, where we found a good harbour, in which we remained till the 25th July. While there, we saw many of the savages fishing for mackerel, of which they caught great numbers. They had about 40 boats or canoes, and after some time they became so familiar with us as to come with their canoes to our ships in perfect confidence, receiving knives, combs, glass-beads, and other trifles from us, for which they were exceedingly thankful, lifting up their hands to heaven, and dancing and singing in their boats. These people may truly be called savages, as they are the poorest wretches that can be imagined; as the value of every thing they had among them all, besides their canoes and nets, was not worth five farthings. They go entirely naked, except their parts of shame, over which they had small pieces of skin;

10 Chaleur Bay on the north-eastern coast of Nova Scotia is probably here meant; though, from the changes of names, we have not been able to trace the course of Cartier from the northern extremity of Newfoundland to this part of the Gulf of St Lawrence. He probably returned to the south, along the eastern coast of Newfoundland, and then sailed west, along the south coast of that island into the Gulf of St Lawrence, probably in search of a passage to the Pacific.—E.

skin; besides which they only had a few old pieces of skin to shelter their bodies from the weather. They differ entirely both in language and appearance from those we had seen before. Their heads are close shaven, except one lock on the crown, as long as a horse tail, which they bind up into a knot with leather thongs. Their only dwelling-places are their boats or canoes turned keel upwards, under which they sleep on the bare ground. They eat their fish and flesh almost raw, only heating it a little on the embers. We went freely on shore among these people, who seemed much pleased with our company, all the men singing and dancing around, in token of joy; but they made all their women retire into a wood at some distance, two or three excepted, to each of whom we gave a comb and a small tin bell, with which they were much delighted, shewing their gratitude to our captain by rubbing his breast and arms with their hands. The reception of these presents occasioned all the other women to return from the wood, that they likewise might participate; for which purpose they surrounded the captain, to the number of about twenty, touching and rubbing him with their hands, as soliciting him for such trinkets as he had given the others. He accordingly gave each of them a small bell, on which they all fell a singing and dancing. We here found great quantities of mackerel, which they take on the shore by means of nets which they construct of a species of hemp. This grows in the part of the country where they principally reside, as they come only to the sea side during the fishing season. So far as I could understand, they have likewise a kind of millet, or grain, as large as pease, like the maize which grows in Brasil, which serves them instead of bread. Of this they have great abundance, and it is called *kapaige* in their language. They have also a kind of damsin plumbs, which they call *honesta*. They possess likewise, figs, nuts, apples, and other fruits, and beans which they call *sahu*; their name for nuts is *cahehya*. When we shewed them any thing which they had not or were unacquainted with, they used to shake their heads, saying *nohda! nohda!* implying their ignorance or want of that article. Of those things which they had, they explained to us by signs how they grew, and in what manner they used to dress them for food. They use no salt, and are very great thieves, stealing every thing they could lay their hands on.

On the 24th of July, we made a great cross thirty feet high,

high, which we erected on a point at the entrance of our harbour, on which we hung up a shield with three flowers de luce; and inscribed the cross with this motto, *Vive le roy de France.* When this was finished in presence of all the natives, we all knelt down before the cross, holding up our hands to heaven, and praising God. We then endeavoured to explain to these savages by means of signs, that all our salvation depended only on him who dwelleth in the heavens; at which they shewed much admiration, looking at one another, and then at the cross. After our return to the ships, their chief came off in a canoe accompanied by his brother and two sons. Keeping at an unusual distance, he stood up in the canoe, where he made a long oration, pointing frequently to our cross, and making a cross with his two fingers; he then pointed out to all the country round about, as if shewing that all was his, and that we must not erect any more crosses without his leave. When he concluded his speech, we shewed him an axe, making him believe that we would give it to him for an old bears skin which he wore; on which he gradually came near our ship, and one of our men who was in the boat along side, took hold of their canoe; into which he, and three or four more of our men leapt, and obliged them all to come on board our ship, to their great astonishment and dismay. Our captain immediately used every means to assure them of being in perfect safety, and entertained them in a friendly manner, giving them to eat and drink. After this, we endeavoured to explain to them by signs, that the sole use of the cross we had erected was to serve as a land mark for finding out the harbour, and that we should soon return to them with great plenty of iron wares and other commodities; but that in the mean time we would take two of his sons along with us, whom we would bring back again to the same place. We accordingly clothed two of the lads in shirts and coloured coats, with red caps, putting a copper chain round each of their necks, with which they seemed much pleased, and remained willingly along with us, giving their old garments to the rest who went back to the land. We gave to each of the three who returned, a hatchet and some knives, with which they seemed well content. When these had told their companions on shore what had happened in the ship, six canoes came off to us in the afternoon, having five or six men in each, who came to take farewell of the two lads we had detained, and brought them some fish.

fish. They spoke a great deal that we did not understand, making signs that they would not remove our cross.

The weather becoming fair next day, the 25th July, we left that port [11], and after getting out of the river, we sailed to the E. N. E. the land forming a semicircular bay, the extremities lying S. E. and N. W. From Monday the 27th of the month, we went along this land, till on Wednesday the 29th we came to another cape, after which the land turned to the east for about 15 leagues, and then turned to the north. We sounded about three leagues from this cape, and had ground at 24 fathoms. The land on this part of the coast seems better and freer of woods than any we had seen, having fine green fields and fair meadows. We named this land Cape St Alvise, because first seen on the day of that saint. It is in lat. 49° 30′ N. On Wednesday morning, being to the east of that cape, whence we sailed N. W. till night, keeping near the land, which trends from south to north for about 15 leagues to another cape, which we named *Memorancie*, after which the coast trends to the N. W. About 3 leagues from this cape we tried soundings, but had no bottom with a line of 150 fathoms. We went along this coast to the lat. of 50° N. At sunrise of Saturday 1st August, we had sight of other land lying north and north-east, which was high, craggy, and mountainous, having low land interposed, with woods and rivers. We continued along this coast, still trending N. W. to look for a gulf or passage, till the 5th of the month; but we had great difficulty to advance five miles in all that time, the wind and tide being both adverse. At the end of these five miles, we could plainly see land on both sides, which appeared to spread out; but as we were unable to work up to windward, we proceeded to another cape to the southward, being the farthest out to sea within sight, and about five leagues from us. On coming up to this headland, we found it nothing but rocks, stones, and craggy cliffs, such as we had not seen the like of since leaving Cape St Johns. The tide being now in our favour carried our ships to the westwards against the wind, when suddenly one of our boats struck on a rock and overset, so that our people had to leap out and set it to right again. After going along this coast

11 In a side-note, Hakluyt expresses an opinion that this harbour is what is now called Gaspay, or Gaspe Bay in lat. 48° 44′ N., near Cape Rosiers, the south cape of the river St Lawrence.—E.

coast for two hours, the tide turned against us, so that it was impossible to advance any farther with all our oars. We went therefore to land, leaving 10 or 12 of our people to keep the boats, and going by land to the cape, we observed the land beyond to trend S. W. After this we returned to our boats, and then to the ships, which had drifted four leagues to leeward of the place where we left them.

On our return to the ships, we convened a council of all the officers and experienced mariners, to have their opinion of what was best for us to do in the farther execution of our instructions. The general opinion was, considering that the east winds seemed now set in, and that the currents were so much against us, we could not expect to advance to any purpose in exploring the coast; and as storms and tempests began to prevail in Newfoundland, where we were so far from home, we must resolve either to return to France immediately, or to remain where we were during the winter. Having duly weighed the various opinions, we resolved to return home. The place where we now were, we named St Peters Straits[12], in which we found very deep water; being in some places 150 fathoms, in others 100, and near the shore 60, with clear ground. From thence for some days we had a prosperous gale of wind, *so that we trended the said north shore east, south-east, west-north-west* [13], for such is the situation of it, except one cape of low land, about 25 leagues from St Peters Strait, which bends more towards the south-east. We noticed smoke on that cape, made by the natives; but as the wind blew fresh toward the coast, we did not venture to approach them, and twelve of the savages came off to us in two canoes. They came freely on board, and gave us to understand that they came from the great gulf under a chief named *Tiennot*, who was then on the low cape, and were then about to return loaded with fish to their own country, whence we had come with our ships. We named the low head land Cape Tiennot, after the name of their chief. The land in this place was all low and pleasant, with a sandy beach for about 20 leagues, intermixed with marshes and shallow lakes. After this it turned from west to E. N. E. everywhere environed

12 Cartier seems now to have returned to the south coast of Newfoundland, but the relation of his voyage is too vague to be followed with any tolerable certainty.—E.

13 The sentence in italics is given in the precise words of Hakluyt, probably signifying that the coast extended from E. S. E. to W. N. W.—E.

environed with islands two or three leagues from shore; and as far as we could see, many dangerous shelves extended above four or five leagues out to sea.

During the three following days we had a strong gale from the S. W. which obliged us to steer E. N. E. and on the Saturday we came to the eastern part of Newfoundland, between the *Granges* and *Double* Cape [14]. The wind now blew a storm from the east, on which account we doubled that cape to the N. N. W. to explore the northern part, which is all environed with islands, as already stated. While near these islands and the land, the wind turned to the south, which brought us within the gulf, so that next day, being the 9th of August, we entered by the blessing of God within the *White Sands.* Thus ended our discoveries in this voyage. On the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, being the 15th of August, after hearing divine service, we departed from the White Sands with a prosperous gale, directing our course across the sea which lies between Newfoundland and Brittany. In this passage we were much tossed during three days by a heavy tempest from the east, which we weathered by the blessing of God. After this we had fair weather, and arrived on the 5th of September in the port of St Maloes.

Specimen of the language of Newfoundland.

The sun,	*isnez*	Heaven,	*camet*
Night,	*aiagla*	Water,	*ame*
Sand,	*estogaz*	A sail,	*aganie*
The head,	*agonaze*	The throat,	*conguedo*
The nose,	*hehonguesto*	The teeth,	*hesangue*
The nails,	*agetascu*	The feet,	*ochedasco*
The legs,	*anoudasco*	A dead man,	*amocdaza*
A skin,	*aionasca*	That man,	*yca*
A hatchet,	*asogne*	A cod fish,	*gadagoursere*
Good to be eaten,	*guesande*	Almonds,	*anougaza*
Figs,	*asconda*	Gold,	*henyosco*
An arrow,	*cacta*	A green tree,	*haveda*
An earthen dish,	*undaco*	Brass,	*aignetaze*
The brow,	*ausce*	A feather,	*yco*
The moon,	*casmogan*	The earth,	*conda*
Wind,	*canut*	Rain,	*onnoscon*
Bread,	*cacacomy*	The sea,	*amet*
A ship,	*casaomy*	A man,	*undo*

The

14 Probably that now called *Mistaken Points,* near Cape Race, which latter is the south-eastern point of Newfoundland.—E.

The hairs,	*hoc hosco*	Red cloth,	*caponeta*
The eyes,	*ygata*	A knife,	*agoheda*
The mouth,	*heche*	A mackarel,	*agedoneta*
The ears,	*hontasco*	Nuts,	*caheya*
The arms,	*agescu*	Apples,	*honesta*
A woman,	*enrasesco*	Beans,	*sahe*
A sick man,	*alouedeche*	A sword,	*achesco.*
Shoes,	*atta*		

SECTION II.

The second voyage of Jacques Cartier, to Canada, Hochelega, Saguenay, and other lands now called New France; with the Manners and Customs of the Natives.

ON Whitsunday, the 16th of May 1535, by command of our captain, Jacques Cartier, and by common consent, we confessed our sins and received the holy sacrament in the cathedral of St Maloes; after which, having all presented ourselves in the Quire, we received the blessing of the lord bishop, being in his robes. On Wednesday following, the 19th of that month, we set sail with a favourable gale. Our squadron consisted of three ships. The great *Hermina* of an hundred to an hundred and twenty tons, of which Jacques Cartier was captain and general of the expedition, Thomas Frosmont chief master, accompanied by Claudius de Pont Briand, son to the lord of Montceuell cupbearer to the Dauphin, Charles de Pomeraies, John Powlet, and other gentlemen. In the second ship of sixty tons, called the Little Hermina, Mace Salobert and William Marie were captains under the orders of our general. The third ship of forty tons, called the Hermerillon, was commanded by William Britton and James Maingare. The day after we set sail, the prosperous gale was changed into storms and contrary winds, with darksome fogs, in which we suffered exceedingly till the 25th of June, when our three ships lost sight of each other, and never rejoined again till after our arrival at Newfoundland. We in the generals ship continued to be tossed about by contrary winds till the 7th of July, when we made the island of Birds[1], 14 leagues from the main of Newfoundland. This island is so full of birds that our ships might have been loaded with them, and the quantity taken away not missed. We took

1 Already supposed to be that now called Funk Island, in lat. 50° N.—E.

took away two boat loads, to increase our sea stores. The Isle of Birds is in lat. 49° 40′ N.

We left this island with a fair wind on the eighth of July, and came to the harbour of White Sands, or Blanc Sablon, in the Grand Bay or Baye des Chateaux, where the rendezvous of the squadron had been appointed. We remained here till the 26th of July, when both of the other ships joined us, and we then laid in a stock of wood and water for enabling us to proceed on our voyage. Every thing being in readiness, we set sail from the White Sands early in the morning of the 29th, and sailing along the northern coast, which runs from S. W. to N. E. we passed by two islands, lying farther out than the others, which we named St Williams Islands, being twenty leagues or more from the port called Brest. All the coast from the Bay of Castles to that place, *lies E. and W.—N. E. and S. W.* off which there are sundry small islands, the whole being stony and barren, without soil or trees, except in a few narrow vallies. Next day, we sailed twelve leagues and a half westwards, in search of other islands, among which there is a great bay towards the north, all full of islands and great creeks, among which there seemed to be many good harbours. We named these the Islands of St Martha, off which, about a league and a half farther out to sea, there is a dangerous shallow, and about seven leagues from the islands of St Martha, *on the east and on the west*, as you pass to these islands, there are five rocks. We passed these about one in the afternoon; and from that time till midnight, we sailed about 15 leagues, passing to the south-eastwards of a cape of the lower islands, which we named St Germans Islands; about three leagues from which cape there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise between Cape St Germans and Cape St Martha, about two leagues from the before-mentioned islands, there is a bank of sand on which the water is only four fathoms deep. On account of the dangerous nature of this coast, we struck sail and came to anchor for the rest of the night.

Next day, being the last of July, we went along all that part of the coast which runs east and west, or somewhat south-easterly, all of which is beset with islands and dry sands, and is consequently of very dangerous navigation. The distance from Cape St Germans to these islands is about 17½ leagues, beyond which is a *goodly plot of ground*[2], surrounded by

[2] From the context, I suspect the author here means that there was good anchorage at this place.—E.

by large tall trees; but all the rest of the coast is encompassed with sand-banks, without any appearance of harbours till we come to Cape *Thiennot*, about 7 leagues north-west from these islands. Having noted this cape in our former voyage, we sailed on all this night to the west and west-north-west till day; and as the wind then became contrary, we looked out for a harbour in which to shelter our ships, and found one for our purpose which we named Port St Nicholas. This port lies amid four islands off the main-land, and we set up a cross on the nearest of these islands as a land-mark or beacon. In entering Port St Nicholas, this cross must be brought to bear N. E. and passed on the left hand of the steersman, by which means you find six fathom water in the passage, and four within the port. Care must be taken however to avoid two shelves which stretch out about half a league to seawards.

The whole of this coast is full of dangerous shoals, yet having the deceitful appearance of many good havens. We remained at Port St Nicholas till Sunday the 7th of August, when we made sail and approached the land southwards by Cape Rabart, which is twenty leagues from Port St Nicholas S. S. W. Next day the wind became boisterous and contrary, and as we could not find any haven to the southward, we coasted along northward about ten leagues beyond Port St Nicholas, where we found a goodly great gulf, full of islands, passages and entrances, answerable for any wind whatever. This gulf may easily be known by a great island resembling a cape, stretching somewhat farther out than the other islands, and about two leagues inland there is a hill which resembles a corn rick. We named this the Gulf of St Lawrence. On the 12th of the month, we sailed westwards from this gulf, and discovered a cape of land toward the south, about 25 leagues W. and by S. from the Gulf of St Lawrence. The two savages whom we took with us on our former voyage, informed us that this cape formed part of the great southern coast; and that, by the southern part of an island which they pointed out, was the way to Canada from Honguedo, whence we took them last year. They said farther, that at two days journey from this cape and island the kingdom of *Saguenay* began. On the north shore of this island, extending towards Canada, and about three leagues off this cape, there are above 100 fathoms water; and I believe there never were as many whales seen at once as we saw that day around this cape. Next day, the 15th of August, having passed

passed the strait, we had notice of certain lands which we had left towards the south, which are full of extensive high hills. We named the before-mentioned cape the Island of Assumption; from which one cape of the before-mentioned high country trends E. N. E. and W. S. W. distant 25 leagues. The northern country, for more than thirty leagues in length, is obviously higher than that which is to the southwards. We coasted along the southern lands till noon of the 17th, when the wind came round to the west; after which we steered for the northern coast which we had before seen, and found it low toward the sea, and the northern range of mountains within this low land stretch from east to west one quarter south. Our two savages informed us that Saguenay began here, which is an inhabited land producing copper, which they call *caignetdaze.* The distance between the southern and northern lands is about 30 leagues, and the gulf between is above 200 fathoms deep. The savages informed us likewise that the great river *Hochelega*[3] began here, by which was the direct way to Canada; and which river becomes always narrower as we approach towards Canada, where the water is fresh. They said farther that it penetrates so far inland that they had never heard of any one who had reached its head. On considering their account, our captain resolved to proceed no farther at this time, more especially as they said there was no other passage, meaning to examine in the first place the northern coast between the Gulf of St Lawrence and this great river, to see if any other passage could be discovered.

We accordingly turned back on Wednesday the 18th of August along the northern coast, which trends from N. E. to S. W. like half of a bow, and is very high land, yet not so high as the southern coast. Next day we came to seven high round islands, which we named the *Seven Isles*, which stretch 3 or 4 leagues out to sea, and are 40 leagues from the southern shore of the gulf. Over against these, the northern shore consists of good low grounds full of fine trees, having various sand-banks almost dry at low water, and reaching two leagues from shore. At the farther extremity of these low lands, which continue for ten leagues, there is a river of fresh water which runs with such rapidity into the sea that the water is quite fresh a league from its mouth. Entering this river with our boats, we had about a fathom and half water at its mouth. In

3 The river now called the St Lawrence.—E.

In this river we found many *fishes* resembling horses, which our savages told us lay all day in the water and went on shore at night. We set sail at day-break of the 21st, continuing our progress along the northern coast of the gulf which we traced the whole of that day to the north-east, and then stood over to the Island of Assumption[4], being assured that no passage was to be found in that direction. Returning to the harbour at the Seven Islands, which has 9 or 10 fathoms water, we were detained there by mists and contrary winds till the 24th, when we stood over to the southern coast, and came to a harbour about 80 leagues from these islands. This harbour is over against three flat islands in the middle of the river, between which islands and the harbour there is a very great river which runs between high and low lands. For more than three leagues out to sea there are many dangerous shelves, leaving not quite two fathoms water, so that the entrance is very dangerous; yet near these shelves the water is from 15 to 20 fathoms deep from shore to shore. All the *northern*[5] coast runs from N. E. and by N. to S. W. and by S. This haven is but of small value, as it is only formed by the tide of flood, and is inaccessible at low water. We named the three small flat islets *St Johns Isles*, because we discovered them on the day of St John the Baptists decapitation. Before coming to this haven, there is an island about 5 leagues to the eastward, between which and the land there is no passage except for small boats. The best station for ships in this harbour is to the south of a little island and almost close to its shore. The tide here flows at least two fathoms, but ships have to lie aground at low water.

Leaving this harbour on the 1st of September, we proposed sailing for Canada; and at about 15 leagues W. S. W. we came to three islands, over against which is a deep and rapid river, which our two savages told us leads to the country and kingdom of Saguenay[6]. This river runs between very high and steep hills of bare rock, with very little soil; yet great numbers of trees grow among these rocks, as luxuriantly as if upon level and fertile land, insomuch that some of them would make masts for vessels of 30 tons. At the mouth of this

4 The island here called Assumption, certainly is that now called Anticosti, a term formed or corrupted from the native name Natiscotec.—E.

5 It is probable that we should here read the *southern* coast.—E.

6 The Saguenay river runs into the north-west side of the St Lawrence, in lat. 48° 7′ N. long. 69° 9′ W.—E.

this river we met four canoes full of savages, who seemed very fearful of us, and some of them even went away. One of the canoes however, ventured to approach within hail, when one of our savages spoke to the people, telling his name, on which they came to us. Next day, leaving that river we proceeded on for Canada; and in consequence of the rapidity of the tide, we found the navigation very dangerous; more especially as to the southward of that river there are two islands, around which for above three leagues there are many rocks and great stones, and only two fathoms water. Besides the direction of the tide among these islands and rocks is very uncertain and changeable; so that if it had not been for our boats, we had been in great danger of losing our pinnace. In coasting along, we found above 30 fathoms water just off shore, except among these rocks and islands. About 5 leagues beyond the river Saguenay, to the S. W. there is another island on the north side containing high land, where we proposed to have come to anchor in waiting for the next tide of flood, but we had no ground with a line of 120 fathom only an arrow-shot from shore; so that we were obliged to return to that island, where we had 35 fathoms. We set sail again next morning to proceed onwards; and this day we got notice ot a strange kind of *fish* which had never been seen before, which are called *Adhothuys* by the natives. They are about the bigness of a porpoise, but no way like them, having well proportioned bodies and heads like a greyhound, their whole bodies being entirely white without spot. There are great numbers of them in this river, and they always keep in the water, the natives saying that they are very savoury and good eating, and are nowhere else to be found but in the mouth of this river. On the 6th of September we proceeded about 15 leagues farther up the river, where we found an island having a small haven towards the north, around which there were innumerable large tortoises. There are here likewise vast numbers of the *fish* called *Adhothuys*, already mentioned; and the rapidity of the tide at this place is as great as it is at Bourdeaux in France. This island is about three leagues long and two broad, all of rich fertile soil, having many fine trees of various kinds; among which were many filbert trees, full of nuts, which we found to be larger and better than ours but somewhat harder, on which account we named it *Isle aux Condres*, or Filbert Island.

On the 7th of the month we went seven or eight leagues up

up the river from Filbert Island to 14 other islands, where the country of Canada begins. One of these islands is ten leagues long and five broad, thickly inhabited by natives who live entirely by fishing in the river [7]. Having cast anchor between this island and the northern coast, we went on shore accompanied by our two savages, whose names were Taignoagny and Domagaia. At first the inhabitants of the island avoided us, till at length our two savages got speech of some of them, telling who they were, on which the natives seemed much rejoiced, dancing and singing and shewing many other ceremonies; many of their chief men came now to our boats, bringing great numbers of eels and other fishes, likewise two or three burdens of *great millet* or maize, and many very large musk-melons. On the same day many canoes filled with natives, both men and women, came to visit our two savages, all of whom were received in a kindly manner by our captain, who gave them many things of small value with which they were much gratified. Next day the lord of Canada came to our ships with twelve canoes and many people; but causing ten of his canoes to go back again, he came up to our ships with only two canoes and sixteen men. The proper name of this person was Donnacona, but his dignified name, as a lord or chief, was Agouhanna. On coming near the smallest of our ships, he stood up in his canoe and made a long oration, moving his body and limbs in an extraordinary manner, which among them pass for signs of friendship and security. He then came up towards the generals ship, in which were Taignoagny and Domagaia, with whom he entered into conversation. These men related to him all that they had seen in France, and what good treatment they had received in that country, at all which Agouhanna seemed much pleased, and desired our captain to hold out his arm for him to kiss. Our captain now went into Agouhannas canoe, and made bread and wine be handed down to him, which he offered to the chief and his followers, with which they were much gratified. When all this was over, our captain came again on board, and the chief went with his canoes to his own abode.

The captain ordered all the boats to be made ready, in which we went up the river against the stream for ten leagues, keeping close to the shore of the island, at which distance we found

7 Obviously the Isle of Orleans.—E.

found an excellent sound with a small river and haven, in which there is about three fathoms water at flood tide. As this place seemed very pleasant and safe for our ships, we brought them thither, calling it the harbour of St Croix, because discovered on Holy Cross Day. Near this is a village named Stadacona, of which Donnacona is lord, and where he resides. It stands on a piece of as fine fertile ground as one would wish to see, full of as goodly trees as are to be seen in France, such as oaks, elms, ashes, walnut-trees, maples, cydrons, vines, and white thorns which bear fruit as large as damson plumbs, and many other sorts of trees. Under these there grows great abundance of fine tall hemp, which springs up spontaneously without cultivation. Having examined this place and found it fit for the purpose, the captain proposed returning to the ships to bring them to this port; but we were met, when coming out of the river, by one of the chiefs of Stadacona, accompanied by many men, women, and children. This chief made a long oration to us, all the women dancing and singing for joy up to the knees in water. The captain caused the canoe to come along side of his boat, and presented them all with some trifles, such as knives, glass beads, and the like, with which they were so much delighted that we could hear them singing and dancing when we were three leagues off.

After returning to the ships, the captain landed again on the island to examine and admire the beauty, variety, and luxuriance of its trees and vegetables. On account of the great number of vines which it produced everywhere in profusion, he named it the Island of Bacchus, but it is now called the Isle of Orleans. It is in length twelve leagues, exceedingly pleasant and fruitful, and everywhere covered with trees, except in some places where there are a few huts of fishers, around which some small patches are cleared and cultivated. We departed with our ships next day, and on the 14th of September we brought them up to Port St Croix, and were met on the way by the lord Donnacona, accompanied by our two savages, Taignoagny and Domagaia, with 25 canoes full of natives; all of whom came to our ships with every sign of mirth and confidence, except our own two savages, who would on no account come on board though repeatedly invited, on which we began to suspect some sinister intentions. On the next day, the captain went on shore to give directions for fixing certain piles or stakes in the

the water for the greater security of our ships, and Donnacona with a considerable number of the natives came to meet him; but our two savages kept aloof under a point or nook of land at some distance, and would on no account join our company. Understanding where they were, our captain went towards them, accompanied by some of our men; and, after the customary salutations, Taignoagny represented that Donnacona was much dissatisfied because the captain and his men were always armed, while the natives were not. To this the captain answered, that he was sorry this should give offence; but as they two who had been in France knew that this was the custom of their country, he could not possibly do otherwise. Yet Donnacona continued to converse with our captain in the most friendly manner, and we concluded that Taignoagny and Domagaia had invented this pretence of their own accord; more especially as Donnacona and our captain entered into the strictest bonds of friendship, on which all the natives set up three horrible yells, after which the companies separated, and we went on board. On the following day, we brought the two largest of our ships into the harbour within the mouth of the small river, in which there are three fathoms water at flood tide, and only half a fathom at the ebb. The pinnace, or smallest vessel, was left at anchor without the harbour, as we intended to use her for exploring the Hochelega[8]. As soon as our ships were placed in safety, we saw Donnacona coming towards us, accompanied by Taignoagny, Domagaia, and above 500 natives, men, women, and children. Donnacona and ten or twelve of the principal persons came on board the captains ship, where they were courteously received by the captain and all of us, and many gifts of small value were given them. Then Taignoagny informed our captain, that Donnacona was dissatisfied with our intention of exploring the Hochelega, and would not allow any one to go with us. The captain said in reply, that he was resolved to go there if possible, as he had been ordered by his sovereign to penetrate the country in that direction as far as was practicable: That if Taignoagny would go along with him, as he had promised, he should be well used, and should be rewarded to his satisfaction

8 The native name of the river St Lawrence is Hoshelega or Hochelega, sometimes called the river of Canada.—E.

satisfaction on their return. This was refused by Taignoagny, and the whole of the savages immediately retired.

Next day, the 17th September, Donnacona and his company came back to us, bringing many eels and other fishes, which they procure in great abundance in the river. On their arrival at the ships, all the savages fell a dancing and singing as usual, after which Donnacona caused all his people to stand off on one side; then, making our captain and all our people stand within a circle which he drew on the sand, he made a long oration, holding a female child of ten or twelve years old by the hand, whom he presented to our captain at the end of his speech; upon which all his people set up three loud howls, in token of joy and friendship, at least so we understood them. Donnacona afterwards presented two boys successively, who were younger than the girls, accompanied by other ceremonies, among which were very loud shrieks or yells as before. For these presents our captain gave many hearty thanks. Then Taignoagny told the captain that one of the boys was his own brother, and that the girl was daughter to a sister of Donnacona; and that the presents had been given on purpose to induce him not to go to Hochelega. To this the captain answered, that he would certainly return the children, if that were the purpose of the gift; as he could on no account desist from going where he had been commanded by his king. But Domagaia, the other savage who had been in France, told the captain that the children had been presented as a token of friendship and security, and that he Domagaia was willing to accompany us to Hochelega. On this high words arose between Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we inferred that the former was a crafty knave, and intended to do us some treacherous act of mischief, as indeed sufficiently appeared from his former conduct. The captain sent the children to our ships, whence he caused two swords and two brass basons to be brought, which he presented to Donnacona, who was much gratified and expressed great thankfulness, commanding all his people to sing and dance. The chief then expressed a desire to have one of our cannons fired off, as our two savages had told him many wonderful things respecting them. He accordingly ordered twelve cannons, loaded with ball, to be fired off into the woods close by, at which all the savages were greatly astonished, as if heaven had fallen upon them, and ran away howling, shrieking and yelling, as if all hell had

broke

broke loose. Before we went on board, Taignoagny informed us that our people in the pinnace, which we had left at anchor without the harbour, had slain two men by a shot from one of their cannons, on which all the natives had fled away. This we afterwards found to be false, as our men had not fired any that day.

The savages still endeavoured to hinder us from going to Hochelega, and devised the following stratagem to induce us not to go. They dressed up three men like devils, in black and white dogs skins, having their faces blackened, and with horns on their heads a yard long. These men were put secretly into a canoe, while all the savages lay hid in the wood waiting the tide to bring the canoe with the mock devils. On the approach of that canoe, all the savages came out of the wood, but did not come so near us as usual. Taignoagny came forwards to salute our captain, who asked if he would have a boat sent to bring him on board; but he declined to do so then, saying he would come on board afterwards. At this time the canoe with the three devils made its appearance, and on passing close by the ships, one of these men stood up and made a long oration, without ever turning round to look at us. The boat floated past us towards the land, on which Donnacona and all his people pursued them and laid hold of the canoe, on which the three devils fell down as if dead, when they were carried out into the wood, followed by all the savages. We could hear them from our ships in a long and loud conference above half an hour; after which Taignoagny and Domagaia came towards us, holding their hands joined above their heads, and carrying their hats under their upper garments, as if in great astonishment. Taignoagny, looking up to heaven, exclaiming three times Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! Domagaia in the same manner cried out, Jesus Maria! Jacques Cartier! On seeing these gestures and ceremonies, our captain asked what was the matter, and what had happened. They answered that they had very ill news to tell, saying in French *Nenni est il bon*, or it is not good. On being again asked what all this meant; they said, that their god Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochelega, and had sent these three men to say there was so much ice and snow in that country, that who ever ventured there would surely die. On this we laughed mocking them, saying that their god Cudruaigny was a fool, and knew not what he said; and desired them to shew us his messengers, saying that Christ would defend

fend them from all cold if they believed in him. They then asked the captain if he had spoken with Jesus; who answered no, but the priests had, who had assured him of fair weather. They then thanked the captain for this intelligence, and went into the wood to communicate it to the rest, who all now rushed from the wood as if glad of the news, giving three great shouts, and then fell to dancing and singing as usual. Yet our two savages declared that Donnacona would not allow any one to accompany us to Hochelega, unless some hostage was left for his safe return. The captain then said, if they would not go willingly they might stay, and he would go without them.

On the 19th of September, we hoisted sail in the pinnace accompanied by two of our boats, the captain taking most of his officers and fifty mariners along with him, intending to go up the river towards Hochelega with the tide of flood. Both shores of the river, as far as the eye could see, appeared as goodly a country as could be desired, all replenished with fine trees, among which all along the river grew numerous vines as full of grapes as they could hang, which, though quite natural, seemed as if they had been planted. Yet, as they were not dressed and managed according to art, their bunches were not so large, nor their grapes so sweet as ours. We also saw many huts along the river, inhabited by fishers, who came to us with as much familiarity and kindness as if we had been their countrymen, bringing us great quantities of fish and such other things as they had, for which we paid them in trifles to their great contentment. We stopped at the place named Hochelay, 25 leagues above Canada [9], where the river becomes very narrow with a rapid current, and very dangerous on account of certain stones or rocks. Many canoes came off to us, in one of which came the chief man of the place, who made us a long oration, explaining by signs and gestures that the river became more dangerous the higher we went, and advising us to take good care of ourselves. This chief presented two of his own children to our captain, one of which only he received, being a girl of 7 or 8 years old, returning the boy who was too young, being only 2 or 3 years of age. The captain entertained this chief and his company as well as he could, presenting them all with some

9 By Canada in the text, the lordship belonging to Donnacona seems meant, which appears to have been what is now called the Isle of Orleans. —E.

some trifles, with which they returned to the shore well pleased. This chief and his wife came down afterwards to Canada to visit their child, and brought with them some small presents for our captain.

From the 19th to the 28th of September, we sailed up this great river, never losing an hour of time, finding the whole land on both sides as pleasant a country as could be desired, full of fine tall trees, as oak, elm, walnut, cedar, fir, ash, box, willow, and great store of vines loaded with grapes, so that when any of our people went on shore, they brought back as many as they could carry. There were likewise, cranes, swans, geese, ducks, pheasants, partridges, thrushes, blackbirds, finches, redbreasts, nightingales, sparrows, and many other birds like those of France in vast abundance. On the 28th of September we came to a wide lake, or enlargement of the river, 5 or 6 leagues broad and 12 long, which we called the Lake of *Angoulesme* [10], all through which we went against the tide, having only two fathoms water. On our arrival at the upper extremity of the lake, we could find no passage, as it seemed entirely shut up, and had only a fathom and a half water, a little more or less. We were therefore obliged to cast anchor here with our pinnace, and went with our two boats to seek out some passage; and in one place we found four or five branches which seemed to come from the river of Hochelega into the lake; but at the mouths of these branches, owing to the great rapidity of the currents, there were bars or shallows having only six feet water. After passing these shallows, we had 4 or 5 fathoms at flood tide, this being the season of the year when the water is lowest; for at other times the tide flows higher by three fathoms. All these four or five branches of the river surround five or six very pleasant islands, which are at the head of the lake; and about 15 leagues higher up, all these unite into one. We landed on one of these islands, where we met five natives who were hunting wild beasts, and who came as familiarly to our boats as if they had always lived amongst us. When our boats were near the shore, one of these men took our captain in his arms, and carried him to the land with as much ease as if he had been a child of five years old. We found that these people had taken a great number of wild rats which live in the water,

10 Now called St Peters Lake, between which and *Trois Rivieres*, the St Lawrence river is narrow with a rapid current.—E.

water, which are as large as rabbits and very good to eat. They gave these to our captain, who gave them knives and glass-beads in return. We asked them by signs if this were the way to Hochelega, to which they answered that it was, and that we had still three days sail to go thither.

Finding it impossible to take the pinnace any higher, the captain ordered the boats to be made ready for the rest of the expedition, taking on board as much ammunition and provisions as they could carry. He departed with these on the 29th September, accompanied by Claudius de Pont Briand, Charles de Pommeraye, John Govion, and John Powlet, with 28 mariners, intending to go up the river as far as possible. We sailed with prosperous weather till the 2d of October, when we arrived at Hochelega, which is 45 leagues above the head of the lake of Augoulesme, where we left the pinnace. At this place, and indeed all the way up, we met with many of the natives, who brought us fish and other provisions, always dancing and singing on our arrival. To gratify them and keep them our friends, the captain always rewarded them on these occasions with knives, beads, and such trifles to their full satisfaction. On approaching Hochelega above 1000 natives, men, women and children came to meet us, giving us as friendly and hearty welcome as if we had been of their own nation come home after a long and perilous absence, all the men dancing in one place, the women in another, and the children in a third; after which they brought us great abundance of fish and of their bread made of maize, both of which they threw into our boats in profusion. Observing their gentle and friendly dispositions, our captain went on shore well accompanied, on which the natives came clustering about us in the most affectionate manner, bringing their young children in their arms, eager to have them touched and noticed by the captain and others, and shewing every sign of mirth and gladness at our arrival. This scene lasted above half an hour, when the captain got all the women to draw up in regular order, to whom he distributed many beads and baubles of tin, and gave some knives among the men. He then returned to the boats to supper and passed the night on board, all the people remaining on the shore as near as possible to the boats, dancing merrily and shouting out *aguiaze*, which in their language is an expression of joy and satisfaction.

Very early next morning, 3d October, having dressed himself

himself splendidly, our captain went on shore to see the town in which these people dwelt, taking with him five of the principal officers and twenty men, all well armed, leaving the remainder of the people to take care of the boats. The city of Hochelega is six miles from the river side, and the road thither is as well beaten and frequented as can be, leading through as fine a country as can be seen, full of as fine oaks as any in France, the whole ground below being strewed over with fine acorns. When we had gone four or five miles we were met by one of the chief lords of the city accompanied by a great many natives, who made us understand by signs that we must stop at a place where they had made a large fire, which we did accordingly. When we had rested there some time, the chief made a long discourse in token of welcome and friendship, shewing a joyful countenance and every mark of good will. On this our captain presented him with two hatchets and two knives, and hung a cross from his neck, which he made him kiss, with all which the chief seemed much pleased. After this we resumed our march, and about a mile and a half farther we found fine large fields covered with the corn of the country, resembling the millet of Brasil, rather larger than small pease. In the midst of these cultivated fields the city of Hochelega is situated, near and almost joined to a great mountain, which is very fertile and cultivated all round, to which we gave the name of *Mount Royal*[11].

The city of Hochelega is circular, and encompassed all round with three rows of ramparts made of timber, one within the other, " framed like a sharp spire but laid across above, the middlemost is made and built as a direct line but perpendicular, the ramparts are framed and fashioned with pieces of timber laid along the ground, well and cunningly joined together[12]." This inclosure is about two roods high, and has but one gate of entrance, which is shut when necessary with piles, stakes, and bars. Over the gate, and in many other parts of the wall, there are scaffolds having ladders up to them, and on these scaffolds there are large heaps of stones, ready for defending the place against an enemy. The town consisted

11 Montreal, whence the island and city of the same name.—E.

12 This description of the manner in which the ramparts of Hochelega were constructed, taken literally from Hakluyt, is by no means obvious or intelligible. Besides it seems rather ridiculous to dignify the village of a horde of savages with the name of city.—E.

ed of about fifty large houses, each of them about fifty paces long and twelve broad, all built of wood and covered with broad strips of bark, like boards, nicely joined. These houses are divided within into many rooms, and in the middle of each there is a court or hall, in which they make their fire. Thus they live in communities, each separate family having a chamber to which the husband, wife, and children retire to sleep. On the tops of their houses they have garrets or granaries, in which they store up the maize of which their bread is made, which they call *caracouny*, and which is made in this manner. They have blocks of wood hollowed out, like those on which we beat hemp, and in these they beat their corn to powder with wooden beetles. The meal is kneaded into cakes, which they lay on a broad hot stone, covering it up with other heated stones, which thus serve instead of ovens. Besides these cakes, they make several kinds of pottage from their maize, and also of beans and pease, both of which they have in abundance. They have also a variety of fruits, such as musk-melons and very large cucumbers. They have likewise large vessels in all their houses, as big as butts or large hogsheads, in which they store up their fish for winter provision, having dried them in the sun during summer for that purpose, and of these they lay up large stores for their provision during winter. All their victuals, however, are without the smallest taste of salt. They sleep on beds made of the bark of trees spread on the ground, and covered over with the skins of wild beasts; with which likewise their garments are made.

That which they hold in highest estimation among all their possessions, is a substance which they call *esurgny* or *cornibotz*, which is as white as snow, and which is procured in the following manner. When any one is adjudged to death for a crime, or when they have taken any of their enemies during war, having first slain the person, they make many deep gashes on the buttocks, flanks, thighs, and shoulders of the dead body, which is then sunk to the bottom of the river, in a certain place where the *esurgny* abounds. After remaining 10 or 12 hours, the body is drawn up, and the *esurgny* or *cornibotz* is found in the gashes. Of this they make beads, which they wear about their necks as we do chains of gold and silver, accounting it their most precious riches. These ornaments, as we have proved by experience, have the power

to staunch bleeding at the nose[13]. This nation devotes itself entirely to husbandry and fishing for subsistence, having no care for any other wealth or commodity, of which they have indeed no knowledge, as they never travel from their own country, as is done by the natives of Canada and Saguenay; yet the Canadians and the inhabitants of eight or ten other villages on the river, are subject to the people of Hochelega.

When we came near the town, a vast number of the inhabitants came out to meet us, and received us in the most cordial manner, while the guides led us to the middle of the town, in which there is a large open square, a good stones throw from side to side, in which they desired us by signs to remain. Then all the women and girls of the place gathered together in the square, many of whom carried young children in their arms; as many of them as could get forwards came up and rubbed our faces, arms, and bodies, giving every token of joy and gladness for having seen us, and requiring us by signs to touch their children. After this, the men caused the women to withdraw, and all sat down on the ground round about us, as if they meant to represent some comedy or shew. The women came back, each of them carrying a square matt like a carpet, which they spread out on the ground and caused us to sit down on them. When this was done, *Agouhanna*, the king or lord of the town, was brought into the square on the shoulders of nine or ten men. He sat upon a large deer skin, and was set down on one of the matts near our captain, all the people signifying to us by signs that this was their king. Agouhanna was apparently about fifty years old, and no way better clothed than any of the rest, except that he had a kind of red wreath round his head instead of a crown, which was made of the skins of hedgehogs. He was full of palsy, and all his limbs were shrunk and withered. After he had saluted our captain and all the company, welcoming us all to his town by signs and gestures, he shewed his shrunk legs and arms to the captain, desiring him to touch them, which he did accordingly, rubbing them with his hands. Then Agouhanna took the crown or fillet from his own head, and gave it to our captain; after which several diseased men

13 It is impossible to give any explanation of this ridiculous account of the *esurgny*, any farther than that the Frenchmen were either imposed upon by the natives, or misunderstood them from not knowing their language. In a subsequent part of the voyages of Cartier, this substance is called *Esnoguy*.—E.

were brought before the captain, some blind and others cripple, lame or impotent of their limbs, that he might touch them, as they seemed to think that God had come down from heaven to heal them. Some of these men were so old that the hair of their eyebrows grew down over their cheeks. Seeing the misery and devotion of these ignorant people, our captain recited the commencement of the gospel of St John, "*In the beginning was the word,*" &c. touching all the diseased persons, and prayed to God that he would open the hearts of these deluded people, making them to know his holy word, and to receive baptism and the Christian faith. He then opened a service-book, and read over the passion of Christ with an audible voice; during which all the natives kept a profound silence, looking up to heaven and imitating all our gestures. He then caused all the men to stand orderly on one side, the women on the other, and the young people on a third, giving hatchets to the chiefs, knives to the others, beads and other trifles to the women, and rings, counters, and broaches of tin to the children. He then caused our trumpets and other musical instruments to be sounded, which made the natives very merry. We then took leave of them to return to our boats, on which the women placed themselves in our way, offering us of their provisions which they had made ready for us, such as fish, pottage, beans, and other things; but, as all their victuals were dressed without salt, we did not like them, and gave them to understand by signs that we were not hungry.

When we left the town, many of the men and women followed us, and conducted us to the top of Mount Royal, which is about a league from the town, and whence we had a commanding view of the country for thirty leagues round. To the north we saw many hills stretching east and west, and a similar range to the south, between which the whole country was exceedingly pleasant, being level and fit for husbandry. In the midst of these pleasant plains, we could see the river a great way farther up than where we had left our boats; and at about fifteen leagues from us, as far as we could judge, it came through the fair round mountains to the south in a great rapid fall, the largest, widest, and swiftest that ever was seen. The natives informed us that there were three such falls besides; but as we did not understand their language, we could not learn the distance between these. They likewise informed us by signs, that after passing above these

these three falls, a man might sail three months continually up the river, and that along the hills to the north, there is another great river coming from the west, which we believed to be that which runs through the country of Saguenay. One of the natives, without any sign or question made to him, took hold of the silver chain of our captains whistle, and the dagger haft of one of the mariners, which was of gilt brass, giving us to understand that such metals came from that river, where there were evil people named *Agouionda*, armed even to their finger ends, shewing us the way in which their armour was made, being wrought of cords and wood very ingeniously. They gave us also to understand that these *Agouionda* were continually at war among themselves, but we could not learn how far their country lay, for want of understanding their language. Our captain shewed them some copper, which they call *caignetadze*, and asked them by signs if any came from thence. They answered *no*, shaking their heads, but intimated that it came from Saguenay, which is in quite a different direction. We now proceeded towards our boats, accompanied by great numbers of the people, some of whom, when they noticed any of our men weary, took them up on their shoulders and carried them along. As soon as we got to the boats, we set sail to return to our pinnace, being afraid lest any accident might have happened in our absence. Our departure seemed to grieve these friendly natives, who followed us along the shore as far as they were able. We went so fast down the river, that we came to our pinnace on Monday the 4th October; and set off next day with the pinnace and boats to return to the port of the Holy Cross in the province of Canada, where our ships lay. On the 7th of the month we came to a river running from the north, having four small islands at its mouth, overgrown with fine large trees, which we named the Fouetz River. Entering this river, we found one of the islands stretched a great way up. Our captain caused a large cross to be set up at the point of this river, and went up the river with the tide as far as possible; but finding it very shallow and of no importance, we soon returned and resumed our voyage down the Great River.

On Monday the 11th October, we came to the port of the Holy Cross, where we found that the masters and mariners who were left there had constructed a stockade before the ships, of large timber set upright and well fastened together,

having

having likewise planted several cannon, and made all other needful preparations for defence against the natives, in case of any attack. As soon as Donnacona heard of our return, he came to visit us, accompanied by Taignoagny and Domagaia and many others, pretending to be very glad of our arrival, and making many compliments to our captain, who entertained them in a friendly manner, although they had not so deserved by their former conduct. Donnacona invited our captain to come and see Canada, which he promised to do next day, being the 13th of the month. He accordingly went, accompanied by all the gentlemen and fifty mariners well armed. Their place of abode, named Stadacona, was about a league from the ships; and when we were arrived within a stones throw of the place, many of the inhabitants came to meet us, drawing up in two ranks, the men on one side and the women on the other, all dancing and singing. After mutual salutation, the captain distributed knives and other trifles among them, giving a tin ring to each of the women and children, with which they were much pleased. After this, Donnacona and Taignoagny conducted the captain to see the houses, which were very well provided with victuals for winter use. Among other things, they shewed us the *scalps* of five men spread on boards as we do parchment, which Donnacona told us were taken from a people called *Toudamani*, dwelling to the south, who are continually engaged in war against his nation. They told us that, about two years ago, as they were going to war in *Hognedo*, having 200 persons, men, women, and children, and were all asleep in a fort which they had made in an island over against the mouth of the Saguenay River, they were assaulted during the night by the *Toudamans*, who set their fort on fire, and as they endeavoured to come out, their enemies slew the whole party, five only making their escape. They were greatly grieved at this loss, but signified by signs that they hoped to be amply revenged at some future opportunity.

This nation has no knowledge of the true God, but believe in one whom they call *Cudruaigni*, who they say often informs them of future events, and who throws dust into their eyes when angry with them[14]. They believe that they go to the stars after death, and thence descend gradually towards the earth,

14 This seems a figurative expression, implying that he keeps them in ignorance of what is to happen when displeased.—E.

earth, as the stars do to the horizon; after which they inhabit certain pleasant fields, abounding in precious trees, sweet flowers, and fine fruits. We endeavoured to convince them of their erroneous belief, telling them that Cudruaigni was only a devil or evil spirit, who deceived them; and affirmed that there is only one God of heaven, the creator of all, from whom we have all good things, and that it is necessary to be baptised, otherwise they would all be damned. They readily acquiesced in these and other things concerning our faith, calling their Cudruaigni *agouiada*, or the evil one, and requested our captain that they might be baptised; and Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the town came to us hoping to receive baptism. But as we could not thoroughly understand their meaning, and there was no one with us who was able to teach them the doctrines of our holy religion, we desired Taignoagny and Domagaia to tell them that we should return to them at another time, bringing priests and the chrysm along with us, without which they could not be baptised. All of this was thoroughly understood by our two savages, as they had seen many children baptised when in Brittany, and the people were satisfied with these reasons, expressing their great satisfaction at our promise.

These savages live together in common, as has been already mentioned respecting the inhabitants of Hochelega, and are tolerably well provided with those things which their country produces. They are clothed in the skins of wild beasts, but in a very imperfect and wretched manner. In winter they wear hose and shoes made of wild beasts skins, but go barefooted in summer. They observe the rules of matrimony, only that every man has two or three wives, who never marry again if their husbands happen to die, wearing all their lives after a kind of mourning dress, and smearing their faces with charcoal dust and grease, as thick as the back of a knife, by which they are known to be widows. They have a detestable custom with regard to their young women, who are all placed together in one house as soon as they are marriageable, where they remain as harlots for all who please to visit them, till such time as they may find a match. I assert this from experience, having seen many houses occupied in this manner, just as those houses in France where young persons are boarded for their education; and the conduct of the inhabitants of these houses is indecent and scandalous in the extreme. The men are not much given to labour,

digging

digging the ground in a superficial manner with a wooden implement, by which they cultivate their corn resembling that which grows in Brazil, and which they call *effici*. They have also plenty of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, and pease and beans of various colours, all different from ours. They have likewise a certain kind of herb of which they lay up a store every summer, having first dried it in the sun. This is only used by the men, who always carry some of this dried herb in a small skin bag hanging from their necks, in which they also carry a hollow piece of stone or wood like a pipe. When they use this herb, they bruise it to powder, which they put into one end of the before-mentioned pipe, and lay a small piece of live coal upon it, after which they suck so long at the other end that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till it comes out of their mouth and nostrils, as if from the chimney of a fire-place. They allege that this practice keeps them warm and is conducive to health, and they constantly carry some of this herb about with them for this purpose. We have tried to use this smoke, but on putting it to our mouths it seemed as hot as pepper. The women among these savages labour much more than the men, in tilling the ground, fishing, and other matters; and all of them, men, women, and children, are able to resist the extremity of cold better even than the wild beasts; for we have seen them in the extremest cold, which is most amazingly severe, come stark naked to our ships over the ice and snow, which must appear incredible to those who have not witnessed such hardiness. During winter, when the whole country is covered with ice and snow, they take great numbers of wild beasts; such as stags, fauns, bears, martins, hares, foxes, and many other kinds, the flesh of which they eat almost raw, being only dried in the sun or in smoke, as they do their fish. So far as we were acquainted with these people, it were an easy matter to civilize them and to teach them any thing whatever: May God of his great mercy give a blessing to this, in his good time. Amen!

Section III.

Wintering of Jacques Cartier in Canada in 1536, *and return to France in* 1537.

The great river of Canada or Hochelega, begins at the sea or gulf of St Lawrence below the Island of Assumption, or Anticosti. Over against the high mountains of Hognedo and the Seven Islands, the breadth of this river is from 35 to 40 leagues, being 200 fathoms deep in the mid channel. The surest way to sail up this river is on the south side[1]. On the north side, at about seven leagues distance from the Seven Islands, there are two considerable rivers which come from the hills of Saguenay, and occasion several very dangerous shoals. At the entrance of these rivers we saw vast numbers of whales and sea-horses; and near these islands a small river runs in through marshy grounds, which is frequented by immense numbers of water-fowl. From these Seven Islands to Hochelega or Montreal, the distance is about 300 leagues[2]. The original beginning of this great river may be considered as at the mouth of the Saguenay river, which comes from high and steep hills, from whence upwards is the province of Canada on the north side. That river is high, deep, and straight, wherefore it is dangerous for any vessel to navigate it. Beyond that river upwards is the province of Canada, in which are abundance of people who inhabit villages or open towns. In this river there are many islands great and small, among which is one ten leagues long[3], full of large tall trees and many vines. This island may be passed on both sides, but the safest way is on its south side. To the westwards, on the shore or bank of the river there is an excellent and pleasant bay or creek, in which ships may safely ride. Near this, one part of the river for about the third part of a league is very narrow and deep with a swift current, opposite to which

1 Modern navigators prefer the north side, all the way from the Seven Islands to the Isle of Orleans, where they take the southern channel to Point Levi, at which place they enter the bason of Quebec.—E.

2 The distance does not exceed 135 marine leagues.—E.

3 The Isle of Orleans, the only one which can be here alluded to, is only 6½ marine leagues in length; Cartier seems to use the small French league of about 12 furlongs, and even not to have been very accurate in its application.—E.

which is a goodly piece of high land on which a town stands. The country around is of excellent soil and well cultivated. This place is called Stadacona, and is the abode of Donnacona and of the two men we took in our first voyage, Domagaia and Taignoagny. Before coming up to it there are four other towns, named Ayraste, Starnatay, Tailla on a hill, and Scitadin. And near Stadacona to the north is the harbour of St Croix, in which we wintered from the 15th September 1535 to the 16th May 1536, during all which time our ships remained dry. Beyond Stadacona, going up the river, is the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, on a high mountain, and the valley or champain country of Hochelay, all of which for a great extent on both sides of the river is as fine a plain as ever was seen. There are mountains to be seen at a distance from the great river, whence several rivers descend to join the Hochelay. All the country is overgrown with many different kinds of trees and many vines, except around the towns, where the inhabitants have grubbed up the trees to admit of cultivating the ground, and for the purpose of building their houses. This country abounds in stags, deer, bears, rabbits, hares, martins, foxes, otters, beavers, weasels, badgers, and rats of vast size, besides many other kinds of wild beasts, in the skins of which the inhabitants clothe themselves, having no other materials. It abounds also in a variety of birds, as cranes, swans, bustards, geese both white and grey, ducks, thrushes, black-birds, turtles, wild-pigeons, linnets, finches, redbreasts, stares, nightingales, and many others. No part of the world was ever seen producing greater numbers and varieties of fish, both these belonging to the sea and to fresh water, according to their seasons. Among these many whales, porpoises, sea-horses, and a kind named Adhothuis which we had never seen or heard of before. These are as large as porpoises, as white as snow, having bodies and heads resembling grey-hounds, and are accustomed to reside between the fresh and salt water about the mouth of the Saguenay river.

After our return from Hochelega or the Isle of Montreal, we dwelt and trafficked in great cordiality with the natives near our ships, except that we sometimes had strife with certain ill-disposed people, much to the displeasure of the rest. From Donnacona and others, we learnt that the river of Saguenay is capable of being navigated by small boats for a distance of eight or nine days journey; but that the most

convenient and best way to the country of Saguenay is to ascend the great river in the first place to Hochelega, and thence by another river which comes from Saguenay, to which it is a navigation of a month[4]. The natives likewise gave us to understand that the people in that country of Saguenay were very honest, were clothed in a similar manner to us Frenchmen, had many populous towns, and had great store of gold and red copper. They added, that beyond the river of Hochelega and Saguenay, there is an island environed by that and other rivers, beyond which and Saguenay the river leads into three or four great lakes, and a great inland sea of fresh water, the end whereof had never been found, as they had heard from the natives of Saguenay, having never been there themselves. They told us likewise that, at the place where we left our pinnace when we went to Hochelega or Montreal, there is a river which flows from the south-west, by which in a months sailing they reach a certain other land having neither ice nor snow, where the inhabitants are continually at war against each other, and which country produces abundance of oranges, almonds, nuts, apples, and many other kinds of fruit, the natives being clad in the skins of beasts. On being asked if there were any gold or red copper in that country, they answered no. So far as I could understand their signs and tokens, I take this country to be towards Florida[5].

In the month of December, we learnt that the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Stadacona were infected by a pestilential disease, by which above fifty of them had been cut off before we got the intelligence. On this account we strictly enjoined them not to come to our fort or ships, or to have any intercourse with us; notwithstanding which precaution this unknown sickness began to spread among us in the strangest

4 The meaning of these routes are not explicable, as we are unacquainted with what is meant by Saguenay. The river of that name flows into the north-west side of the St Lawrence 130 miles below Quebec, in a nearly east course of about 130 miles from the lake of St John. The *other* river, said in the text to come from Saguenay, is probably that of the Utawas; but there does not appear to be any common direction or object attainable by the navigation of these two rivers. The subsequent account of the inhabitants of Saguenay is obviously fabulous, or had been misunderstood by the French adventurers.—E.

5 The river from the south-west must have been the Chambly, and its series of lakes towards Hudson river. The rest of these vague indications refer to the great Canadian lakes.—E.

strangest manner that ever was seen or heard of. Some of our men lost their strength so completely that they could not stand, their legs being excessively swelled and quite black, and their sinews shrunk up. Others also had their skins spotted all over with spots of a dark purple or blood colour; which beginning at the ankles, spread up their knees, thighs, shoulders, arms and neck: Their breath did stink most intolerably; their gums became so rotten that the flesh fell off even to the roots of their teeth, most of which fell out [6]. So severely did this infection spread among us, that by the middle of February, out of 110 persons composing the companies of our three ships, there were not *ten* in perfect health to assist the rest, so that we were in a most pitiable case, considering the place we were in, as the natives came every day to the outside of our fort and saw but few of us. Eight were already dead, and fifty more so extremely ill that we considered them past all hopes of recovery. In consideration of our misery, our captain commanded all the company to prepare by devout prayer in remembrance of Christ our Saviour, and caused his holy image to be set upon a tree about a musquet-shot from the fort, giving us to understand that divine service was to be performed there on the Sunday following, every one who could possibly do so attending in solemn procession, singing the *seven* psalms of David and other litanies, and praying most heartily to our Lord Christ Jesus to have compassion upon our wretched state. Service being accordingly performed as well as we could, our captain made a vow, if it should please God to permit his return into France, that he would go on pilgrimage to the shrine of our Lady of Rocquemado.

On that day Philip Rougement died, being 22 years old; and because the nature of the sickness was utterly unknown, the captain caused his body to be opened, to see if by any means the cause of the disease could be discovered, or any thing found out by which to preserve the rest of the people. His heart was found to be white, but rotten, with more than a quart of red water about it. The liver was tolerably sound; but the lungs were black and mortified. The blood was all collected about the heart; so that a vast quantity of rotten blood

6 The author clearly describes the scurvy, long so fatal to mariners on long voyages, now almost unknown in consequence of superior attention to articles of diet and cleanness.—E.

blood issued from thence when opened. The milt or spleen was rough and somewhat perished, as if it had been rubbed against a stone. One of his thighs being very black was opened, but it was quite sound within. The sickness increased to such a pitch that there were not above three sound men in the whole company; all the rest being unable to go below hatches to bring up victuals or drink for themselves or others. We were sometimes obliged to bury such as died under the snow, being unable to dig graves for them, as the ground was frozen quite hard, and we were all reduced to extreme weakness. To add to our distress, we were sore afraid that the natives might discover our weakness and misery. To hide this, our captain, whom it pleased God always to keep in health, used to make his appearance with two or three of the company, some sick and some well, whenever any of the natives made their appearance, at whom he threw stones, commanding them to go away or he would beat them: And to induce the natives to believe that all the company were employed in work about the ships, he caused us all to make a great noise of knocking, with sticks, stones, hammers, and such like, as if caulking and repairing the ships. At this time we were so oppressed with this horrible sickness that we lost all hope of ever returning to France, and we had all died miserably, if God of his infinite goodness and mercy had not looked upon us in compassion, and revealed a singular and most excellent remedy against our dreadful sickness, the best that was ever found on earth, as shall be related hereafter.

From the middle of November till the middle of March, we were dwelling among ice above two fathoms in thickness, and the snow lay above four feet thick on our decks; and so great was the frost that all our liquors were frozen. Even the inside of our ships below hatches was covered with ice above the thickness of a hand-breadth. In that period twenty-five of our best men died, and all the rest were so exceedingly ill, three or four only excepted, that we had not the smallest hopes of their recovery. At this time it pleased God to cast an eye of pity upon our forlorn state, and to send us knowledge of a remedy which restored us to health in a most wonderful manner. Our captain happened one day to walk out upon the ice beyond the fort, when he met a company of Indians coming from Stadacona, among whom was Domagaia, who only ten or twelve days before had his knees swollen like the head of a child two years old, his sinews all shrunk, his teeth

teeth spoiled, his gums all rotten and stinking, and in short in a very advanced stage of this cruel disease. Seeing him now well and sound, our captain was much rejoiced, being in hopes to learn by what means he had healed himself, so that he might in the same manner cure our sick men. Domagaia informed him, that he had taken the juice of the leaves of a certain tree, which was a sovereign remedy against that disease. Our captain then asked him if that tree was to be found thereabout, and desired him to point it out, that he might cure one of his servants who had got the disease when up at Canada with Donnacona. He said this that it might not be known how many of us were sick. Domagaia sent immediately two women, who brought ten or twelve branches of that tree, and shewed the manner of using it; which was to boil the bark and leaves of the tree in water, to drink of this decoction every other day, and to put the dregs upon the legs of the sick. He said likewise that this tree was of great efficacy in curing many other diseases. This tree is called *Ameda* or *Hanneda* in their language, and is thought to be that which we call Sassafras. Our captain immediately caused some of that drink to be prepared for his men; but at first only one or two would venture to use it, who were followed by the rest, and in a short time they were all completely cured, not only of this dreadful sickness, but even of every other with which any of them were at that time afflicted. Some even who had been four or five years diseased with the *Lues* became quite cured. After this medicine was found to be effectual, there was so much eagerness to get it that the people were ready to kill each other as to who should be first served. Such quantities were used, that a tree as large as a well grown oak was completely lopped bare in five or six days, and the medicine wrought so well that if all the physicians of Montpelier or Louvain had been to attend us, with all the drugs of Alexandria, they could not have done so much for us in a whole year as that tree did in six days, all who used it recovering their health by the blessing of God.

While the disease lasted among us, Donnacona, Taignoagny, and many others of the natives went from home, pretending that they went to catch stags and deer, called by them *Aiounesta* and *Asquenoudo*. They said that they were only to be away a fortnight, but they staid away above two months, on which account we suspected they had gone to raise the country against us while we were so weak. But we had used

so

so much diligence in fortifying ourselves, that the whole power of the country could only have looked at us, without being able to have done us any harm. While they were away, many of the natives used to come daily to our ships with fresh meat, such as stags, deer, fishes and other things; but held them at a high price, and would often take them away again, rather as sell them moderately. It must be allowed however that the winter that year was uncommonly long, and there was even some scarcity of provisions among the natives.

On the 21st of April 1536, Domagaia came to the shore accompanied by several strong men whom we had not seen before, and told us that the lord Donnacona would come next day to visit us, and was to bring abundance of venison and other things along with him. Next day Donnacona came to Stadacona with a great number of men, for what purpose we know not; but as the proverb says, "He who takes heed of all men may hap to escape from some." Indeed we had great cause to look about us, being much diminished in numbers, and those who remained being still very weak; insomuch that we were under the necessity to leave one of our ships at the port of St Croix. Our captain was informed of the arrival of that great number of men along with Donnacona, as Domagaia came to tell him, yet dared not to cross the river between us and Stadacona as he used to do, which circumstance made us suspect some intended treachery. Upon this our captain sent one of his servants along with John Poulet, who was much in favour among the natives, to endeavour to discover their intentions towards us. Poulet and his companion pretended only to come on a visit to Donnacona, to whom they carried some presents; but as soon as Donnacona heard of their approach he went to bed, feigning himself very sick. After visiting the chief, they went to the house of Taignoagny, and wherever they went they saw a prodigious number of people, so that they could hardly stir for each other, most of whom they had not been used to see before. Taignoagny would not allow our men to go into any other house in the town, always keeping company with them wherever they went; and while accompanying them back to the ships, desired them to ask our captain to carry off with him to France, a native chief named Agouna, from whom he had received some injury, and that if our captain was pleased to do him this service he would esteem it a great favour and would

would do in return whatever he was desired; requesting that the servant might be sent back next day with the answer.

When our captain learnt that so great a number of natives were collected apparently with some evil intentions towards us, he proposed to make prisoners of Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia and some others of the principal men, that he might carry them into France, to shew them to our king along with other rarities from this western part of the world. Donnacona had formerly told us that he had been in the country of Saguenay, in which were infinite riches in rubies, gold, and other precious things. He said also that there were white men in that country, whose dresses were of woollen cloth like that we wore. He likewise said that he had been in another country inhabited by a people called *Picquemians* [7], and other tribes. Donnacona was an old man, who even from his childhood had been accustomed to travel into distant regions, both by means of the rivers and by land. When Poulet and the other told their message to our captain from Taignoagny, he sent back the servant desiring Taignoagny to come and visit him, promising him good entertainment, and a compliance with his request. Taignoagny sent back word that he would wait upon our captain next day, bringing Donnacona and Agouna along with him; yet he staid away two days, during which time none of the natives came from Stadacona to our ships as they were wont, but seemed anxiously to avoid us, as if we had meant to slay them, which added much to our suspicions.

At this time the natives of Stadacona, understanding that we were visited by the inhabitants of Sidatin, and that we were pulling one of our ships to pieces to get out the old nails and other iron work, meaning to leave it behind, came to visit us on the third day, crossing the river in their skiffs and seeming to have laid aside their former shyness. Taignoagny and Domagaia remained however above an hour on the other side of the river, conversing across the stream, before they would come over. At length they came to our captain, whom they requested to order the before mentioned chief, Agouna, to be apprehended and carried over to France. The captain refused to do this, saying that he had been expressly forbidden

7 A tribe named Picquagamies still inhabits around Lake St John at the head of the Saguenay river. The people in woollen dresses, with the rubies and gold, must be fabulous, or misunderstood by the French.—E.

forbidden by the king to bring over any men or women; being only permitted to take over two or three young boys to learn French that they might serve as interpreters, but that he was willing to carry Agouna to Newfoundland and leave him there. Taignoagny was much rejoiced at this, being satisfied that he was not to be carried back to France, and promised to bring Donnacona and all the other chiefs with him to the ships next day. Next day being the 3d of May or Holyrood Day, our captain caused a goodly fair cross to be erected in honour of the day, thirty-five feet in height, under the cross tree of which he hung up a shield of the arms of France, with this inscription in antique letters,

Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex.

About noon, according to the promise of Taignoagny, a great number of men, women, and children came from the town of Stadacona, saying that their lord Donnacona was coming to visit our captain attended by Taignoagny and Domagaia. They came accordingly about two o'clock in the afternoon, and when near our ships, our captain went to salute Donnacona, who endeavoured to assume a cheerful countenance, yet his eyes were ever and anon bent towards the wood as if in fear. As Taignoagny endeavoured to dissuade Donnacona from going on board, our captain ordered a fire to be kindled in the open air; but at length Donnacona and the others were prevailed upon to go on board, when Domagaia told the captain that Taignoagny had spoken ill of him and had endeavoured to dissuade Donnacona from going to the ships. Seeing likewise that Taignoagny was sending away the women and children, and that the men only remained, which indicated some hostile intentions, our captain gave a signal to his men who immediately ran to his assistance, and laid hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and two more of the principal natives. On seeing their lord taken, the Canadians immediately ran away, some crossing the river towards Stadacona and others taking to the woods; whereupon we retired within our bulwarks, and placed the prisoners under a secure guard. During the ensuing night great numbers of the natives came to the river side near our ships, crying and howling like so many wolves, and continually calling upon *Agouhanna*, being the name of office or dignity of Donnacona, whom they wished to speak with, but our captain would not allow of this. Next day about noon the natives indicated by signs that they supposed we had killed

led their chief. About this time the natives in the neighbourhood of the ships were in prodigious numbers, most of them skulking about the edge of the forest, except some who continually called with a loud voice on Donnacona to come and speak to them. Our captain then commanded Donnacona to be brought up on high to speak to his people, and desired him to be merry, assuring him that when he had spoken to the king of France, and told him all that he had seen in Saguenay and other countries through which he had travelled, that he should be sent back to his own country in ten or twelve months with great rewards. Donnacona rejoiced at this assurance, and communicated the intelligence to his people, who made three loud cheers in token of joy. After this Donnacona and his people conversed together for a long time; but for want of interpreters we could not know the subjects of their discourse. Our captain then desired Donnacona to make his people come over to our side of the river, that they might talk together with more ease, and desired him to assure them of being in perfect safety; which Donnacona did accordingly, and a whole boatful of the principal people came over close to the ships, where they renewed their conversation, giving great praise to our captain, to whom they presented twenty-four chains of *esurgney* [8], as the most precious thing they possess, and which they hold in higher estimation than gold or silver. After a long talk, as Donnacona saw that there were no means of avoiding the voyage to France, he commanded his people to bring him some victuals to serve him during the passage. At this time our captain gave Donnacona two frying pans of copper, eight hatchets, with several knives, strings of beads, and other trifles, with which he seemed highly pleased, and sent them to his wives and children. Our captain also made similar presents to the chiefs who had come to speak with Donnacona, who thanked him for the gifts and retired to their town.

Very early on the 5th of May, a great number of the people came back to speak with their lord, on which occasion they sent a boat, called *casnoni* in their language, loaded with maize,

8 A very unintelligible account of the manner in which this article, so precious in the eyes of the Canadians, is procured, has been already given in this chapter; but there are no data on which even to conjecture what it is. Belts of *wampum*, a kind of rudely ornamented ribbons or girdles, are universally prized among the North American Indians, of which frequent mention will occur in the sequel of this work.—E.

maize, venison, fish, and other articles of provision after their fashion, and lest any of their men might be detained, this boat was navigated by four women, who were well treated at our ships. By the desire of Donnacona, our captain sent a message on shore by these women, to assure the natives that their chief would be brought back by him to Canada at the end of ten or twelve months: They seemed much pleased at this intelligence, and promised when he brought back Donnacona that they would give him many valuable presents, in earnest of which each of the women gave him a chain of *esurgney.* Next day, being Saturday the 6th of May 1536, we set sail from the harbour of St Croix, and came to anchor at night in another harbour about twelve leagues down the river, a little below the Isle of Orleans. On Sunday the 7th we came to the Island of Filberts, or *Coudres*, where we remained till the 16th of the month, waiting till the great flood in the river had spent its force, as the current was too violent to be safely navigated. At this time many of the subjects of Donnacona came to visit him from the river Saguenay, who were much astonished upon being told by Domagaia that Donnacona was to be carried to France, but were reassured by Donnacona who informed them he was to come back next year. They gave their chief on this occasion three packs of beaver skins and the skins of sea wolves or seals, with a great knife made of red copper which is brought from Saguenay, and many other things. They also gave our captain a chain of *esurgney*, in return for which he presented them with ten or twelve hatchets, and they departed well pleased.

On the 16th of May we departed from the Isle of Filberts, and came to another island about fifteen leagues farther down the river, which is about five leagues in length, where we remained the rest of that day and the following night, meaning to take advantage of the next day to pass by the river Saguenay, where the navigation is very dangerous. That evening we went ashore on the island, where we took such numbers of hares that we called it Hare Island. But during the night the wind became quite contrary and blew so hard that we were forced back to the Isle of Filberts, where we remained till the 21st of the month, when fine weather and a fair wind brought us down the river. On this occasion we passed to *Honguedo*, which passage had not been seen before. Passing Cape *Prat*, which is at the entrance into the bay of *Chaleur*, and having a fair wind we sailed all day and night without stopping, and

came next day to the middle of *Brions* Islands. These islands lie north-west and south-east, and are about fifty leagues asunder, being in lat. 47½° N [9]. On Thursday the 26th of May, being the feast of the Ascension, we coasted over to a *land and shallow of low sands*, about eight leagues south-west from Brions Island, above which are large plains covered with trees, and likewise an enclosed lake or sea into which we could find no entrance. On Friday following, being the 27th of the month, in consequence of the wind becoming foul, we returned to Brions Island, where we remained till the beginning of June. To the south-east of this island we saw land which we supposed another island, which we coasted for two or three leagues, and had sight of three other high islands towards the sands, after which we returned to the cape of the said land, which is divided into two or three very high capes [10]. At this place the water is very deep and runs with a prodigiously swift current. That day we came to Cape Lorain *which is in 47½ degrees toward the south.* This cape is low land, and has an appearance as of the mouth of a river, but there is no harbour of any worth. At a short distance we saw another head-land toward the south, which we named Cape St Paul.

Sunday following, being the 4th of June, we saw other lands at about twenty-two leagues east-south-east from Newfoundland, and as the wind was contrary we went into a harbour which we named the Bay of the Holy Ghost. We remained there till the Tuesday following, when we sailed along the coast to St Peters Islands, passing many very dangerous rocks and shoals, which lie east-south-east and west-north-west, stretching about twenty-three leagues out to sea. While at St Peters Islands, we saw many French and British ships, and remained there from the 11th to 16th of June, after which we sailed to Cape *Race*, where we went into a harbour named *Rognoso*, where we took in a supply of wood and water to serve us on the voyage home, and at this place we left one of our boats. We left that harbour on Monday the 19th of June, and had such excellent weather and fair winds,

9 These geographical indications are so obscure as not to be intelligible, unless perhaps the passage between Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland is here meant under the name of Honguedo.—E.

10 The text here is either corrupt, or so vaguely expressed as not to admit of any reasonable explanation or conjecture.—E.

winds, that we arrived in the Port of St Maloes upon the 6th of July 1536.

In Hakluyts Collection, III. 286—289, there is a short imperfect fragment of a *third* voyage by Jacques Cartier to Canada, Hochelega, and Saguenay in 1540; but as it breaks off abruptly and gives hardly any additional information respecting the country and its inhabitants or productions, beyond what is contained in the two voyages already inserted, it has not been deemed necessary to adopt it into the present collection.—E.

Specimen of the language of Hochelega and Canada.

1. *Secada.* 2. *Tigneni.* 3. *Hasche.* 4. *Hannaion.* 5. *Ouiscon.* 6. *Indahir.* 7. *Aiaga.* 8. *Addigue.* 9. *Madellon.* 10. *Assem.*

Aggonzi,	the head.	*Atha,*	shoes.
Heguenias con,	the brow.	*Amgoua,*	a shirt.
Higata,	the eyes.	*Castrua,*	a cap.
Abontascon,	the ears.	*Osizi,*	corn.
Esahe,	the mouth.	*Carraconny,*	bread.
Esgongay,	the teeth,	*Sahe,*	beans.
Osnache,	the tongue.	*Ame,*	water.
Agonpon,	the throat.	*Quahouascon,*	flesh.
Hebelim,	the beard.	*Honnesta,*	damsons.
Hegouascon,	the face.	*Absconda,*	figs.
Aganiscon,	the hair.	*Ozoba,*	grapes.
Aiayascon,	the arms.	*Quahoya,*	nuts.
Aissonne,	the flanks.	*Esgueny,*	an eel.
Aggruascon,	the stomach.	*Undeguezi,*	a snail.
Eschehenda,	the belly.	*Hueleuxima,*	a tortoise.
Hetnegradascon,	the thighs.	*Sahomgahoa,*	a hen.
Agotschinegodascon,	the knees.	*Zisto,*	a lamprey.
Agouguenehondo,	the legs.	*Ondacon,*	a salmon.
Onchidascon,	the feet.	*Ainne-honne,*	a whale.
Aignoascon,	the hands.	*Sadeguenda,*	a goose.
Agenoga,	the fingers.	*Aionnesta,*	a stag.
Agedascon,	the nails.	*Asquenondo,*	a sheep.
Aguehum,	a man.	*Sourkanda,*	a hare.
Agrauste,	a woman.	*Agaya,*	a dog.
Addegesta,	a boy.	*Achide,*	to-morrow.
Agniaquesta,	a girl.	*Cudragny,*	God.
Exiasta,	a child.	*Quenhia*	heaven.
Conda,	woods.	*Damga,*	the earth.
Hoga,	leaves.	*Ysmay,*	the sun.
Cabata,	a gown.	*Assomaha,*	the moon.
Caioza,	a doublet.	*Stagnehoham,*	the stars.
Hemondoha,	stockings.	*Copoha,*	the wind.

Adogne,

Adogne,	a hatchet.	*Athau,*	cold.
Ahencu,	a bow.	*Odazani,*	hot.
Quaetan,	a dart.	*Azista,*	fire.
Canada,	a town.	*Quea,*	smoke.
Agogasy,	the sea.	*Canoca,*	a house.
Coda,	the waves.	*Addathy,*	my father.
Cohena,	an island.	*Adauahoe,*	my mother.
Agacha,	a hill.	*Addagrim,*	my brother.
Hounesca,	ice.	*Adhoasseue,*	my sister.
Camsa,	snow.		

Quaza hoa quea,	Give me some drink.
Quaza hoa quascaboa,	Give me my breakfast.
Quaza hoa quatfriam,	Give me my supper.

Casigno agnydahoa,	Let us go to bed.
Casigno donnascat,	Let us go a hunting.
Casigno caudy,	Let us go to play.
Casigno casnouy,	Let us go in the boat.
Assigni quaddadia,	Come speak with me.

Quagathoma,	Look at me.
Aignag,	Good morrow.
Aista,	Hold your peace.
Buazahca agoheda,	Give me a knife.

A

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GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II. CONTINUED.

BOOK III.

CONTINUATION OF THE DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE IN THE EAST; TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY VOYAGES OF OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS TO INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERIES, NAVIGATIONS, AND CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA, FROM 1505 TO 1539, BOTH INCLUSIVE: RESUMED FROM BOOK I. OF THIS PART[1].

WE have formerly in the *First* BOOK of this *Second* PART of our general arrangement, given a historical account of the Portuguese Discoveries along the Coast of Africa, with their Discovery of and early Conquests in India, from the

1 Portuguese Asia, by Manuel de Faria y Sousa.—Astleys Collection of Voyages and Travels, I. 58. et sequ.

the glorious era of DON HENRY prince of Portugal in 1412, down to the year 1505. Necessarily called off from that interesting subject, to attend to the memorable Discovery of the *NEW WORLD* by the immortal COLUMBUS, we have detailed at considerable, yet we hope not inconvenient length, in the III. IV. and V. Volumes of our Collection, the great and important Discovery of America, and the establishment of the principal Spanish colonies in that grand division of the world, with some short notices of the earliest American Discoveries by the Portuguese, English, and French nations. We now return to a continuation of the early Discoveries and Conquests in India, taking that word in its most extensive siguification as comprehending the whole of southern Asia, from the Persian Gulf to Japan and Eastern China. In the present portion of our Collection, we propose chiefly to direct our attention to the transactions of the Portuguese; adding however such accounts as we may be able to procure of the early Voyages to India made by other European nations.

It is not necessary to particularize the various sources from which the different articles to be contained in this *Book* or division of our work has been collected, as these will be all referred to in the several chapters and sections of which it is composed. Indeed as the introductions we prefix, on the present and other similar occasions, are necessarily written *previous* to the composition of the articles to which they refer, contrary to the usual practice, it would be improper to tie ourselves too strictly on such occasions, so as to preclude the availment of any additional materials that may occur during our progress, and therefore we here beg leave to notify that we reserve a power of including the earliest voyages of other European nations to the Atlantic and eastern coasts of Africa, together with Arabia and Persia, among the *early voyages to India*, if hereafter deemed necessary; which is strictly conformable to what has been already done in PART II. BOOK I. and what must necessarily be the case on the present occasion. It may be proper however to mention, that the present chapter, containing a continuation of the early Discoveries, Navigations, and Conquests of the Portuguese in India, is taken from the *PORTUGUESE ASIA*, of *Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, taking that author up in 1505, where we had to lay down *Castaneda* at the end of our *Second BOOK*.

Faria,

Faria[2], who is designated as a member of the Portuguese military order of Christ, was a celebrated historian among his countrymen, and his work, entitled *ASIA PORTUGUEZA*, contains an account somewhat in the form of Annals, of the Transactions of his countrymen in *India*, from their first going there in 1497, to the year 1646. This work contains all the Portuguese Voyages and Discoveries, from their first attempt to extend along the western coast of *Africa*, to their final discovery of the farthest parts of *China* and *Japan:* All their battles by sea and land, with their expeditions, sieges, and other memorable actions: The whole interspersed with descriptions of the places and countries they discovered, visited, or conquered; including accounts of the manners, customs, government, and religion of the natives. This author is remarkable for a concise and clear narrative, and for judicious reflections on the conduct of the Portuguese kings, ministers, governors, and commanders, as well as for his remarks on many other occasions. These are always just, and have often an air of freedom that might not have been expected under an arbitrary government: But in matters regarding religion, he often discovers a surprising reverse of character, full of weak and puerile credulity, the never-failing consequence of education and publication under the influence of that eternal and abominable stain of the peninsula, the *Inquisition.*

This work of De Faria has gone through various impressions in Portugal, where it is esteemed a curious and accurate performance, though on some occasions it is alleged that he has placed too much reliance on *Mendez Pinto*, a dealer in barefaced fiction. The first impression of the Portuguese Asia was printed at Lisbon in 1666, in 3 vols. small folio, and it has been often reprinted, and translated into Spanish, Italian, French, and English.

The English translation used on the present occasion, and we know of no other or later edition, was made by Captain John *Stevens*, and published at London in 1695, in 3 vols. 8vo. dedicated to Catherine of Portugal, Queen Dowager of England. In his Preface, Mr Stevens informs the reader, that he had reduced the work to considerably less size than the *Spanish original*, yet without omitting any part of the history, or even abridging any material circumstances; having cut off long speeches, which were only added by the author as rhetorical

2 Astley, I. 87.

rical flourishes, and omitted many tedious lists of the names of officers who were present at the principal actions, and extended reflections of the author which were only useful to increase the size of the work. In this account of the work by the translator, the *Spanish* is mentioned as the original. Indeed the Portuguese and Spanish original editions appear to have both appeared contemporaneously in 1666[3].

In the employment of Faria we have followed the example of Astleys Collection of Voyages and Travels, of which Mr John Green is said to have been the Editor. But although in that former Collection, published at London in 1745, an absolutely verbal and literal transcript is used so far as the Editor has been pleased to follow the translation of Stevens, many very curious and important particulars contained in that author are omitted, or slurred over by a hasty and careless abridgement. From where we take up Faria, in consequence of the loss of Castaneda, *we have given his work nearly entire*, only endeavouring to reduce the language of Captain Stevens to the modern standard, and occasionally using the freedom to arrange incidents a little more intelligibly, and to curtail a few trifling matters that seemed to possess no interest for modern readers. We have however availed ourselves of many valuable notes and illustrations of the text by the Editor of Astleys Collection, all of which will be found acknowledged and referred to in their proper places. And we have adopted from the same source some valuable additions to the text of Faria, intimately connected with the subject, which are likewise carefully acknowledged. Thus, like many former articles in this Collection, we trust that the present, as being greatly fuller, will be found more satisfactory and informing than any similar account in former Collections of Voyages and Travels.

After so considerable an interval employed on the Discoveries in America, it may be proper to remark that the former Account of the Discovery of the maritime route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the commencement of the Portuguese Conquests in the East, as contained in the *Second* Volume of this Work, PART II. CHAP. VI. *Sections I. to IX.* pp. 292—505, comprises only a period of *nine* years, from the setting out of *Vasco de Gama* in July 1497, on his adventurous Voyage, by which he completed the discovery of the way by sea to India from Europe, projected by Prince HENRY

3 Bibl. Univ. des Voy. IV. 376.

HENRY in 1412, *eighty-five* years before. On that former occasion, following the narrative of Hernan Lopez de Castaneda, we brought down the Transactions of the Portuguese in India to the year 1505; including the almost incredible defence of Cochin by the intrepid Pacheco against the immensely more numerous forces of the Zamorin of Calicut; the relief of the chivalric besieged, by the arrival of Lope Suarez de Menezes in September 1505; and the voyage of Suarez back to Portugal in 1505, leaving Manuel Telez de Vasconcelles as captain-general of the Portuguese possessions in India. It has been formerly mentioned, Vol. II. p. 500, note 5, that Castaneda names this person Lope Mendez de Vasconcelles, and that he is named Manuel Telez de Barreto by the editor of Astleys Collection, in which we now find that he had followed the author of the Portuguese Asia. The difference between these authorities is irreconcileable, but is quite immaterial to the English reader.—E.

SECTION I.

Course of the Indian Trade before the Discovery of the Route by the Cape of Good Hope, with some account of the settlement of the Arabs on the East Coast of Africa[1].

BEFORE the Discovery of the Route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, formerly related in PART II. CHAPTER VI. the spices and other productions of India were brought to Europe with vast trouble and at great expence, so that they were necessarily sold at very high prices. The cloves of the Moluccas, the nutmegs and mace of Banda, the sandal-wood of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of Luconia, with all the other and various rich commodities, spices, gums, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Japan, Siam, and other kingdoms of the continent and islands of India, were carried to the great mart of Malacca, a city in the peninsula of that name, which is supposed to have been the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancients. From that place the inhabitants of the more western countries between Malacca and the Red Sea procured all these commodities, dealing by way of barter, no money being used in this trade, as silver and gold were in

1 De Faria, Portuguese Asia, I. 82.

in much less request in these eastern parts of India than foreign commodities. By this trade, Calicut, Cambaya, Ormuz, Aden, and other cities were much enriched. The merchants of these cities, besides what they procured at Malacca as before mentioned, brought rubies from Pegu, rich stuffs from Bengal, pearls from *Calicare*[2], diamonds from *Narsinga*[3], cinnamon and rich rubies from Ceylon, pepper, ginger, and other spices, from the coast of Malabar and other places where these are produced. From Ormuz these commodities were conveyed up the Persian gulf to Basorah at the mouth of the Euphrates, and were thence distributed by caravans through Armenia, Trebisond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus; and from these latter cities, by means of the port of Barut in Syria, the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians carried them to their respective countries, and to other parts of Europe. Such of these commodities as went up the Red Sea, were landed at Tor or Suez at the bottom of that gulf, whence they were conveyed over land to Cairo in Egypt, and thence down the Nile to Alexandria, where they were shipped for Europe.

Many princes apprehending vast loss to their revenues, by this new course which the Portuguese had discovered for carrying on a direct trade by sea between Europe and India, used their endeavours to drive them from that country. For this purpose, the Soldan of Egypt [4], who was principally affected by this new trade, gave out that he would destroy the holy places in Jerusalem, if the Portuguese persisted in trading to Malabar. Believing him in earnest, Maurus, a monk of Mount Sinai, went to Rome with a letter from the Soldan to the pope, signifying his intention to destroy those places, sacred in the estimation of the Christians, in revenge for the injury done to his trade by the Portuguese. The pope sent Maurus into Portugal, where the purport of his message was known before his arrival, and such preparations made for driving

2 Named Kalekare by Astley, and probably alluding to some place in the neighbourhood of the great pearl fishery in the Gulf of Manar, between Ceylon and the Carnatic.—E.

3 Now called Golconda. But the dominions of Narsinga seem then to have included the whole southern peninsula of India, except the coasts of Canara and Malabar, from Visiapour and the Deccan to Cape Comorin.—E.

4 This last mameluke Soldan of Egypt was Almalec al Ashraf Abul Nasr Sayf oddin Kansu al Gauri, commonly called Campson Gauri, the 24th of the Circassian dynasty, who reigned from 1500 to 1516, when he was slain in battle near Aleppo by Selim Emperor of the Turks.—Astley, I. 58. b.

driving the Moors from the trade of India, that Maurus returned to Cairo with more alarming intelligence than he had brought. The king of Portugal informed his holiness by letter, that his intentions in prosecuting these eastern discoveries were to propagate the holy faith, and to extend the papal jurisdiction over the countries of the heathen, by which the pope was entirely reconciled to his proceedings.

Along the eastern coast of Africa, the Moors or Arabs had several settlements. From Cape Guardafu, the most eastern point of Africa, to Mozambique, is a hollow coast like a bent bow, extending 550 leagues. From Cape Mozambique to Cape Corrientes is 170 leagues, and thence to the Cape of Good Hope 340 leagues. Hence turning again to the northwards and a little towards the west, the western coast of Africa reaches to Congo. Drawing a line east across the continent, there remains a large peninsula or promontory, to which the Arabs have given the name of Kafraria, naming the inhabitants Kafrs or unbelievers; an appellation bestowed by the Mahometans on all who are not of their religion, but chiefly those who worship images, whence they call most of the Christians by the opprobrious name of Kafrs. To the north of this line on the east coast of Africa is the maritime country of Zanguebar, or more properly Zenjibar, so named from a Negro nation called the Zenji, who had formerly conquered all that coast before the settlement of the Arabs. From Zanguebar all the way to Cape Guardafu and the mouth of the Red Sea, the coast is called Ajam or Ajen, signifying in Arabic the country of the barbarians; the maritime parts being occupied by the Arabs, and the inland country by heathen Negroes. Most of this coast is very low, covered by impenetrable woods, and subject to inundations, so that it is excessively hot and unwholesome. The Negroes of this country are black with crisp curled hair, and are wonderfully addicted to superstition, being all idolaters; insomuch that upon the most frivolous motives they will give over the most important enterprises: Thus the king of Quiloa failed to meet Don Francisco de Almeyda, because a black cat crossed his way when going out. The cattle, fruit, and grain are answerable to the wildness of the country. The Moors or Arabs, who inhabit this coast and the adjacent islands, seldom cultivate the ground, and mostly subsist on wild beasts and several loathsome things. Such as live more towards the interior, and have intercourse with the barbarous Kafrs, use milk as a part of their diet.

As

As this country has been endowed by nature with much gold, an eager desire to procure that precious metal has induced, first the Arabs, and afterwards the Europeans, to possess themselves of various parts along the coast. The first of the Arabs who came here were called Emozadi, which signifies subjects of Zayde, who built two inçonsiderable towers, merely sufficient to defend them against the barbarous Kafrs. Afterwards still greater numbers came from the ports about the city of Lazah, forty leagues from the island of Baharem [5] in the Persian gulf, who settled first Magadoxa and afterwards Brava. The first Arabs separated from these new comers, and mixing with the Kafrs became Bedouins, or Badwis, signifying people of the desert. Those Arabs who first possessed themselves of the gold trade of Sofala were from Magadoxa, and discovered the gold mines by accident. From thence they spread themselves farther towards the south, but durst never venture to navigate beyond Cape Corrientes, which is opposite to the south-westermost part of the Island of St Lawrence or Madagascar. Along this coast the Arabs had possessed themselves of Quiloa, Mombaza, Melinda, and the islands of Pemba, Zanzibar, Monfia, Comoro, and others; Quiloa being the principal of their settlements, from whence many others had been formed, particularly on the coast of Madagascar. Quiloa had been originally a peninsula, but by the encroachments of the sea it had become an island. The soil produces many palms and thorn trees, and various herbs and plants; and the wild beasts, cattle, and birds resemble those of Spain. The buildings in the places possessed by the Arabs resemble those in Spain, having flat roofs, with gardens and orchards behind.

SECTION

5 More properly Bahrayn, which signifies *the two seas*, being the Arabic dual of Bahr, the sea.—Astl. I. 59. e.

SECTION II.

Voyage of Don Francisco de Almeyda from Lisbon to India, in quality of Viceroy, with an account of some of his transactions on the Eastern coast of Africa, and Malabar.

ON the 25th of March 1505, Don Francisco de Almeyda sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of twenty-two ships, carrying 1500 soldiers, being bound for India of which he was appointed viceroy. Eleven of these ships were to return with merchandize to Portugal, and other eleven were to remain in India. On the 2d of July the fleet met with a terrible storm, by which it was separated. In one of the ships commanded by Diego Correa, the sails were split to pieces and three men washed overboard, two of whom perished; but the third, named Fernando Lorenzo, called out that he would keep above water till morning, and begged of them to keep an eye upon him, and on the storm abating next morning he was taken on board. Owing to the separation of the fleet by the storm, Almeyda arrived at Quiloa with only eight vessels; and on saluting the port without receiving any answer, he called a council of his officers to deliberate upon his proceedings, as he had orders from the king to erect a fort at this place, which was accordingly resolved upon. He landed therefore with 500 men, accompanied by his son Don Lorenzo, and attacked the town in two places. Amir Ibrahim fled over to the continent with his wives and riches, having previously hoisted the Portuguese standard, by which device he stopped the pursuit and gained time to escape. The city was taken and plundered, without any loss on the side of the Portuguese, though a great number of the inhabitants were slain. Ibrahim though the forty-fourth successive sovereign, was an usurper, who had murdered the former king, and Almeyda raised Mohammed Ankoni, a relation of the former king and who had espoused the Portuguese interests to the throne, placing a crown of gold on his head with great pomp and solemnity. On this occasion Mohammed declared that if the former king *Alfudail* had been alive he would have refused the crown; and he actually appointed the son of Alfudail to be his successor, though he had children of his own. This rare example in an unbeliever may put to shame the inhumanity and barbarism of the Christians, who

wade

wade through seas of blood, contemn the most sacred bonds of consanguinity and alliance, spoil provinces, oppress the good, exalt the wicked, convert loyalty to treason, perjury into duty, and religion into a cloak to work out their accursed purposes, and to bereave of their crowns and sceptres those to whom Providence had been pleased to confide them as most worthy of rule.

Having settled every thing to his mind, and constructed a fort in twenty days, Almeyda left a garrison of 550 men, together with a caravel and brigantine, and sailed on the 8th of August with thirteen sail for Mombaza, which is seated like Quiloa in an island about fourteen leagues in circumference. This city is beautiful and strong, having a large bay before it capable of containing many ships. Before entering the bay, two vessels were sent to sound the bar, which is commanded by a battery of eight cannons, which fired upon these vessels; but a ball from the Portuguese happening to fall among the powder belonging to the enemy, blew it up and did great injury to the natives, so that they were obliged to abandon the work. Two smaller works being likewise abandoned, the fleet entered the bay without farther resistance. Being informed that the king of Mombaza had hired 1500 Kafr archers to assist in defending the place, Almeyda sent him a message demanding submission; but the answer was, that the Moors of Mombaza were not to be frightened by the noise of cannon like those of Quiloa, and he might do his worst. Enraged at this contemptuous answer, and because several of his men had been wounded, while attempting to burn some ships in the port belonging to Cambaya, Almeyda landed his men on the 15th of August and attacked the city. He succeeded in the assault, driving the enemy out at the other side of the town, and their king along with them, whose palace he took possession of, on which he planted a cross. Immediately after gaining possession of the town, he received notice that his ships had succeeded in their attack on those belonging to the Moors of Cambaya, all of which were burnt. In this action the Portuguese lost only five men; while of the Moors 1513 were slain and 1200 made prisoners, of which only 200 were retained and all the rest set free. Having plundered the city of every thing worth carrying off or which his ships could contain, Almeyda burnt Mombaza to the ground.

At this place Almeyda was joined by most of the remaining ships,

ships, and continuing his voyage for India, he stopped by the way at a bay called Angra de Santa Elena, where he found Juan Homem, who had been separated along with other ships, and had discovered some islands. Sailing from thence in continuation of his voyage, the first place he came to in India was the island of Anchediva [1], where according to orders from the king he constructed a fort in which he placed a garrison of 80 men, leaving two brigantines to protect the trade. While at this place he was visited by ambassadors from the king or rajah of Onore, a small kingdom of Malabar, who brought presents and a friendly message from their sovereign. Several considerable merchants also waited upon him, assuring him of the good will of their prince towards the Portuguese; and several Moors from Cincatora brought him considerable presents. All this however was the effect of fear, as they had heard of his successes at Quiloa and Mombaza. He was informed at this place that the prince Saboga had built a fort at no great distance on the banks of the river Aliga on the borders of Onore, which was garrisoned by 800 men. Meaning to make himself master of this place, he sent his son Don Lorenzo under pretence of a friendly visit to take a view of the fort, which he effected and remained there some days. Having completed the fort at Anchediva, he sailed to the port of Onore, and being ill received, he determined to shew himself as terrible there as he had done at Quiloa and Mombaza. The inhabitants however amused him with excuses and pretended submission, till they had removed their wives, children, and effects to a neighbouring mountain, and then stood upon their defence. On this Almeyda landed most of his forces to attack the town, sending his son Lorenzo with 150 men in boats to set some ships on fire which were in the port. Though the natives defended themselves with much bravery, and discharged prodigious flights of arrows, by one of which Almeyda was wounded, both the town and ships were set on fire; and as the wind blew the smoke in the faces of the Portuguese they were much incommoded for a time; but Don Lorenzo by taking a compass got away from the smoke, and fell in with a body of 1500 of the enemy, whom he immediately attacked. In this engagement Lorenzo had like to have been defeated, his men falling into disorder; but was fortunately succoured

1 Anchediva or Anjediva is a small island in lat. 14° 33' N. near the northern part of the Malabar coast, between Carwar and Meerjee.—E.

succoured by his father, when the enemy fled to the mountain. At this time, Timoja, who was governor of the city and proprietor of some of the ships which were destroyed, waited on Almeyda making excuses for the conduct of the king; and being a man of graceful manners and appearance, and engaging for his master to become vassal to the king of Portugal, Almeyda was pacified and agreed to a treaty of peace.

Leaving Onore, Almeyda went to Cananor, where he had an interview on shore with the rajah, who was attended by 5000 men well armed. He informed the rajah that he was to reside for some time in India, in consequence of the troubles which had arisen between the Portuguese and the zamorin of Calicut, and desired permission to build a fort at this place for protecting the Portuguese trade against the Moors. This being granted and the fort begun, he left Lorenzo de Brito in the command with 150 men, and two vessels to cruize along the coast. Going from thence to Cochin, he received intelligence that the Portuguese factor at Coulan and all his men had been killed by the Moors. He sent however his son Don Lorenzo with three ships and three caravels, with orders to endeavour to procure loading for the vessels without taking any notice of what had happened; but in case loading were denied he was to take ample revenge for the murder of the factor and his people. The messenger sent upon this occasion was answered by a flight of arrows, and twenty-four ships belonging to Calicut and other places put themselves in readiness to oppose the Portuguese. After a short resistance Lorenzo burnt them all, only a very small number of the Moors saving themselves by swimming to the shore. Don Lorenzo then went to load at another port, after which he rejoined the viceroy at Cochin.

It had been the intention of Almeyda, according to his orders from the king of Portugal, to crown Triumpara in a solemn manner, with a golden crown richly adorned with jewels, brought on purpose from Lisbon, as a recompence for the gallant fidelity with which he had protected the Portuguese against the zamorin and their other enemies. But as Triumpara had abdicated in favour of his nephew Nambeadora [2], Almeyda thought proper to confer the same honour upon

2 This name must certainly be erroneous. In the former part of the history of the Portuguese transactions in India, *Nambea daring* is mentioned as brother

upon him, and he was accordingly crowned with great pomp, as a mark of the friendship of the Portuguese, and a terror to others. From this place Almeyda sent home six ships richly laden for Lisbon.

Section III.

Some Account of the state of India at the beginning of the sixteenth Century, and commencement of the Portuguese Conquests [1].

As the viceroyalty of Don Francisco de Almeyda laid the foundation of the Portuguese dominion in India, once so extensive and powerful, it may be proper in this place to give a general view of its principal ports and provinces along the sea-coast. Asia is divided from Europe by the river Don, anciently the Tanais, by the Euxine or Black Sea, and by the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, or Straits of Constantinople. It is parted from Africa by the Red Sea, and a line drawn from Suez at the head of that gulf to the Mediterranean, across a narrow neck of land measuring only twenty-four leagues in breadth, called the Isthmus of Suez. Its principal religions are four, the Christian, Mahometan, Pagan, and Jewish. That portion of Asia which principally belongs to our present purpose, may be divided into *nine* parts, following the coast from the west to the east.

The *first*, commencing at the mouth of the Red Sea in the west, reaches to the mouth of the gulf of Persia, being the oceanic coast of Arabia. From the mouth of the Red Sea in lat. 12° 40′ N. to the city of Aden, is 44 leagues: Thence to Cape Fartaque in lat. 12° 30′ N. is 100 leagues, containing the towns of Abian, Ax, Canacan, Brun, Argel, Zebel which is the metropolis, Herit, Cayem, and Fartach. Thence to Curia Muria is 70 leagues of coast, on which is the city of Dolfor,

brother to the zamorin of Calicut, whereas the prince of Cochin is repeatedly named Naramuhin.—E.

1 From the Portuguese Asia, Vol. I. 93. This account is omitted in Astley's Collection, but inserted here as a curious record of the geographical knowledge of the Portuguese in those times. There are numerous errors in this short geographical sketch, especially in the names, measures, and latitudes; but it would load this portion of our work too much with notes, and induce great confusion, to comment upon every step of this survey.—E.

Dolfor, famous for frankincense, and Norbate 20 leagues farther east. From Curia Muria to Cape Ras-Algate, in lat. 22° 30′ N. is 120 leagues all barren and desert. Here begins the kingdom of Ormuz, and hence to Cape Mozandan are 90 leagues, having the cities or towns of Colagate, Curiate, Mascate, Soar, Calata, Orfacam, Doba, and Lima, 8 leagues from Monbazam which Ptolomey calls Cape Assaborum in lat. 26° N. All this track is called Ayaman or Yemen by the Arabians, and was the Arabia Felix of the ancients, because the most fertile and best inhabited country of all Arabia.

The *second* division, from Cape Jacques or Jask to the mouth of the river Indus, is 200 leagues in extent, called Chirman or Kerman, and is divided into the two kingdoms of Macran and Madel, with these towns, Guadel, Calara, Tibique, Calamate, Goadel, and Diul. This coast is barren and most of it desert, and cannot be approached on account of the shallowness of the sea near the shore.

The *third* division contains 150 leagues, of which 38 from Diul[2] to Cape Jaquete or Jigat, whence to Diu in the kingdom of Guzerat are 50 leagues, having these towns, Cotinna, Mangalor, Chervar, Patan, and Corinar[3]. From Diu to Cambaya is 50 leagues, with these towns Madrafavat, Moha, Talica, Goda, and Gundin[4]. Between Cambaya and Cape Jaquete or Jigat, is included a part of the kingdom of Guzarate and the mountainous region of the Resboutos, or Rajputs.

The *fourth* division measures 290 leagues, being the most valuable part of India and the most frequented by the Portuguese. This is subdivided into three portions by two rivers which run from east to west. The first of these separates the kingdom of the Decan from Guzerate on the north, and the second divides the Decan from Canara which is to the south. There are other rivers, all of which have their sources in the mountains called *Gaut*; the chief among them being the Ganga, or Gangue, which falls into the sea near the mouth of

2 Perhaps Debil, near the western mouth of the Indus.—E.

3 Those names of sea port towns in the Guzerate are miserably corrupted in the text: Only Puttan can be recognised among them, and Mangalor must be a mistake; as that place is far to the south of Guzerat on the coast of Canara.—E.

4 The sea ports on this part of the coast now are Jaffrabad, Cuttapour, Toolafee, Manuah, Gogo, Bawnagur, and Iotian.—E.

of the Ganges, between the cities of Angali and Pisolta, in about lat. 22° N [5]. The river Bate, rising in the Gauts, falls into the sea near Bombaim, dividing the kingdoms of Guzerate and Decan, the mouth of that river being 70 leagues from the city of Cambaya. From Chaul south of that river to the river Aliga, the south boundary of the Decan, is 75 leagues, with these towns Bandor, Dabul, Debitele, Cintapori, Coropatan, Banda, Chapora, and Goa the metropolis and archiepiscopal see of Portuguese India.

The *fifth* division begins where Canara parts from the Decan and ends at Cape Comorin, containing above 140 leagues. From the Aliga to Mount Delli or Dilly is about 46 leagues, with these towns, Onor, Baticale, Barcalor, Baranor, and others of the province of Canara which is subject to the king of Bisnagar. Below or south from Mount Delli to Cape Comorin is Malabar, extending 93 leagues, and divided into three kingdoms which own no superior. The kingdom of Cananor has 20 leagues of coast, in which are the towns of Cota, Coulam, Nilichilam, Marabia, Bolepatam, Cananor the metropolis in lat. 12° N. Tremapatam, Cheba, Maim, and Purepatam. At this place the kingdom of Calicut begins and extends 27 leagues, of which Calicut the metropolis is in lat. 11° 17′ N. besides the following towns Coulete, Chale, Parangale, Tanor, the last of which is the capital of a small kingdom subject to the zamorin of Calicut, and Chatua the last in this kingdom. Next to Calicut to the south is the small kingdom of Cranganor, which borders on Cochin, after which is Coulan, and last of all Travancore, which is subject to Narsinga. Near Travancore is the famous Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of the continent of Indostan or India on this side the Ganges, in lat. 7° 30′ N [6]. at which place the coast of Malabar ends, being the *fourth* of the nine districts into which I have divided the coast of Asia.

From Cape Comorin in the west to Cape Cincapura in the east, which is the southernmost point of the *Aurea Chersonesus* or Malacca, the distance is 400 leagues, within which line is contained

5 The Gunga or Godavery is probably here meant, which falls into the Bay of Bengal in lat. 16° 16′ N. at the S. W. extremity of the Circars. The latitude indicated in the text gets beyond the Bay of Bengal, and the cities between which the Ganga is said to fall into the sea have no representatives in our best maps.—E.

6 The latitude of Cape Comorin is 7° 54′ N. or nearly so.—E.

contained the great bay of Bengal, sometimes called the *Sinus Gangeticus*, because the river Ganges falls into this bay in about the lat. of 22° N. after watering the kingdom of Bengal. This river discharges a prodigious quantity of water, and is esteemed holy by the neighbouring nations, who believe that its water conduces to their salvation when at the point of death, and are carried therefore that they may die with their feet in its water, by which means the king of Bengal derives a considerable revenue, no one being allowed to bathe in that river without paying a certain tax. This river has many mouths, the two most remarkable of which are Satigan on the west and Chatigan [7] on the east, near 100 leagues from each other, and here ends the *fifth* of the nine districts, which may be divided into three subordinate parts. In the first place the kingdom of Bisnagar [8] contains 200 leagues, and the following towns, Tarancurii, Manapar, Vaipar, Trechendur, Caligrande, Charcacale, Tucucurii, Benbar, Calicare, Beadala, Manancort, and Cannameira, giving name to a cape which stretches out into the sea in lat. 10° N [9]. then Negapatnam, Hahor, Triminapatnam, Tragambar, Trimenava, Colororam, Puducheira, Calapate, Connumeira, Sadraspatnam, and Meliapour, now called St Thomas because the body of that apostle was found there. From St Thomas to Palicata is 9 leagues, after which are Chiricole, Aremogan, Caleturo, Caleciro, and Pentepolii, where the kingdom of Bisnagur ends and that of Orixa begins. The second part of this district, or Orixa, contains 120 leagues and reaches to Cape Palmiras, with these towns, Penacote, Calingan, Visgapatan, Bimilepatan, Narsingapatan, Puacatan, Caregare and others. Here begins the third part of this district, or the kingdom of Bengal, the coast of which extends about 100 leagues.

The

7 The western branch of the Ganges is now called the Hoogly River. Satigan in the text may have some reference to what is now called Sagar roads or anchorage. Chatigan certainly means what is now called Chitigong: But the most easterly mouth is properly that of the great Barhampooter, or Bramah-putra River, long confounded among the mouths of the Ganges. The breadth of the Sunderbunds, or Delta of the Ganges and Barhampooter, is about 195 English miles.—E.

8 The kingdom of Bisnagar in the text, appears to have contained the ntire Carnatic above and below the Gauts, with Mysore and Golconda.—E.

9 Now called Cape Calymere: It is next to impossible to identify the other names in the text; and the attempt would lead to very inconvenient length without correspondent utility.—E.

The *sixth* district of the nine begins at the east mouth of the Ganges, called Chatigan or Chittagong, and ends at Cape Cincapura, in little more than 1° N. Along this coast from Chittagong to Cape Negrais or Diamond Point, the south-western point of Pegu, in lat. 16° N. is 100 leagues, with these towns, Sore, Satalolu, Arracan the capital of a kingdom of the same name, and Dunadiva on the cape. Hence to Tavay in the lat. 13° is 16 leagues [10], being the extent of the kingdom of Pegu. From Tavay to Cincapura is 220 leagues, the chief towns on this part of the coast being Martaban, Lugor, Tanacerim, Lungar, Pedam, Queda, Salongor, and Malacca the capital of the kingdom of that name.

The *seventh* district begins at Cape Cincapura or Sincapure, and ends at the great river of Siam, which falls into the sea in lat. 14° N [11]. and has its rise in the lake of Chiammay, called by the natives Menam, signifying the source of two rivers. Upon this coast are the towns of Pam, Ponciam, Calantaon, Patane, Ligor, Cuii, Perperii, and Bamplacot at the mouth of the Siam river.

The *eighth* district contains the kingdom of Cambodia, through which runs the river Mecon, otherwise called the Japanese river, which has its rise in China; the kingdom of Champa or Tsiompa, whence comes the true aloes-wood; next to that is the kingdom of Cochin-China [12]; and last of all the great empire of China, divided into fifteen provinces of governments, each of which is equal to a great kingdom. The provinces of this vast empire on the sea-coast are Quantung, Fokein, and Chekiang, where ends the eighth district [13].

The

10 It is difficult to correct this egregious error, not knowing the kind of leagues used by Faria. At 17½ to the degree, the difference of latitude in the text would give 52½ leagues. Perhaps it is a typographical error for 60 leagues, using the geographical measure, 20 to the degree.—E.

11 The river of Siam falls into the great gulf of the same name, in lat. 13° 30′ N. But De Faria seems to overlook the gulf.—E.

12 De Faria omits the kingdom of Tonkin or Tonquin, which intervenes between Cochin-China and China: Perhaps at that time Tonkin may have been a part of Cochin-China. It may be proper to remark that the term Cochin-China signifies *Western* China.—E.

13 De Faria is incorrect in his account of the provinces of China. Those on the coast are, Quantung, Footchien, Tchetchiang, Kiangnan, Shantang, Petcheli; or *six* maritime provinces, instead of *three* only in the text. The others are, Yunnan, Quangsee, Kaeitchou, Hooquang, Setchuen, Sifan, Honan, Shensee, and Shansee; or *nine* inland provinces; making *fifteen* in all, as in the text.—E.

The *ninth* district begins with the province of Nanking, and extends to the farthest discovered land on the coast of Tartary.

I shall speak in the sequel concerning the many islands along this extensive coast of Asia, as they came to be discovered in the navigations of the Portuguese; but the principal of them may be here mentioned by name, as the Maldives, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Banda, Timor, Celebes, the Moluccas, Mindanao, Luçonia, and Japan. Having thus given a sketch of the Asian coast, we proceed to consider its inhabitants. Although there are many and various modes of worship in Asia, the chief religions may be mentioned under four heads, the Christian, Jewish, Mahometan, and Pagan; the two first of which are for the most part under the slavery of the other two, against which the Portuguese waged war. The power of the Mahometans and Pagans is thus divided. All the coast from the river Cintacora opposite the island of Anchediva, to the north and west is subject to the Mahometans, and all to the eastwards to the Pagans; except the kingdom of Malacca, part of Sumatra, and some parts of Java and the Moluccas, which are held by the Mahometans. In that tract are the following sovereign princes. The kings of Aden, Xael, and Fartaque, who have many ports of great trade, and their subjects, the Arabs, are brave and warlike. Next is the king of Ormuz, greater than the other three put together. Then the king of Cambaya, equal in grandeur and warlike power to Xerxes, Darius, or Porus. From Chaul to Cincatora belong to Nizamaluco and Hidalcan [14], two powerful princes, who maintain great armies composed of sundry warlike nations well armed. The Moors [15] of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccas were well disciplined, and much better provided with artillery than we who attacked them. The heathen sovereigns were the kings of Bisnagar, Orixa, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, and China, all very powerful, but chiefly the last, so that it is difficult to express and scarcely credible the prodigious extent of his power. Siam extends above 500 leagues, and has seven subject kingdoms, which are Cambodia, Como, Lanchaam, Cheneray, Chencran, Chiamay, Cambarii, and Chaypumo. The king of Siam has 30,000 elephants, 3000 of which are armed for war, and he has 50,000

14 Or Nizam-al-mulk, and Adel-khan.—E.

15 These are unquestionably the Malays, called Moors by Faria, merely because they were Mahometans.—E.

50,000 soldiers in *Udia* alone, the metropolis of his kingdom. The kingdom of China exceeds them all in extent, and the king of that country is as powerful as all the sovereigns in Europe together. His empire is above 700 leagues in extent, possessing abundance of metals, and far exceeds Europe in manufactures, some of which seem to exceed human art, and the silks, provisions, and luxuries with which it abounds are beyond computation.

All the heathens of India, particularly between the Indus and Ganges, write without ink on palm leaves, with pens or stiles rather of wood or steel, which easily cut the letters on the leaves. Some of these I have seen in Rome curiously folded. What they intend to be lasting is carved on stone or copper. In writing they begin at the left hand and write towards the right, as we do in Europe. Their histories are extremely fabulous. About 600 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, there reigned in Malabar a powerful monarch, from whose reign the people begin their era or historical computations, as they did afterwards from our arrival. This king was persuaded by the Moors who traded to his port to turn Mahometan, and gave them liberty to build houses at Calicut. When he grew old, he divided his kingdom among his kindred, giving Coulam to the chief, where he placed the principal seat of his religion of the Bramins, and gave him the title of Cobritim, which signifies high-priest. To his nephew he gave Calicut, with the title of Zamorin, which means emperor. This dignity continues in the sovereign of Calicut, but the other has been removed to Cochin. Having disposed of his dominions, he resolved to die at Mecca, but was drowned by the way. Calicut is a plain country well watered, and abounds in pepper and ginger; but all the other spices are procured from other neighbouring countries. The inhabitants are wonderfully superstitious, and do not suffer those of one trade or profession to marry with those of a different occupation, or to put their children to learn any other trade but that of their fathers. The *Nayres*, who are their nobles, if they chance to touch any of the common people, purify themselves by ablution, as was done by the Jews and Samaritans. The women among the Nayres are common to all, but chiefly those of the Bramin cast, so that no one knows his father, nor is any one bound to maintain the children. These Nayres are wonderfully expert in the use of their weapons, in which they begin to

exercise

exercise themselves at seven years of age. They are prone to all the ancient superstitions of augury and divination.

SECTION IV.

Continuation of the Portuguese Transactions in India, during the Viceroyalty of Almeyda.

BESIDES the forts already erected on the eastern coast of Africa at Quiloa and Mozambique, and the factory at Melinda, King Manuel determined to build a fort at Sofala to secure the trade in gold at that place; for which purpose he sent out Pedro de Annaya with six ships in the year 1506: three of these ships being destined to remain on the African coast, and the other three to proceed to India. This fleet was separated in a storm, during which one of the captains was washed overboard and drowned, and another lost sixteen men who were slain by the natives of an island on which they landed. The squadron rejoined in the port of Sofala, where Annaya found twenty Portuguese mariners in a miserable condition. The ship to which they had belonged, commanded by Lope Sanchez, was forced to run on shore at Cape Corientes, being so leaky as to be in a sinking condition. After landing, the crew refused obedience to their officers, and separated into different parties, endeavouring to make their way through the unknown countries and barbarous nations of Africa; but all perished except these twenty, and five who were found at the river Quiloma by Antonio de Magelhaens, who brought them to Sofala.

According to his orders, and by permission of the sheikh or king of Sofala, Annaya erected a strong wooden fort at that place. The king soon afterwards repented of his concession, and was for some time in hopes that the Portuguese would be soon obliged to abandon the place on account of its unhealthiness. About this time, three of the ships were dispatched for India, and two of these which were destined for protecting the coast from the attempts of the Moors were sent off upon a cruise to Cape Guardafu, both of which were lost; the captains and part of their crews saving themselves in the boats. In consequence of the unwholesomeness of Sofala, the Portuguese garrison became so weakened by sickness that it required six of them to bend a single cross-bow. Encouraged by these disasters

and instigated by his son-in-law, the king collected a force of 5000 Kafrs with which he invested the fort, filled up the ditch with fascines, and made a violent assault, darkening the sun with incessant clouds of arrows. Though only 35 Portuguese were able to stand to their arms, they made such havock among the assailants with their cannon, that the part of the ditch which had not been filled up with wood was levelled with dead bodies. The enemy being thrown into confusion Annaya made a sally at the head of fifteen or twenty men[1], with whom he drove the Kafrs before him to a grove of palms, and thence into the town, crying out in consternation that their king had sent them to contend against the gods. In the ensuing night, Annaya attacked the town, and even penetrated into the house where the king resided, who, standing behind a door, wounded Annaya in the neck with his cymeter as he entered, but was soon killed with many of his attendants. Next day the two sons of the slain king made a new assault on the fort, but without success, many of the garrison who were sick, being cured by the alarm, joined in the defence, and the Moors were again repulsed with great slaughter. The two sons of the deceased King of Sofala fell out about the succession, and one of them named Solyman made an alliance with Annaya to procure his aid to establish himself in the sovereignty.

The kingdom of Sofala, now called Sena by the Portuguese who monopolize its whole trade, is of great extent, being 750 leagues in circumference; but the inland parts are all subject to the Monomotapa, who is emperor of this southern part of Africa, his dominions being likewise known by the same name of Monomotapa, called by the ancients *Ethiopia Inferior*. This country is watered by two famous rivers, called Rio del Espiritu Santo and Cuama, the latter of which is navigable 250 leagues above its mouth. These and many other rivers which fall into them, are famous for their rich golden sands. Most part of this country enjoys a temperate climate, being pleasant, healthy, and fertile. Some parts are covered with large flocks of sheep, with the skins of which the natives are clothed to defend them from the cold south winds. The banks of the Cuama river are covered with wood, and the interior

1 In the translation of De Faria by Stephens these are called *Moors;* but it is not easy to conceive how Annaya should have had any of these on his side.—E.

interior country rises into hills and mountains, being abundantly watered with many rivers, so that it is delightful and well peopled, being the ordinary residence of the Monomotapa or emperor. Its woods contain many elephants, and consequently produces much ivory. About 50 leagues southwest from Sofala are the gold mines of Manica, in a valley of 30 leagues circumference, surrounded by mountains on the tops of which the air is always clear and serene. There are other gold mines 150 leagues farther inland, but which are not so much valued.

In the interior of the country there are some buildings of wonderful structure, having inscriptions in unknown characters; but the natives know nothing respecting their origin. The natives of Monomotapa believe in one God, whom they name *Mozimo*, and have no idols. Witchcraft, theft, and adultery are the crimes most severely punished among them. Every man is permitted to have as many wives as he pleases or can maintain. The monomotapa has a thousand, but the first wife commands over all the rest, and her children only are entitled to inherit the throne. Their houses are built of wood; their apparel is made of cotton, those of the better sort being mixed with gold threads; their funerals are very superstitious. The attendance on the monomotapa is more ceremonious than grand, his usual guard being 200 dogs, and he is always attended by 500 buffoons. His dominions are ruled over by a great many princes or governors, and to prevent them from rebelling he always keeps their heirs about him. They have no law-suits. Their arms are bows and arrows, javelins, daggers, and small sharp hatchets, and they all fight on foot. The women of this country are used with so much respect, that even the kings sons when they meet a woman, give way to her and stand still till she has gone past. The Moors of Magadoxa were the first who possessed the mines of Sofala, after which they were seized by the King of Quiloa: But Yzuf, one of their governors, rebelled and usurped the government to himself, assuming the title of king. This was the same person with whom Annaya had now to contend, and whose son Solyman he established in the sovereignty, under the protection and vassalage of Portugal.

While these things happened at Sofala, the zamorin of Calicut was using every exertion to raise up enemies to the Portuguese, even entering into alliance with the Mameluke Soldan of Egypt, hoping by his assistance to drive the Christians

tians from the Indian seas. His measures and preparations however became known to the Rajah of Cochin, who communicated the intelligence to the viceroy Almeyda. He accordingly sent his son Lorenzo with eleven vessels to endeavour to counteract the designs of the zamorin by destroying the fleet he had prepared. Learning that the Calicut fleet was in the port of Cananor, consisting of 260 paraos, 60 of which were larger than the Portuguese ships, Lorenzo sailed thither and put them to flight after a severe engagement. In the pursuit, some of the paraos were taken, but many were sunk and run aground, by which the enemy sustained great loss, while only five or six of the Portuguese were slain. The principal booty taken on this occasion was four ships loaded with spice. Almost immediately after this victory, Don Lorenzo received notice that the fort of Anchediva was beset by 60 vessels belonging to the Moors and Malabars, well armed and manned with a number of resolute men under the command of a renegado. On this occasion the besieged behaved with great gallantry, and the besiegers pressed their attacks with much bravery, but several of their vessels having been destroyed and others much damaged by the cannon of the fort, and hearing of the approach of Lorenzo, the enemy withdrew in all haste.

Finding their trade almost destroyed by the Portuguese, the Moors endeavoured to shun their cruisers by keeping out to sea in their voyages from Cambaya and the ports of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, passing through the Maldive Islands, and keeping to the south of Ceylon in their way to Sumatra and Malacca. The viceroy on learning this new course of the Moorish trade, sent his son Lorenzo with nine ships to intercept the trade of the enemy. While wandering through seas unknown to the pilots, Lorenzo discovered the island of Ceylon, formerly called Taprobana, and came to anchor in the port of *Gale*, where many Moors were taking in cinnamon and elephants for Cambaya. To induce Lorenzo not to molest or destroy them, the Moors made him an offer of 400 bahars of cinnamon in the name of the king of Ceylon; and although he well knew this proceeded only from fear, he thought it better to dissemble and accept the present, contenting himself with the discovery of the island, on which he erected a cross with an inscription of the date of his discovery. On his return to Cochin, he attacked the town of Biramjam or Brinjan, which he burnt to the ground and put all

all the inhabitants to the sword, in revenge for the slaughter of the factor and his people at Coulam, as this place belonged to that kingdom.

While Cide Barbudo and Pedro Quaresme were coming out from Portugal with two ships, they arrived after many misfortunes at Sofala, where they found Annaya and most of his men dead, and the rest of the Portuguese garrison sick. Quaresme remained there to defend the fort; and Barbudo proceeding towards India found Quiloa in as bad a condition, of which he carried intelligence to Almeyda. The viceroy sent immediately Nunno Vaz Pereyra to relieve the forts of Quiloa and Sofala [2]. But that of Quiloa was soon afterwards abandoned and destroyed, after having lost many lives, owing to the ill usage of the Portuguese to the natives, whom they treated with insufferable pride, and boundless avarice.

Having been informed by Diego Fernandez Pereyra that the island of Socotora near the mouth of the Red Sea was inhabited by Christians who were subject to the Moors, the king of Portugal ordered Tristan de Cunna and Alfonso de Albuquerque to direct their course to that island, and to endeavour to possess themselves of the fort, that the Portuguese ships might be enabled to winter at that island, and to secure the navigation of the Arabian Gulf against the Moors; for which purpose they carried out with them a wooden fort ready to put up. De Cunna was destined to command the trading ships which were to return to Europe, and Albuquerque to cruise with a small squadron on the coast of Arabia against the Moors. These two commanders sailed from Lisbon on the 6th of March 1507, with thirteen vessels in which were 1300 soldiers, some of whom died by the way, having been infected by the plague then raging in Lisbon; but when they came under the line, the sickness left them. Having come in sight of Cape Augustine in Brasil, they took a new departure from thence to cross the Southern Atlantic for the Cape of Good Hope; but in this course De Cunna held so far to the south that he discovered the islands still called by his name. At this place the ships were parted in a storm, each

2 De Faria does not give any dates to the particular transactions in his text, merely noticing the successive years in the titles of the various sections into which his work is loosely divided, and occasionally on the margin: Even this has been neglected by the editor of Astley's Collection. These last transactions on the coast of Africa seem to have taken place towards the end of 1506.—E.

each following a separate course till they met again at Mozambique. Alvaro Tellez, however, who commanded one of these ships, overshot Mozambique and proceeded to Cape Guardafu, where he took six ships belonging to the Moors, so laden with all kind of goods, that he made a sort of bridge from them to his own vessel, consisting of bales thrown into the sea, over which his men passed as on dry land.

During this part of the voyage likewise, Ruy Pereyra put into the port of Matatama in the island of Madagascar; and being informed that this island abounded in spice, especially ginger, Tristan de Cunna was induced to go there, and anchored in a bay which his son Nunno named *Angra de Donna Maria*, after a lady whom he courted. By others it is named the bay of *Santa Maria della Conception*. As some Negroes appeared on the coast, De Cunna sent a Moor to converse with them; but when he mentioned that the ships belonged to Christians, they endeavoured to kill him, and had to be driven away by the Portuguese cannon. About three leagues farther on, they came to a village, the *xeque* or sheikh of which carried them to another town on an island in a well sheltered bay into which the great river Lulangan discharges its waters. This town was inhabited by Moors[3] somewhat civilized, who, being afraid of the fleet made their escape to the main-land, but so overloaded their boats that many of them perished by the way. The Portuguese surrounded the island and took 500 prisoners, only twenty of whom were men, among whom was the *xeque* or chief, an aged man of a respectable appearance. Next morning the sea was covered with boats, bringing over 600 men to demand the release of their wives and children. After some negociation, the Portuguese commander restored the prisoners to their liberty. He here learnt that the island of Madagascar was chiefly inhabited by negro *cafrs*, and produced but little ginger. He afterwards wished to have entered a town on this island called *Zada*, but the inhabitants set it on fire.

From this place, De Cunna sent on Alfonso de Albuquerque with four ships to Mozambique, with orders to reduce some places on the coast of Melinda; while he went himself with three ships to Matatama in Madagascar, where he was told

3 By Moors in the writings of the early Portuguese, Mahometans are always to be understood. The Moors of Madagascar were a mixed breed between the Arabs and Negroes.—E.

told that cloves, ginger, and silver were to be had. On this expedition however, he lost one of his ships, only the pilot and seven men being saved; on which account he steered for Mozambique, but was forced by stress of weather into the island of Angoza. At night he discovered the lights of the ship St Jago, which he had left at Mozambique, and soon after Juan de Nova arrived from Angoza, where he had wintered[4], laden with pepper. At Mozambique he rejoined Albuquerque, whom he sent on before him to Melinda; and meeting two other ships of his squadron at Quiloa, he proceeded to Melinda. To oblige the king of Melinda, the Portuguese attacked the city of Oja, the king of which place, aided by the king of Mombaza, made war on the king of Melinda. In this country, which is inhabited by Arabs, there are some ancient and wonderful structures. Each city, and almost every village has a separate king, whom they call *xeque* or sheikh; but the principal among these are the sheikhs of Quiloa, Zanzibar, and Mombaza, while the sheikh of Melinda pretends to be the most ancient, deducing his pedigree from the sheikhs of Quitau, which, though in ruins, shews evident marks of ancient grandeur, having been superior to all its neighbours. These are Luziva, Parimunda, Lamon, Jaca, Oja, and others. This country is watered by the river Gulimanja, up which George Alfonso sailed for the space of five days, finding the banks every where covered with impervious woods, and the river inhabited by a prodigious number of sea horses or *hippopotami*.

Having now only six ships out of thirteen with which he left Portugal, one being lost, some separated by storms, and others sent away, Tristan de Cunna appeared before the city of Oja, on an open shore seventeen leagues from Melinda, and defended by a wall towards the land, to protect it against the Kafrs. De Cunna sent a message to the sheikh desiring an interview, as having some important matters to arrange with him; but the sheikh answered, that he was subject to the soldan of Egypt, caliph or head of the Musselmans, and could not therefore treat with a people who were enemies to the prophet. Considering delay dangerous, Tristan resolved upon an immediate attack, and dividing his men into two parties, one commanded by himself and the other by Albuquerque,

4 This wintering, being in the southern hemisphere, probably refers to June and July 1507.—E.

querque, made for the shore as soon as day light appeared. The Moors were drawn up on the shore to resist the landing, but were soon forced to take shelter behind their walls; and, not trusting to them for protection, no sooner entered at the sea gate but they ran out at the gate opposite. Nunno de Cunna and Alfonso de Noronha pursued the sheikh and his people to a grove of palm trees, in which the sheikh and many of his attendants were slain. At this time, George Silveyra observed a grave Moor leading a beautiful young woman through a path in the wood, and made towards them. The Moor turned to defend himself, desiring the woman to make her escape while he fought; but she followed him, declaring she would rather die or be taken along with him, than make her escape alone. Seeing them thus strive who should give the strongest demonstration of affection, Silveyra allowed both to go away unhurt, unwilling to part so much love. The town was plundered and set on fire, and burnt with such fury that some of the Portuguese perished in the flames while in anxious search of plunder.

On being informed of what had happened at Oja, the sheikh of Lamo, fifteen leagues distant, came to make his submission, and to render himself more acceptable offered to pay a tribute of 600 meticals of gold yearly, about equal to as many ducats, and paid the first year in advance. From hence De Cunna proceeded to Brava, a populous town which had been formerly reduced, but the sheikh was now in rebellion, trusting to a force of 6000 men with which he opposed the landing of the Portuguese. But De Cunna and Albuquerque landed their troops next day in two bodies, in spite of every opposition from showers of arrows, darts, and stones, and scaled the walls, routing the Moors with prodigious slaughter. The city was plundered and burnt; but in this enterprise the Portuguese lost forty-two men; not the half of them by the sword, but in consequence of a boat sinking which was overloaded with spoil. Those who were drowned had been so blinded with covetousness while plundering the town, that they barbarously cut off the hands and ears of the women to save time in taking off their bracelets and ear-rings. Sailing from Brava, Tristan de Cunna was rejoined off Cape Guardafu by Alvaro Tellez, who had been in great danger in a storm of losing his ship with all the rich booty formerly mentioned. Having got sight of Cape Guardafu,

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dafu, De Cunna now stood over for the island of Socotora, according to his instructions.

Socotora, or Zakatra is an island twenty leagues long and nine broad, stretching nearly east and west, in lat. 12° 40′ N. and is the largest of the islands near the mouth of the Red Sea, but has no ports fit for any great number of ships to ride in during winter. Through the middle of this island there runs a chain of very high hills, yet covered over with sand blown up by the north winds from the shore to their tops, so that they are entirely barren and destitute of trees or plants, excepting some small valleys which are sheltered from these winds. It is 30 leagues from Cape Guardafu, and 50 leagues from the nearest part of the Arabian continent. The ports principally used by us are Zoco or Calancea to the westwards, and Beni to the east, both inhabited by Moors, who are very unpolished. In those valleys that are sheltered from the sand, apple and palm trees are produced, and the best aloes in the world, which from its excellence is called Socotorine aloes. The common food of the people is maize, with milk and tamarinds. The inhabitants of this island are Christians of the Jacobite church, similar in its ceremonies and belief to that which is established in Ethiopia [5]. The men generally use the names of the apostles, while most of the women are named Maria. They worship the cross, which they set up in all their churches, and wear upon their clothes, worshipping thrice a-day in the Chaldean language, making alternate responses as we do in choirs. They have but one wife, use circumcision, pay tythes, and practice fasting. The men are comely, and the women so brave that they go to war like Amazons. They are clothed mostly in skins, but some of the better sort use cloth; their weapons are stones, which they sling with much dexterity, and they live mostly in caves [6]. This island was subject to the sheikh or king of Caxem [7] in Arabia.

At this place [8] De Cunna found a tolerable fort, not ill manned,

5 Abyssinia is obviously here meant.—E.

6 Though not distinguished in the text, Faria seems here to confine himself to the barbarous Christian natives, inhabiting the country; as the towns appear to have been occupied by Mahometan Arabs.—E.

7 Cashen or Cassin.—Astley, I. 63.

8 By a marginal note in Faria, it appears to have been now the year 1508; but the particular place or town in Socotora attacked by De Cunna is not mentioned. I am disposed however to believe that date an error of the press, for 1507.—E.

manned, and decently provided for defence. He sent a friendly message to the sheikh, but receiving an insolent answer he resolved to attack the place, though the attempt seemed dangerous. He and Albuquerque went towards the shore with the troops, but Don Alfonso de Noronha, nephew to De Cunna, leapt first on shore, determining to shew himself worthy of the choice which the king had made of him to command in Socotora, if gained. Noronha immediately advanced against the sheikh with a few brave men. The sheikh defended himself with great resolution, and had even almost repulsed the assailants, when he was struck down by the lance of Noronha. The Moors endeavoured with much valour to rescue their wounded chief, but he and eight more were slain, on which the rest fled to the castle. This was immediately scaled by a party of the Portuguese, who opened the gate for the rest, who now rushed into the large outer court.

The Moors bravely defended their inner fort to the last man, so that of eighty-three men only one was taken alive, besides a blind man who was found hidden in a well. Being asked how he had got there, being blind, he answered that blind men saw only one thing, which was the way to liberty. He was set free. In this assault the Portuguese lost six men. During the assault the natives of the island kept at a distance, but now came with their wives and children, joyfully returning thanks to the Portuguese commander for having delivered them from the heavy yoke of the infidels; and De Cunna received them to their great satisfaction under the protection of the crown of Portugal[9]. The Mosque was purified by the solemnities of the Catholic church, and converted into a church dedicated to the *Invocation of Neustra Sennora della Vittoria*, in which many were baptised by the labours of Father Antonio of the order of St Francis. De Cunna gave the command of the fort, now named San Miguel, to Don Alfonso de Noronha, his nephew, who had well deserved it by his valour, even if he had not been nominated to the command by the king. Noronha was provided with a garrison of an hundred men, with proper officers; after which De

9 Little did these poor Jacobite Christians suspect, that in exchanging masters they were subjected to the more dreadful yoke of the Portuguese Inquisition! The zeal of the Portuguese for the liberty of the Christian inhabitants of Socotora soon cooled, when it was found unable to pay the expence of a garrison, and it was soon abandoned to the milder oppression of its former Mahometan masters.—E.

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Cunna wintered at the island of Socotora, though very ill accommodated, and then sailed for India, sending Albuquerque, according to the royal orders, to cruise on the coast of Arabia[10].

While these things occurred at Socotora, the zamorin of Calicut was arming afresh against the Portuguese, relying on the promises of his wizards and soothsayers; who, finding that the succours under Tristan de Cunna were long delayed, assured him of success in that lucky opportunity, and predicted a great change of affairs, as indicated by an earthquake and a great eclipse of the sun, so complete that the stars were seen at noon for a considerable time, and which they pretended was a sure sign of the approaching destruction of the Portuguese. But on the viceroy Almeyda receiving notice of the preparations at Calicut, he sent his son Don Lorenzo thither with a squadron of ten ships. At this time Gonzalo Vaz was in Cananor with his ship, taking in water; and on his voyage to join Don Lorenzo he fell in with a ship belonging to Cananor having a Portuguese pass, which he sunk with all her moorish crew sewed up in a sail that they might never be seen. But this wicked action was afterwards discovered, for which Vaz was broke; a very incompetent punishment for so great a crime, owing to which the Portuguese afterwards suffered severe calamities, as will appear in the sequel.

On his way towards Dabul in search of the Calicut fleet, Don Lorenzo cast anchor at the entrance of the port of Chaul, into which seven vessels belonging to the Moors entered without making any return to his salute. On this Lorenzo followed them in his boats, and the Moors leaped overboard to escape on shore, but many of them were slain by the Portuguese in the water. Lorenzo then took possession of the ships, which were laden with horses and other goods; and as the Moors endeavoured to overreach him with regard to ransoming their vessels, greatly underrating their cargoes, he ordered them all to be burnt. Going thence to Dabul, where he found the Calicut fleet, he anchored off the mouth of the river, and called a council of his officers to consult on the proper measures for an attack; but owing

10 From an after part of the text of Faria, we learn that this fort in the the island of Socotora was taken on the 20th of August, probably of the year 1507.

owing to the narrowness of the river it was carried in the council not to attack, contrary to the opinion of Lorenzo, who was eager to destroy the enemies ships. Passing on therefore to a river four leagues beyond Dabul, a brigantine and parao which led the van saw a ship sailing up the river, and pursued the vessel till it came to anchor over against a town, where there were many other vessels. Seeing the two vessels in pursuit of the ship Lorenzo sent a galley after them, and the three began to clear the shore with their shot of many Moors who flocked thither to defend their ships. Supposing from the noise of firing that his assistance was necessary, Lorenzo made all possible haste up the river; but before his arrival the others had taken all the vessels in the harbour, and had burnt a house on shore full of valuable commodities. All the ships in this harbour were burnt, except two from Ormuz having very rich cargoes, which were carried away. On his return to Cochin with victory and rich spoil, expecting to be received by his father with applause, he was astonished to find himself threatened with severe punishment for not having fought with and destroyed the Calicut fleet. He was however excused, as it appeared he had been overruled by the votes of the other captains, contrary to his own opinion. The viceroy broke them all therefore, and sent them home in disgrace to Portugal. By this severity, Don Lorenzo was much troubled, and in afterwards endeavouring to restore himself to the esteem of his father, he lost his life in rashly displaying his valour.

The body of one of the Moors who had been basely destroyed by Vaz, as formerly mentioned, was washed on shore, and discovered to be the nephew of *Mamale*, a rich merchant of Malabar. Founding on this circumstance, the zamorin prevailed upon the rajah of Cananor to break with the Portuguese; and as it was not known who had been guilty of that barbarous act, the blame fell upon Lorenzo de Brito, captain of the fort at Cananor, who got notice of his danger, and not being in sufficient force to defend himself, sent intelligence to the viceroy. This message was delivered to Almeyda while in church assisting at the service on *Maunday* Thursday; and was of so pressing a nature that he immediately left the church, to give orders for the immediate shipment of provisions and men to succour Brito; and these orders were executed with such speed, that those who had lent their arms to others *to watch the sepulchre*, as the custom is, had to go to the church to get them back. Don Lorenzo

was

was appointed to command this relief of Cananor, with orders on his arrival at that place to put himself under the command of Brito, who insisted that as son to the viceroy and an officer of reputation and experience he should take the command: But Lorenzo was positive that he would not take the command over Brito, pursuant to the orders of his father; and being unable to prevail, he left the relief at Cananor, and returned to Cochin.

By this time the rajah of Cananor had drawn together a force of 20,000 men, with which he besieged the Portuguese fort, which Brito determined to defend to the last extremity, and used every possible means to strengthen the place. Much blood was spilt about the possession of a well, which the Portuguese at length made themselves masters of by means of a mine. After this loss, the enemy retired to a wood of palm-trees, meaning to prepare engines to batter the fort, of which circumstance intelligence was conveyed to Brito by a nephew to the rajah of Cananor, who wished to acquire the friendship of the Portuguese, so that Brito was prepared to receive the intended assault. Having completed their preparations, the enemy moved on to fill up the ditch and assault the fort; but were opposed with so much energy, at first by incessant discharges of cannon, and afterwards by means of a sally, that the ditch was filled with dead bodies instead of fascines. After losing a prodigious number of men, the enemy retreated to the wood; and next night, which was cold and rainy, Brito sent out eighty men to beat up their quarters under the command of a Spanish officer named Guadalaxara, who was next in command. This enterprise was so vigorously executed, that after the discharge of a few small pieces of artillery, the enemy fled in every direction to save themselves, leaving 300 of their men slain. The joy for this victory on the side of the Portuguese was soon miserably abated in consequence of the destruction of their entire magazine of provisions by fire, by which they were reduced to the extremity of famine, and under the necessity of feeding on all kinds of vermin that could be procured. In this extreme distress, they were providentially relieved by a rough sea throwing up vast quantities of crabs or lobsters on the point of land where the chapel of the Virgin stands, which was the only food which could be procured by the garrison for a long while. While in this situation, in consequence of powerful assistance from the zamorin, the rajah of Cananor made a fresh assault upon

Brito with 50,000 men, and was again repulsed with prodigious slaughter, without the loss of one man on the side of the Portuguese. Immediately after this exploit, Tristan de Cunna arrived at Cananor with a reinforcement and a supply of provisions, by which and the noble defence made by Brito the rajah of Cananor was so much intimidated that he sued for peace, which was granted upon conditions highly honourable and advantageous to the Portuguese.

As Tristan de Cunna was now ready to depart for Portugal with the homeward bound ships, the viceroy went along with him to Paniani, a town belonging to Calicut which he proposed to destroy, as it was much frequented by the Moors, who took in loadings of spices at that place under the protection of four ships belonging to the zamorin commanded by a valiant Moor named Cutiale [11]. The viceroy and Tristan, having anchored off the bar, held a council of war to deliberate upon a plan of attack, when it was determined to send their two sons in two barks and several boats to attack the place, while the viceroy and admiral should follow in a galley. When the foremost of the Portuguese assailants were attacking the trenches, on which some of them had mounted, Pedro Cam having even planted the colours of Lorenzo Almeyda on the summit, the viceroy on coming up observed his son climbing up with some difficulty. He immediately called out, "How comes it Lorenzo that you are so backward?" When the young man answered, "I have given way, Sir, to him who has gained the honour of the day." At this moment a gigantic Moor assailed Lorenzo and even wounded him; but in return he cleft the head of the Moor down to the breast. The town was now carried by storm, and all its defenders put to the sword, after which all the ships in the port were burnt. In this exploit the Portuguese lost only eighteen men, none of whom were of any note; but above 500 of the enemy were slain. Though the plunder of this place was of great value, it was all burnt along with the town and ships, the artillery only being carried off.

After this the fleet and army returned to Cananor where De Cunna completed his lading, and then set sail for Portugal. At Mozambique, on his way home, he met several ships belonging to a squadron of twelve sail sent from Lisbon in the former year; seven of which were to return

11 In an after part of De Faria, this officer is said to have been a Chinese.—E.

return with goods, and the other five to cruise on the eastern coast of Africa, under the command of Vasco Gomez de Abreu, who was likewise to command in the fort of Sofala. There were also two other ships in this fleet, destined to reinforce the squadron of Albuquerque on the coast of Arabia. Of this fleet, the ship commanded by Juan Chanoca was lost in the river Zanaga, that of Juan Gomez in another place, and Abreu was lost with four vessels while going to Mozambique. Other vessels of this fleet were driven to various parts, after enduring terrible storms and imminent dangers; yet these dire misfortunes were insufficient to damp the boldness of our nation in quest of riches, so prevalent is covetousness over every consideration of difficulty or danger.

We must now return to Alfonso de Albuquerque, who parted from De Cunna, after the taking of Socotora on the 20th of August, as formerly related, being bound for the coasts of Arabia and Persia, pursuant to the commands of the king, having with him seven ships and 460 soldiers. He came first to Calayate, a beautiful and strong place in the kingdom of Ormuz, built after the manner usual in Spain, but which had once been more populous. Sending a message to the governor, he received supplies of water and provisions, and entered into a treaty of peace. Proceeding to Curiate, ten leagues farther on, he was very ill received, in revenge for which he took the place by storm, losing only three of his own men, while eighty of the defenders were slain. After plundering this place, it was destroyed by fire along with fourteen vessels which were in the harbour. From thence he sailed for Muscat, eight leagues farther, which was stronger than the two former, and well filled with people, who had resorted there from all quarters on hearing of the destruction of Curiate. Being afraid of a similar disaster, the governor sent great supplies of provisions to Albuquerque, and entered into a treaty of peace; but while the boats were ashore for water, the cannon of the town began unexpectedly to play upon the ships, doing considerable damage, and obliged them hastily to haul farther off, not knowing the cause of these hostilities; but it was soon learnt that 2000 men had arrived to defend the town, sent by the king of Ormuz, and that their commander refused to concur in the peace which had been entered into by the governor. Although Albuquerque had received considerable damage from the smart cannonade, he landed

landed his men early next morning, and attacked the place with such resolution that the Moors fled at one gate, while the Portuguese entered at another. The town was given up to plunder, all except the residence of the governor, who had received the Portuguese in a friendly manner, and had very honourably given them notice to retire, when the troops of Ormuz arrived; but he was slain during the first confusion, without being known.

After the destruction of Muscat, Albuquerque proceeded to Soar, all the inhabitants of which fled, except the governor and some of the principal Moors, who offered to surrender the town; but Albuquerque gave it back to them, on condition of holding it in vassalage from the crown of Portugal, and payment of the same tribute which used to be given to the king of Ormuz. Fifteen leagues farther he came to Orfucam, which was deserted by the inhabitants. Albuquerque sent his nephew, Don Antonio, to pursue them at the head of 100 men; who, though he brought back twenty-two prisoners, received almost as much damage from the Moors as he did, as they were very numerous and fought bravely in defence of their wives and children. The deserted town of Orfucam was plundered for three days, during which time Albuquerque disposed all things in readiness for proceeding against Ormuz, which was the chief object of his voyage, deeming these previous exploits only a prelude to his grand enterprise, and accounting them but trifles, though they might appear considerable to others.

The city of Ormuz or Hormuz is situated on the small island of Jerun at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, only three leagues in compass, and so barren that it produces nothing but salt and sulphur. The buildings of the city are sumptuous. It is the great mart for all the goods of Africa, Arabia, and India; by which means, though having nothing of its own, it abounds in all things. It is plentifully supplied with provisions from the province of Mogostan or Laristan in Persia, and from the islands of Kishom, Kissmis, or Kishmish, Larek, and others. About the year 1273, Malek Kaez possessed all the land from the isle of Jerun to that of Bahrayn, bordering on the kingdom of Gordunshah of the province of Mogostan [12]. This king by subtile devices prevailed

12 The expression in the text is obscure. It appears that Malek Kaez, ruled over the sea coast of the kingdom or province rather of Mogostan, of which Gordunshah was king or governor.—E.

vailed upon Malek to give him the island of Jerun, being a place of no value whatever; after which he fortified himself there, and transplanting the inhabitants of the ancient city of Ormuz on the coast, where the king used to reside to that island, the king of Persia, fearing he would refuse the accustomed tribute, prepared to invade him: But the king of Gordunshah diverted him from his purpose, by engaging to be responsible for the tribute, and by doing homage by his ambassadors once in every five years. By these means the city and kingdom of Ormuz was established, which continued to be ruled over by the heirs of the first possessor and others, mostly by violence [13].

"This account of the origin of the kingdom of Ormuz or Harmuz is related differently in a history of that state written by one of its kings, and given to us by Teixeira at the end of his history of Persia, as follows.---In the year of *Hejirah* 700, and of Christ 1302, when the Turkomans, or Turks from Turkestan, overran Persia as far as the Persian Gulf, *Mir Bahaddin Ayaz Seyfin*, the fifteenth king of Ormuz, resolved to leave the continent where his dominions then were, and to retire to some of the adjacent islands. He first passed over with his people to the large island of *Brokt* or Kishmish [14], called Quixome by the Portuguese, and afterwards removed to a desert isle two leagues distant eastward, which he begged from *Neyn* king of *Keys*, and built a new city, calling it *Harmuz* after the name of his former capital on the coast, the ruins of which are still visible to the east of *Gamrun* or Gambroon. By the Arabs and Persians, this island is called *Jerun*, from a fisherman who lived there at the time when Ayaz first took possession. In the course of two hundred years, this new city and kingdom advanced so much in

13 The account in the text is unintelligible and contradictory: But we fortunately have one more intelligible from the editor of Astley's Collection, I. 65. c. which being too long for a note, has been placed in the text between inverted commas.—E.

14 In a plan of Ormuz given in Astley's Collection, the isle of Kishoma or Kishmis is placed at a small distance from that of Ormuz or Jerun, and is said to be the place whence Ormuz is supplied with water. In fact the island of Kismis or Kishom is of considerable size and some fertility, though exceedingly unhealthy, while that of Jerun on which Ormuz was built, though barren and without water, was comparatively healthy. It was a commercial garrison town of the Arabs, for the purpose of carrying on the trade of the Persian Gulf, and at the same time withdrawing from the oppressive rule of the Turkoman conquerors of Persia.—E.

in wealth and power, that it extended its dominion over a great part of the coasts of Arabia and Persia, all the way to *Basrah* or Basora. It became the chief mart of trade in all these parts, which had formerly been established at Keys; but after the reduction of Ormuz, by the Portuguese, its trade and consequence declined much, owing to their tyranny and oppression. Ayaz Seyfin, was succeeded by Amir Ayas Oddin Gordun Shah. Thus it appears distinctly, that the Malek Kaes in the text of Faria, ought to have been called the Malek or king of Kaes or Keys; and that instead of the kingdom of Gordunshah of the province of Mogostan, it should have been Gordun Shah king of Mogostan; besides, the island was not granted to him, but to his predecessor Ayaz. As a mark of their sense of the riches of Ormuz, the orientals used to say proverbially, if the world were considered as a ring, Ormuz was its jewel."

When Albuquerque arrived at Ormuz about the end of September 1507, Sayf Oddin a youth of twelve years of age was sovereign, under the guardianship of a slave named Khojah Attar, a man of courage but of a subtile and crafty disposition. Hearing what had been done by Albuquerque at the towns upon the coast, Attar made great preparations for resisting the new enemy. For this purpose he laid an embargo on all the ships in the port, and hired troops from all the neighbouring countries, so that when the Portuguese entered the port there were 30,000 armed men in the city, of whom 4000 were Persians, the most expert archers then in the world. There were at that time 400 vessels in the harbour, 60 of which were of considerable size, the crews of which amounted to 2500 men. Albuquerque was not ignorant of the warlike preparations which had been made for his reception; but to shew his determined resolution, he came immediately to anchor in the midst of five of the largest ships riding in the harbour, firing his cannon as he sailed along to strike a terror into the inhabitants, and the shore was soon lined by 8000 troops. As no message was sent to him by the king, he commanded the captain of the largest ship, which seemed admiral over the rest, to repair on board of him, who immediately complied, and was received with much civility, but in great state. He then desired this man to go on shore and inform the king of Ormuz, that he had orders from the king of Portugal to take him under the protection of that crown, and to grant him leave to trade in the Indian seas, on condition

condition that he submitted himself as vassal to the crown of Portugal, and agreed to pay a reasonable tribute: But if these proposals were rejected, his orders were to subdue Ormuz by force of arms. It was assuredly no small presumption to offer such degrading terms to a king who was at the head of above 30,000 fighting men, and 400 ships, while all the force he had against such prodigious force, was only 460 soldiers and seven ships. The Moorish captain, who was from Cambaya, went on shore and delivered this insolent message to the king and his governor Attar; who immediately sent Khojah Beyram with a message to Albuquerque, excusing them for not having sent to inquire what the Portuguese wanted in their port, and promising that the governor should wait upon him next day. Attar however did not perform this promise, but endeavoured to spin out the time by a repetition of messages, in order to strengthen the fortifications of the city, and to receive farther supplies. Albuquerque immediately perceived the purport of these messages, and told Beyram that he would listen only to the acceptation of peace on the terms proposed, or an immediate declaration of war. To this insolent demand, Beyram brought back for answer, that Ormuz was accustomed to receive, and not to pay tribute.

During the night, the noise of warlike instruments, and the shouts of the troops collected in Ormuz were heard from all parts of the city; and when morning came, the whole walls, the shore, and the vessels in the harbour were seen crowded with armed men, while the windows and flat tops of all the houses were filled with people of both sexes and all ages, anxious to behold the expected events. Albuquerque immediately began to cannonade the city and the large Moorish ships, and was spiritedly answered by the enemy, who took advantage of the obscurity occasioned by the smoke to send a large party of armed men in 130 boats to attack the ships, and did some damage among the Portuguese by incessant and prodigious discharges of arrows and stones. But as many of the boats were sunk by the Portuguese artillery, and numbers of the men slain and drowned, they were forced to retire. They returned again to the charge with fresh numbers; but after a severe conflict were again obliged to retreat with prodigious loss, the sea being dyed with blood, and great numbers of them slain. By this time, Albuquerque had sunk two of the largest ships in the port and taken a third, not without considerable opposition on the part of the enemy, forcing the

surviving

surviving Moors to leap into the sea; and the other captains of his squadron had captured three ships, and had set above thirty more on fire. The crews of these cut their cables and drifted over to the Persian shore to enable themselves to escape; but by this means communicated the conflagration to other vessels that were lying aground. These disasters struck such terror into the people of Ormuz that they all fled in dismay within their walls, and Khojah Attar sent a message to Albuquerque offering to submit to his proposals; on which he put a stop to farther hostilities, yet suspecting the governor of treachery, he threatened to inflict still heavier calamities on the city unless the terms were performed with good faith. Thus, with the loss only of ten men on the side of the Portuguese, most of the numerous vessels belonging to the enemy, full of various rich commodities, were taken, burnt, sunk, or torn to pieces, and above seventeen hundred of the Moors were slain, numbers of whose bodies were seen floating in the harbour. Many of these were seen to have ornaments of gold, which the Portuguese anxiously sought after, and on this occasion it was noticed that several of the enemy had been slain by their own arrows, none being used by the Portuguese.

Khojah Attar, dismayed by the prodigious injury sustained in the conflict, and afraid of still heavier calamities, called a council of the chief officers of the kingdom to deliberate on what was best to be done, when it was agreed to submit for the present to the demands of Albuquerque; after which articles of pacification were drawn up and sworn to between the parties. The two principal articles were, that the king of Ormuz submitted to pay a tribute to the king of Portugal of 15,000 *Xerephines* yearly[15], and that ground should be allowed for the Portuguese on which to build a fort. The fort was accordingly immediately commenced, and considerable progress was made in its construction in a few days. On purpose to avoid the payment of the tribute, Khojah Attar dressed up a pretended embassy from the king of Persia demanding payment of the usual tribute, and required that Albuquerque should give them an answer, as the king of Ormuz was now subject to the crown of Portugal. Albuquerque penetrated into this design, and desired Attar to send some one to

15 A Xerephine being worth about half a crown, this tribute amounted to about L. 1875 sterling.—Astl. I. 66. a.—According to Purchas a Xerephine is worth 3s. 9d; so that the yearly tribute in the text is equal to L.2812 10s. sterling.—E.

to him to receive the answer. The pretended Persian ambassador accordingly waited upon him, to whom he gave some spears and bullets, saying such was the coin in which the tribute should be paid in future. Finding this contrivance fail, Attar endeavoured to corrupt some of the Portuguese, and actually prevailed on five seamen to desert, one of whom had been bred a founder, who cast some cannon like those belonging to the Portuguese. Being informed by these deserters that Albuquerque had only about 450 soldiers, Attar began to pick up fresh courage, and entered into contrivances for breaking the peace, pretending at the same time to lay the blame on Albuquerque, and refused to deliver up the deserters.

The high spirit of Albuquerque could not brook this conduct, and determined upon taking vengeance, but had little success in the attempt being badly seconded by the officers serving under him. Taking advantage of this spirit of insubordination, of which he had ample intelligence as it was occasioned by his own intrigues, Attar one night set fire to a bark which the Portuguese were building on the shore; and at the same time one of the deserters called aloud from the wall on Albuquerque, to defend his boat with his 400 men, and he should meet 7000 archers. At this time some of the Portuguese captains gave intelligence to the enemy, and had even assisted the five renegados to desert. Enraged at this affront in burning his bark, Albuquerque endeavoured to set some ships on fire which were building or repairing in the arsenal of Ormuz, but failed in the attempt. He next undertook to besiege the city; and having taken several persons who were carrying provisions thither, he cut off their hands, ears, and noses, and sent them into the city in that miserable condition, to the great terror of the inhabitants. About this time there was a hot dispute between the Portuguese and the garrison of Ormuz, about some wells which supplied the inhabitants with water, which Albuquerque endeavoured to fill up, in which the Moorish captain and the guard over the wells were all slain, and the wells filled with the carcasses of their men and horses. The young king and his governor sallied out from the city to drive the Portuguese away, and actually cut off the retreat of Albuquerque; but a lucky cannon-ball opened the way, by throwing the cavalry of the enemy into confusion.

In these actions with the Ormuzians, Albuquerque was ill seconded by his people, three of his captains having resolved

 to

to leave him and to sail for India. These men drew up a letter or remonstrance, assigning reasons why he should desist from his present enterprise; which Albuquerque ordered one of the masons to lay beneath a stone in the wall of the fort, saying that he had there deposited his answer, and would be glad to see if any one dared to remove the stone to read what he had written. Though much offended by this, these captains did not venture to make any reply; yet jealous about the command of the fort, when it should be built, the three captains actually sailed away for India. Though much troubled at this shameful desertion, Albuquerque determined upon continuing his enterprise, notwithstanding that two other captains who still remained opposed him, and were desirous to follow the example of the other three; but by proper severity he deterred them from executing their designs. Learning that a fleet was on its way from Bahrayn for Keyshom with a reinforcement of men and provisions, Albuquerque endeavoured ineffectually to intercept it. After failing in this, he fell upon a country palace belonging to the king which was guarded by three hundred foot and sixty horse, whom he defeated with the loss of one man, killing eighty of the enemy. He then fell upon Keyshom or Queixome, which was defended by five hundred archers sent to Ormuz by the king of Lar or Laristan in Persia under the command of two of his nephews, both of whom were slain with most of their men, and the bodies of the two slain princes were sent by Albuquerque as a present to Attar. The town of Keyshom was plundered and burnt. Among the plunder was taken a large Persian carpet, which the soldiers were going to cut in pieces to divide among them, and for the greater convenience of removal, which Albuquerque purchased from them, and sent afterwards to the shrine of St Jago in Gallicia.

Having but few men left who were much harassed, and winter approaching, Albuquerque resolved to go to Socotora, and gave leave to Juan de Nova to sail for India, where he had formerly had the command of a fleet. He accordingly wintered at Socotora, where he relieved the Portuguese garrison, then much distressed by famine; for which purpose he went in his own ship to Cape Guardafu, and sent others to Melinda and Cape Fum, to seize some ships for the sake of their provisions. When winter was over, he resolved to return to Ormuz, though too weak to carry his designs into execution, yet to see in what disposition were the young king and his governor.

governor. On his way thither he determined to take revenge upon the town of Kalayat, for some injury that had been done there to the Portuguese. Kalayat is situated on the coast of Arabia beyond Cape Siagro, called also Cape Rasalgat, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Behind this town there is a rugged mountain, in which are some passes which open a communication with the interior; and by one of these opposite the town almost all the trade of Yemen or Arabia Felix, which is a fertile country of much trade and full of populous cities, is conveyed to this port. Immediately on his arrival, Albuquerque landed his troops and took possession of the town, most of the inhabitants escaping to the mountains and some being slain in the streets. He remained here three nights, on one of which a thousand Moors entered the town by surprise and did considerable damage before the Portuguese could be collected to oppose them, but were at length put to flight with great slaughter. Having secured all the provisions of Kalayat, which was the principal booty, Albuquerque set the place on fire and proceeded to Ormuz, where he arrived on the 13th of September[16]. He immediately sent notice of his return to the king and governor; on which Attar sent him a message, saying they were ready to pay the tribute of 15,000 Xerephins, but would on no account consent to the erection of the intended fort. Albuquerque therefore determined to recommence the siege of Ormuz, and ordered Martin Coello to guard with his ship the point of *Turumbaka*[17], where the wells are situated, and Diego de Melo to prevent intercourse with the island of Keyshom; while he and Francisco de Tavora anchored before the city. He there observed that Khojah Attar had completed the fort formerly begun by the Portuguese. In this new attempt the success was no greater than it had been formerly. On one occasion Diego de Melo and eight private men were slain; and on another Albuquerque was himself in much danger. Finding himself unable to effectuate any thing of importance, he returned

16 No year is mentioned in the text of Faria, which is throughout extremely defective in dates; but from the context it was now probably the year 1508.—E.

17 Turumbaka, in the plan of Ormuz mentioned in a former note, is a palace belonging to the king of Ormuz, in the same island with the city. The Isle of Keyshom has already been stated as the place whence Ormuz was supplied with water; but there may have been tanks or cisterns at Turumbaka.—E.

turned to India, having taken a ship in which was a great quantity of valuable pearls from Bahrayn, and Francisco de Tavora took another ship belonging to Mecca.

During the time when Albuquerque was employed before Ormuz, the Soldan of Egypt fitted out a fleet of twelve sail with 1500 Mamelukes, which he sent under the command of Mir Husseyn to oppose the Portuguese in India. While on his voyage up the Red Sea, Husseyn attacked the towns of Yembo and Jiddah, putting the sheikhs of both places to death, and making great plunder. He then sailed for Diu, where Malek Azz commanded for the king of Cambaya, with whom he was ordered to join his forces to oppose the Portuguese. The timber of which these ships were built was cut in the mountains of Dalmatia, by procurement as it was said of the Venetians, as the Soldan and the Turks were then at variance. It was conveyed from Dalmatia to Egypt in twenty-five vessels, commanded by a nephew of the Soldan, who had a force of 800 Mamelukes on board, besides mariners. At this time the gallies of Malta were commanded by a Portuguese knight, Andrea de Amarall; who, learning that the timber was designed to be employed against his countrymen in India, attacked the Egyptian fleet with six ships and four gallies, in which he had 600 soldiers. After a sharp engagement of three hours, he took seven ships and sunk five; but the rest escaped to Alexandria, whence the timber was carried up the Nile to Cairo, and thence on camels to Suez.

At this time the viceroy Almeyda was on the coast of Malabar, and had sent his son Don Lorenzo with eight ships to scour the coast as far as *Chaul*, a town of considerable size and importance seated on the banks of a river about two leagues from the sea, and subject to the Nizam-al-Mulk[18], by whose orders Don Lorenzo was well received. They had some intelligence of the fleet of the Soldan, but believed it an unfounded rumour, till it appeared in sight while Don Lorenzo was on shore with most of his officers. They hastened immediately on board, giving such orders as the time permitted, and were hardly on board when the enemy entered the harbour, making great demonstrations of joy at having so opportunely found the enemy of whom they were in search. Husseyn thought himself secure of victory, as he had surprised the Portuguese ships, and determined himself to board the

18 Called Nizamaluco by De Faria.

the ship commanded by Don Lorenzo. For this purpose he ran her on board, pouring in balls, arrows, hand-grenades, and other fire-works; but was answered with such determined bravery, that he gave over his intention of boarding, though the Portuguese vessel was much smaller than his. The other Egyptian vessels had no better success; and as night approached, both parties gave over the engagement to prepare for its renewal next morning.

As soon as day appeared Don Lorenzo gave the signal to renew the fight; and in his turn endeavoured to board the Egyptian admiral, in which he was imitated by the other captains: Only two of them succeeded in capturing two gallies belonging to the enemy, all the men on board which were put to the sword. The battle was carried on with much bravery on both sides, and the Portuguese seemed fast gaining the superiority; when Malek Azz, lord of Diu, made his appearance with a great number of small vessels well manned, coming to the assistance of Husseyn. Don Lorenzo immediately dispatched two gallies and three caravels to hinder the approach of this reinforcement to his enemies, which executed their orders so effectually that Azz was obliged to flee for shelter to another place. The battle still continued between Lorenzo and Husseyn till night again parted them, both endeavouring to conceal their loss from the other. In the evening after the cessation of the battle, the Portuguese captains met in council on board the admiral to deliberate on what was best to be done; and were unanimously of opinion that it was rash to continue to defend themselves in the river of Chaul, especially as Malek Azz was so near with such a powerful reinforcement, and strongly recommended that they should go out to the open sea, where they might fight with less disadvantage, and would have it in their power to escape if circumstances rendered it necessary. But, remembering the displeasure of his father for not having attacked the fleet of Calicut in the river of Dabul, and fearing his retreat into the open sea might be construed as flight, Lorenzo determined resolutely to await the events of the next morning, only making some change in the disposition of his force, in order to protect some ships belonging to Cochin which were much exposed to the enemy.

Next morning, on observing the change of posture in the Portuguese ships, Malek Azz conceived that they meant to retreat; he immediately came out therefore from the place

where

where he had taken shelter, and boldly charged them, undismayed at the havock which was made among his small vessels by the Portuguese cannon. Most unfortunately at this time the ship of Don Lorenzo ran foul of some stakes in the bed of the river, and let in so much water that she was in danger of sinking. The brave Lorenzo exerted himself to the utmost in this perilous situation, till a ball broke his thigh; then ordering himself to be set up leaning against the main-mast, he continued to encourage his men till another ball broke his back and killed him. His body was thrown below deck, where it was followed by his page Gato, who lamented the fate of his master with tears mixed with blood, having been shot through the eye by an arrow. After a vigorous resistance, the Moors boarded the ship, and found Gato beside his masters body. He immediately rose and slew as many of the Moors as covered the body of Lorenzo, and then fell dead among them. At length the ship sunk, and of above an hundred men who belonged to her only nineteen escaped. In all the Portuguese ships an hundred and forty men were slain, while the enemy lost upwards of six hundred. The other captains got to Cochin, where the viceroy then was, and who received the intelligence of his sons glorious death with wonderful resolution.

Soon after the defeat of the Portuguese fleet at Chaul, Almeyda received a letter from Malek Azz. This man was born in slavery, being descended of heretic Christian parents of Russia, and had risen by degrees to the rank he now held. The origin of his advancement was owing to the following trivial incident. One day a kite flying over the king of Cambaya, muted on his head, on which the king was so enraged that he declared he would give all he was worth to have the kite killed. Malek Azz who heard this, was an excellent bowman, and immediately let fly an arrow which brought down the kite. The king of Cambaya rewarded this lucky shot so bountifully, that the archer soon rose to be lord of Diu, a famous sea-port in Guzerat, seated on a triangular peninsula, which is joined to the continent by so small an isthmus that it is generally reputed an island. In this letter to the viceroy, Malek Azz craftily endeavoured to secure himself at the same time both in the favour of the king of Cambaya, and to conciliate the Portuguese, though he mortally hated them for the injury they had done to the trade of Diu. While he pretended to condole with the viceroy

on the death of his son, whose bravery he extolled in exalted terms, he sent him the nineteen men saved from his sons ship, who had been made prisoners in the late battle; endeavouring by this conciliatory conduct to appease his wrath for having aided Mir Husseyn and occasioned the defeat of the Portuguese.

In this same year 1508, seventeen vessels sailed for India from Lisbon about the beginning of April, which were all separated by bad weather, but all rejoined at Mozambique, except one which was lost on the Islands of Tristan de Cunna. These ships, with those of the former year, coming all together to India about the close of the year 1508, greatly raised the courage of the Portuguese, which had been much depressed by their defeat at Chaul. By this fleet an order came from the king for Don Francisco de Almeyda to resign the government of India to Don Alfonso de Albuquerque, and to return to Portugal in one of the trading ships. But Almeyda took upon him to suspend the execution of this order, under pretence that he had already made preparations for taking revenge upon Mir Husseyn, and the Rums or Turks[19] who had slain his son. Owing to this a controversy arose between Albuquerque and Almeyda, the former demanding possession of the government, which the latter refused to demit; which became a precedent for succeeding governors to protract the time of their command. Albuquerque, much offended by this conduct of Almeyda, retired to Cochin, where he appears to have lived in private till the departure of Almeyda from India.

Having dispatched the homeward bound ships under the command of Fernando Soarez and Ruy de Cunna, who perished by the way, Almeyda sailed on the 12th of November, 1508 from Cananor towards Diu in pursuit of Mir Husseyn. On this expedition he had nineteen vessels of different sizes, with 1600 soldiers and mariners, 400 of whom were native Malabars. All western India was alarmed at this armament, but chiefly the zamorin and Malek Azz, who had used every precaution in his power to ward off the danger. Having landed with his officers in the delightful island of Anchediva, Almeyda called a council of war, in which it was unanimously determined

19 The Turks, as having conquered the eastern Roman empire, have succeeded in India to the name of Rums, Rumi, or Romans. The Circassian Mamelukes of Egypt are here named Turks, because so soon afterwards conquered by that nation.—E.

determined to attack Dabul in the first place. This city was one of the most noted on the coast[20], seated on a navigable river at the distance of two leagues from the sea. Its buildings were then magnificent and stately, and it enjoyed considerable trade, the inhabitants being a mixture of Pagans and Moors, subject to Sabay king of the Decan. It was always defended by a considerable garrison, which was at present augmented by 6000 men, being in fear of an attack from the Portuguese, and new works had been raised for its defence, which were planted with cannon. On the approach of the Portuguese fleet, the inhabitants began to remove their families and goods into the country, but were forbidden by the governor under pain of death; and the more to encourage them he brought his own wife into the town, in which example he was followed by many of the principal inhabitants, whose wives were brought in from their country-houses.

On the 30th of December 1508, the fleet entered the harbour, and the troops immediately landed with the utmost promptitude, dividing into three bodies to attack three several gates at once. The Moors made a brave resistance at each attack, but the works being high, their shot flew over the heads of the assailants, who were more obstructed by the dead bodies than by the defenders or their works. Nunno Vaz Pereyra, who was sent with a detachment to force an entrance at another place, put the numerous troops who resisted him to flight after a brave resistance; but they now fled in such haste towards the mountain, though pursued by ten Portuguese only, that they tumbled over each other in their haste, and retarded their own escape. In this fight, which lasted five hours, fifteen hundred of the enemy were slain with the loss only of sixteen Portuguese. Having gained possession, Almeyda distributed his men in several quarters of the streets, with orders to keep strict guard, lest the enemy might return; which they accordingly did by stealth in the night, in order to recover their wives, children, and goods. In the morning, the viceroy gave permission to his troops to plunder the town; but this was speedily prevented by the houses taking fire, which in a few hours reduced the whole to ashes, so that the booty did not exceed 150,000 ducats. In

20 Dabul is on the coast of Canara, in lat. 17° 46' N. in that part usually called the Pirates coast, which is occupied by a number of half independent Mahratta chieftains, who often plunder defenceless trading ships, by means of armed grabs full of desperadoes.—E.

In fact the town was purposely set on fire by the private orders of the viceroy, lest the men might have been so satiated by the riches of the place as to retard his ulterior designs. The ships in the harbour were likewise destroyed by fire, to the no small risk of the Portuguese ships which were very near.

In fitting out for this expedition, the viceroy had not laid in any considerable store of provisions, as he expected to have got supplies on the coast; but on sending to the neighbouring villages none was to be had, as the last crop had been utterly eaten up by locusts, many of which were found preserved in pots for food by the natives, and being tasted by the Portuguese were found palatable, and not unlike shrimps. This made them conclude that there were land shrimps, as in some places, particularly in the vineyards about Rome, there are crabs found not unlike those of the sea. Hence if locusts were not so numerous and destructive, so as to blast the hopes of harvest and to be dreaded like a plague, they might be useful as food; and we know from Scripture that St John fed upon them in the desert.

Leaving Dabul, the viceroy proceeded for Diu, expecting to procure provisions along the coast. Payo de Sousa, having seen some cattle feeding on the banks of a river, went up the stream in his galley in hopes of procuring some; but was opposed by the natives, and he and George Guedez were both slain. Diego Mendez succeeded in the command of that galley, and while continuing the voyage towards Diu he met one of the Mameluke galleys going from Diu to Dabul, which was well manned and commanded by a courageous and experienced Turk; who, on discovering the Portuguese galley ordered all his soldiers to conceal themselves, so that Mendez immediately boarded without suspecting any danger, on which the Turks rushed out from their concealment and had almost gained the Portuguese galley; but the Portuguese recovered from their surprise, and made themselves masters of the Turkish galley, slaying every one of the enemy without losing a single man on their side. The chief booty taken on this occasion consisted of a young and beautiful Hungarian lady of noble birth, who was brought to the viceroy, and given by him to Gaspard de la India, who gave her to Diego Pereyra, who afterwards married her. Farther on, they took in the river of Bombaim, now called Bombay, a bark with twenty-four Moors belonging to Guzerat, by whose means

means they procured a supply of sheep and rice, while some cattle were procured in other places, and a farther supply was got at the fort of Maim, all the people flying to the mountains from terror of the Portuguese, having heard of what had happened at Dabul.

On the 2d of February 1509, the viceroy arrived at Diu, which from the ships appeared a grand and spacious place, girt with strong walls and lofty towers, all handsomely built and well laid out like towns in Portugal, which recalled in the men the memory of their own country, and animated their courage to atchieve the conquest. Malek Azz the lord of Diu was at this time with his army about twenty leagues distant, making war upon the Rajaputs; but immediately on receiving notice of the approach of the Portuguese fleet, he hastened to his capital with all possible celerity. He had already used such precautions as not to excite suspicions in Husseyn of his fidelity, though little inclined to assist him, and he was now anxious not to exasperate the viceroy in case of his proving victorious. Taking into consideration the strength of the place, the courage and conduct of Azz and Husseyn, and above all that there were above two hundred vessels well manned and armed, he thought it necessary to proceed with the greatest circumspection, and accordingly it was settled in a council of war, that Nunna Vaz Pereyra should lead in with his ship, in which there were 120 fighting men, many of them gentlemen of tried valour. Pereyra was to be seconded by George de Melo, whose crew was equally numerous; after which the rest of the ships were to follow in succession, having from 80 down to 25 men in each according to their size. The night was spent by the Portuguese in anxious preparation for the approaching conflict, by exercises of religion and putting their arms of all kinds in order.

Between nine and ten next morning, when the tide had risen sufficiently to float the ships over the bar, the viceroy gave the signal for entering the port in the appointed order, and the fleet moved on amid the noise of loud shouts and the din of warlike instruments from both sides. The vessels belonging to Malek Azz made haste to oppose the entrance of the Portuguese, and poured in a shower of bullets and arrows into the galley commanded by Diego Perez who led the way for Nunno Vaz, by which ten men were slain; yet Nunno courageously continued his course, pouring his shot among the

the large ships of the enemy and sunk one of them. Vaz was in great danger between two ships of the enemy, when Melo came up gallantly to his rescue, and ran so furiously upon one of these ships that he drove it up against the ship commanded by Vaz, so much disabled that it was immediately boarded and taken by the next ship in succession commanded by Sebastian de Miranda. All the ships having penetrated into the harbour, pushed on in emulation of each other who should do most damage to the enemy; while the viceroy, placing himself in the midst of the enemy, directed his shot wherever it seemed most calculated to annoy the enemy and to aid his own ships. In this manner the action continued to rage for some time with reciprocal courage and violence, till at length the paraos belonging to Calicut fled along the coast, giving out every where that the *Rumis* or Mamelukes were victorious.

On the flight of the Moors of Calicut, and seeing many of his fleet destroyed, Mir Husseyn, who was wounded, went on shore in disguise; and mounting on horseback, went in all haste to the king of Cambaya, being no less fearful of the fury of the Portuguese than of the treachery of Malek Azz, against whom he made loud complaints, that though he had given aid in the battle with his vessels, he had not assisted in person. Yet did not the absence of Husseyn discourage his men, for those of his own vessel being boarded disdained to yield, and fought valiantly till they were all slain. The Portuguese now attempted to carry a large ship belonging to Malek Azz by boarding, but being unable to succeed, the ship commanded by the viceroy in person sunk her by repeated broadsides. Antonio de Campo boarded and took a large galleon. Ruy Soarez, who was next in order to enter the harbour, dashed boldly through the thickest of the enemies ships and placed his vessel in front of the city, where he fought his ship in so gallant a style, forcing the crews to abandon two gallies, which he took, that being noticed by the viceroy he exclaimed, "Who is this who so nobly excels the rest? I wish I were he!" The victory was now complete, and the viceroy and all the captains assailed the smaller vessels, whose crews endeavoured to escape by swimming; but the gallies and boats of the Portuguese being sent among them, killed such numbers that the sea was dyed in blood. In this great battle, the enemy lost above 1500 men, and the Portuguese only 40. Vast riches were acquired by plunder

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in the captured vessels; and by the great variety of books which were found in different languages, it was concluded that the crews were made up of various nations. Some of these books were in Latin, some in Italian, and others in Portuguese [21]. The colours of the Soldan and of his admiral Mir Husseyn were taken, and afterwards sent to the king of Portugal. Of all the vessels taken in this glorious and decisive victory, four ships and two gallies only were preserved, all the rest being ordered to be burnt by Almeyda. This great victory would have much more redounded to the honour of the Portuguese arms, had not the conquered been treated with barbarous cruelty: owing to which, many persons very reasonably considered the unhappy end of Almeyda and other gentlemen, as a just punishment for their crimes on this occasion [22].

Next morning Malek Azz sent a message to Almeyda by one of his principal officers, in which he congratulated the Portuguese viceroy on his glorious victory, with which he pretended to be well pleased. It was reported in the Portuguese fleet that the city of Diu was in the utmost consternation, being afraid of an assault from the victors; and when the Portuguese saw that Almeyda seemed inclined to accept the congratulatory compliments of Azz in good part, they complained of him for checking them in the career of fortune. On being informed of these murmurs, the viceroy convened his principal officers, and represented to them that he did not act on the present occasion from any regard to Malek Azz, but out of respect for the king of Cambaya who was still the friend of the Portuguese, and to whom the city of Diu belonged. He requested them likewise to consider that the city was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison: That they were already fatigued by the exertions of the late battle; and that between the men who had been slain and wounded, and those who were sick, out of

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21 It is hardly necessary to observe that these books belonged in all probability to Christian galley slaves serving under the Mamelukes.—E.

22 Though not called upon to vindicate the conduct of Albuquerque and the Portuguese on this occasion; it may be noticed that the almost interminable war which subsisted for many centuries between the Christians and Moors of the Peninsula, and after the expulsion of the latter, with the states of Barbary; joined to the hellish Inquisition on the one side, and the most degrading slavery inflicted on both by their enemies, long nourished the most rancorous spirit of enmity and hatred, now farther exalted by commercial rivalship.—E.

1200 there were now only 600 fit to carry arms in the assault of Diu: Even supposing they were to succeed in capturing the place, it would be utterly impossible to maintain possession of it; and that they might easily revenge themselves of Malek Azz by the capture of his trading ships. All the officers being completely satisfied by these reasons, the viceroy received the envoy of Malek Azz very graciously, and told him that two motives had principally induced him to make the late assault on Diu; one of which was to be revenged on the *Rumi* or Mamelukes, and the other to recover the Portuguese prisoners who had been taken by them at Chaul, as he considered them in the same light as the son he had lost on that former occasion. The first object he had already completely attained, and he demanded immediately to obtain the second, by having all the Portuguese prisoners in the power of Malek Azz delivered up to him. He demanded in addition to these, that all the artillery and ammunition which had belonged to the *Rumi*, still remaining in such of their ships as had been hawled on shore, should be delivered up, and these ships burnt; and that Malek Azz should supply the Portuguese fleet with provisions.

All these conditions were readily agreed to by Malek Azz, and executed with the utmost readiness and punctuality; in consequence of which a treaty of peace and friendship was settled between Azz and the viceroy. Almeyda left one of the liberated Portuguese prisoners at Diu, to load two ships with such articles as were in request at Cochin and Cananor; and besides supplying his own fleet with provisions, he dispatched Norenha with a supply of provisions, and some of the booty procured in the late battle, to his brother Don Alfonso at Socotora. These important affairs being dispatched, the viceroy left Diu and proceeded to Chaul, where the king was so much intimidated by the accounts he had received of the late victory, that he submitted to pay an yearly tribute. Passing thence to Cananor, he was received in the most honourable manner; and entered afterwards into Cochin in triumph. Even before he had laid aside his festive ornaments, Albuquerque pressed him to resign the government, pursuant to the royal orders; but the viceroy begged he would give him time to divest himself of his present heavy robes, after which there would be sufficient opportunity to talk of those matters. Evil councillors fomented the dispute on both sides, some persuading the viceroy to retain the government in his hands,

hands, while others incited Albuquerque to insist upon his resignation. The rajah of Cochin even became in some measure a party in these disputes, insomuch that he delayed loading two homeward bound ships with pepper, till Albuquerque should be installed in the government. Disputes at length rose so high, that Almeyda sent Albuquerque as a prisoner to Cananor, where he was courteously received by Lorenzo de Brito who commanded there; and to whom Almeyda wrote a few days afterwards to conduct himself towards the prisoner as one who was soon to be viceroy of India.

Some considerable time before this, the king of Portugal having been informed of the preparations which were making by the Soldan of Egypt, resolved to send a powerful reinforcement to India. This consisted of fifteen sail of ships commanded by Don Fernando Coutinno, who had an extraordinary power given him to regulate all matters that might happen to be amiss, as if the king had even surmised the probability of a disagreement between Almeyda and Albuquerque. Coutinno arrived safely at Cananor, whence he carried Alfonso de Albuquerque along with him to Cochin as viceroy. At first Coutinno treated Almeyda with much civility, but afterwards thwarted him, as he refused to let him have a ship which he had purposely prepared and fitted out for his return to Lisbon, and was obliged to put up with another which he had no mind to.

Don Francisco de Almeyda, now divested of the viceroyalty which indeed he had for some time unlawfully retained, sailed from Cochin on the 19th of November 1509, with two more ships in company. Before leaving Cochin some of the sorcerers or astrologers of that place predicted that he would not pass the Cape of Good Hope. He did pass the Cape however, but was slain and buried at the Bay of Saldanna only a few leagues beyond that place. Having passed the Cape of Good Hope with fine weather, he observed to some of his attendants, "Now God be praised! the witches of Cochin are liars." Near that place, he put into the Bay of Saldanna to procure a supply of water; and as some of the people went on shore to exchange goods with the natives for provisions, a servant belonging to the ex-viceroy treated two of the Hottentots so ill that they knocked out two of his teeth and sent him away bleeding. Some of the attendants upon Almeyda thought proper to consider this as an affront which ought to be avenged, and persuaded him to go on shore for that

that purpose, when they ought to have counselled him to punish the servant for abusing people among whom they sought relief. Almeyda yielded to their improper suggestions, though against his inclination, being heard to exclaim as he went into the boat, " Ah! whether and for what end do they now carry my old age?" Accompanied by about 150 men, the choice of the ships, they went to a miserable village, whence they carried off some cattle and children. When on their return to the boats, they were attacked by 170 natives, who had fled to the mountains, but now took courage in defence of their children; and though these naked savages were only armed with pointed stakes hardened in the fire, they soon killed fifty of the Portuguese and Almeyda among them, who was struck through the throat, and died kneeling on the sea-shores with his hands and eyes raised to heaven. Melo returned with the wounded men to the ships, and when the natives were withdrawn from the shore, he again landed with a party and buried Almeyda and the others who had been slain. This was a manifest judgment of God, that so few unarmed savages should so easily overcome those who had performed such heroic actions in India.

Don Francisco de Almeyda was the seventh son of Don Lope de Almeyda, Count of Abrantes, and was a knight of the order of St Jago. He was graceful in his person, ripe in council, continent in his actions, an enemy to avarice, liberal and grateful for services, and obliging in his carriage. In his ordinary dress, he wore a black coat, instead of the cloak now used, a doublet of crimson satin of which the sleeves were seen, and black breeches reaching from the waist to the feet. He is represented in his portrait as carrying a truncheon in his right hand, while the left rests on the guard of his sword, which hangs almost directly before him [23].

Among the ships which were dispatched from Lisbon for India in 1508, were two squadrons under the command of Duarte de Lemos and Diego Lopez de Sequeira, which were sent upon separate services, and which could not be conveniently taken notice of in their proper place. After encountering a storm, Lemos arrived at a place called *Medones de Oro*, whence he went to Madagascar, and thence to Mozambique,

23 De Faria uniformly gives some description, as here, of the persons and dress of the successive viceroys and governors of Portuguese India; which however has been generally omitted in the sequel.—E.

bique, where he was rejoined by the rest of the squadron, except one ship commanded by George de Aguilar, which was lost. He now assumed the government of the coasts of Ethiopia and Arabia, according to his commission from the king. From Mozambique he sailed for Melinda, whence he proceeded to visit the several islands and towns along the eastern coast of Africa to compel payment of the tribute they had been in use to pay to Quiloa, and which was now considered as belonging of right to the crown of Portugal by the conquest of that place. Monfia submitted. Zanzibar resisted, but the inhabitants were driven to the mountains and the town plundered. Pemba acted in a similar manner, the inhabitants taking refuge in Mombaza, and leaving their houses empty; but some plunder was taken in a small fort in which the sheikh had left such things as he had not been able to remove. Returning to Melinda, he gave the necessary orders for conducting the trade of Sofala.

Lemos departed from Melinda for the coast of Arabia with seven ships, one of which was separated from the rest in the night on the coast of Magadoxa, and carried by the current to the port of Zeyla near the mouth of the Red Sea, and there taken by the Moors. In his progress along the Arabian coast, Lemos managed the towns more by cunning than force. Using the same conduct at Ormuz, he was well treated by the king and Khojah Attar, and received from them the stipulated tribute of 15,000 xerephines. From this place he dispatched Vasco de Sylveyra to India, who was afterwards killed at Calicut. He then went to Socotora, of which he gave the command to Pedro Ferreira, sending Don Antonio Noronha to India, who fell in with and took a richly laden ship belonging to the Moors. Noronha manned the prize with some Portuguese; but she was cast away in a storm between Dabul and Goa and the men made prisoners. His own ship was stranded in the Bay of Cambaya, where he and some others who attempted to get on shore in the boat were all lost, while about thirty who remained in the ship were made prisoners by the Moors and sent to the king of Cambaya. On his return to Melinda, Lemos took a Moorish vessel with a rich loading. When the winter was passed, he returned to Socotora, where he found Francisco Pantaja, who had come from India with provisions, and had made prize of a rich ship belonging to Cambaya; the great wealth procured

procured in which he generously shared with Lemos and his men, saying they had a right to it as being taken within the limits of his government. Finding himself now too weak for any farther enterprises, Lemos sailed for India, where he was received with much civility by Albuquerque, who was now in possession of the government.

Diego Lopez de Sequeira, the other captain who sailed from Lisbon at the same time with Lemos, was entrusted with the discovery of Madagascar and Malacca. Arriving at the port of St Sebastian in the island of Madagascar, he run along the coast of that island, using a Portuguese as his interpreter, who had been left there [24] and had acquired the language. In the course of this part of his voyage he had some intercourse with a king or prince of the natives named *Diaman*, by whom he was civilly treated; but being unable to procure intelligence of any spices or silver, the great object of his voyage, and finding much trouble and no profit, he proceeded to India in the prosecution of the farther orders he had received from the king. He was well received by Almeyda, then viceroy, who gave him an additional ship commanded by Garcia de Sousa, to assist in the discovery of Malacca. In the prosecution of his voyage, he was well treated by the kings of Pedir and Pacem [25], who sent him presents, and at both places he erected crosses indicating discovery and possession. He at length cast anchor in the port of Malacca, where he terrified the people by the thunder of his cannon, so that every one hastened on board their ships to endeavour to defend themselves from this new and unwelcome guest.

A boat came off with a message from the town, to inquire who they were and what they wanted, to which Lopez sent back for answer that he brought an ambassador from the king of Portugal, to propose entering into a treaty of peace and commerce advantageous for the king and city of Malacca. The king sent back a message in dubious language, such as is usual among the orientals when they mean to act treacherously, as some of the Moorish merchants, from enmity to the Portuguese, had prevailed upon him and his favourite Bandara, by means of rich presents, to destroy Lopez and the Portuguese.

24 Probably a malefactor left on purpose, as has been formerly mentioned from Castaneda in our *second* volume.—E.

25 Pedier and Pisang, as called by the English.—Astl. I. 70. b.

Portuguese. On the third day, Lopez sent Hierom Teixeyra in the character of ambassador, attended by a splendid retinue, who was well received on shore, and conducted on an elephant to the king, from whom he returned well pleased. All this was only a bait to entrap the Portuguese to their destruction; and in addition, the king sent an invitation to Lopez to dine with him in public. Lopez accepted this invitation, but was informed by a friend of *Jao-Utimuti-rajah*, that the king intended to murder him, on which he sent an excuse under pretence of indisposition. Credit was now given to an advice sent by a Persian woman to Duarte Fernandez, after she had been prevented by Sequeira from coming on board under night, thinking she came on an amorous errand, but which contributed to save the ships. Another contrivance was put in practice to destroy Lopez and his ships, by offering a lading of spice, and pretending that it was requisite to send for it to three several places. This succeeded in part; as while thirty men were sent on shore according to agreement, a fleet of small vessels was secretly prepared under cover of a point of land, ready to assault the ships, while the thirty men were to be murdered in the town. At this time likewise, a son of Utimuti-rajah came on board under pretence of a visit to Lopez, and finding him engaged at draughts requested him to continue his game, that he might have the better opportunity of assassinating him unobserved; and in fact he frequently put his hand to his dagger for that purpose, but waited till the other branches of the intended treachery should begin. At this time, a seaman on one of the tops who was on the outlook, seeing a throng in the town and hearing a considerable noise, called out 'Treachery! Treachery! they kill our men.' Lopez instantly threw away the draught board, calling out to arms; and the son of Utimuti, perceiving the treacherous designs discovered, leapt into his boat with his attendants in great consternation. The fleet of boats now came round the point and attacked the Portuguese, who exerted themselves as well as possible in their defence, considering the suddenness of the attack; and after sinking many of the enemies boats, forced the rest to retire. Not having a sufficient force to take vengeance for this treachery, Lopez was under the necessity of quitting Malacca, where he left sixty of his men in slavery, who were made prisoners on shore, and having eight slain. On his way back he took two Moorish ships bound for Malacca; and, having arrived

arrived at Cape Comorin, he sent on Teixeyra and Sousa with their ships to Cochin; resolving, though ill provided, to return alone to Portugal, being afraid of Albuquerque, as he had sided with Almeyda in the late disputes respecting the government of India. He reached the island of Tercera with much difficulty, and from thence proceeded to Lisbon.

Section V.

Transactions of the Portuguese in India under the Government of Don Alfonso de Albuquerque, from the end of 1509, *to the year* 1515.

Being put into possession of the government of India in November 1509, Albuquerque prepared for an expedition against Calicut, in conjunction with Fernando Coutinno. The design was kept secret, yet the zamorin and all the other princes along the coast provided for their defence, on hearing that the Portuguese were making preparations for war. Setting out from Cochin with thirty vessels of various sizes and 1800 land forces, besides several boats full of Malabars who followed in hopes of plunder, he arrived at Calicut on the 2d of January 1510; and consulting on the difficulties attending the enterprise, it was determined that the division of the fleet belonging to Albuquerque should be left in charge of Don Antonio de Noronha, while that belonging to Coutinno was to be commanded by Rodrigo Rabelo. Every one strove to be so posted as to land first, and the men were so eager for landing that they were under arms all night, and so tired in the morning that they were fitter for sleep than fighting, yet soon recovered when the signal was given and the cannon began to roar.

The troops landed in two divisions; that under Coutinno consisting of 800 men with some field-pieces, and that commanded by Albuquerque of the same number of Portuguese troops, together with 600 Malabars. They marched in strange confusion, each striving to be foremost. The first attack was made on the bulwark or bastion of Ceram by De Cunna and De Sousa, who were bravely resisted by 600 men, till on the coming up of Albuquerque, the defenders fled and the Portuguese got possession of the bulwark. Being fearful of some disastrous event from the confusion of his

 men,

men, Albuquerque sent notice to Coutinno, who came with all speed to his assistance. On seeing the Portuguese colours flying on the bulwark, Coutinno believed he had been called back by a contrivance of the viceroy to prevent him from acquiring honour, and addressed him in the following terms. "Were you ambitious, Sir, that the rabble of Lisbon should report you were the first in storming Cochin, that you thus recal me? I shall tell the king that I could have entered it with only this cane in my hand; and since I find no one to fight with, I am resolved to proceed to the palace of the zamorin!" Without waiting any reply from Albuquerque, Coutinno immediately marched his men to the palace. Being above five leagues from the shore, and the road much encumbered with palm trees, and having met some opposition by the way, Coutinno and his people were tired by their long march, and rested some time in a plain before the palace. He then attacked it, and though well defended, the Moors[1] were forced to fly to the woods and mountains. The Portuguese soldiers being now possessed of the palace, quitted their ranks and began plundering in a disorderly manner, as if they had been close to the shore under protection of their ships, and had no enemy to fear. But the enemy having procured reinforcements, returned to the palace, and fell upon the disordered Portuguese, many of whom they killed while loaded with plunder, and did much harm to Coutinno and his men, though Vasco de Sylveira signalized himself by killing two of three chiefs called *Caymals*.

In the meantime Albuquerque had got possession of the city of Cochin, which he set on fire; and finding no enemy to oppose him, he thought proper to march to the palace to see what Coutinno was about. On his arrival he found the palace surrounded by armed men, and that Coutinno was within in the most imminent danger. Having cleared the way from the enemy, he sent word to Coutinno that he waited for him; and after the third message, Coutinno sent back word that Albuquerque might march on and he would follow, being busy in collecting his men who were dispersed over the palace. Albuquerque accordingly began his march, much pressed upon by the enemy, and had not marched far when he

1 The author here very improperly calls the Nayres, or Malabar soldiers of the zamorin, Moors; though in all probability there might be some Mahometans among the defenders of Calicut.—E.

he received notice that Coutinno was in great danger. He immediately endeavoured to return to his relief, but was impeded by the multitude of the enemy, who slew many of his men, and he was himself so severely wounded by a dart in the throat, and a stone on the head, that he was carried senseless to the shore.

By this time Coutinno and many more were slain in the palace, and several others on their way back to the shore; being oppressed by the multitude of the enemy, spent with labour and heat, and almost stifled by the great dust. The whole of Coutinnos division had certainly been cut off, if Vasconcelles and Andrada, who had been left in the city with a reserve of 200 [2] men had not checked the fury of the enemy and forced them to retire. There was now as keen a contest about who should get first on board, as had been about landing first, not considering that all their misfortunes had been occasioned by hurry and confusion. At length they got on board and sailed on their return to Cochin, having lost 80 [3] men in this ill conducted enterprise, among whom were Coutinno and many persons of note. On recovering his senses while at sea, Albuquerque gave orders for the dispatch of the homeward bound ships; and on his arrival at Cochin, immediately made preparations for an attempt to reduce Ormuz.

Being recovered from his wounds, all the preparations made for his expedition to Ormuz, and the homeward trading ships dispatched, Albuquerque set sail from Cochin with 1700 troops in 21 vessels of various sorts and sizes. On arriving at the river of Onor, he sent for the pirate *Timoja*, who being powerful and desirous of acquiring the friendship of the Portuguese, came immediately and supplied Albuquerque with provisions. Being skilful in the political affairs of India, Albuquerque consulted Timoja respecting his intended enterprise against Ormuz; but he endeavoured to dissuade him from that attempt, endeavouring to shew that Goa would be a more advantageous conquest, and might be easily taken as quite

2 In Faria, this reserve is stated at 2000 men, obviously a typographical error, yet copied in Astley's Collection, without considering that the whole original force was only 1800.—E.

3 The loss acknowledged in the text is ridiculously small for so disastrous an enterprise, and we are almost tempted to suspect the converse of the error noticed in the preceding note, and that the loss might have been 800. —E.

quite unprovided for defence. This advice pleased Albuquerque, and it was resolved upon in a council of war to change the destination of the armament, for which Timoja agreed to supply twelve ships, but gave out that he meant to accompany the Portuguese to Ormuz, that the governor of Goa might not be provided for defence. Timoja had been dispossessed of his inheritance and ill treated by his kindred and neighbours, and the desire of vengeance and of recovering his losses caused him to embrace the alliance of the Portuguese against the interest of his own countrymen.

The small island of Ticuari, in which the city of Goa stands, is situated in lat. 15° 30′ N. in a bay at the mouth of the river Gasim on the coast of Canara, being about three leagues long and one broad. It contains both hill and level ground, has good water, and is fertile, pleasant, and healthy. The city of Goa, now seated on the northern part of the island, was formerly in its southern part. The present city was built by a Moor named Malek Husseyn about 40 years before the arrival of the Portuguese in India. It is not known when the old city was founded, but some authentic writings mention that *Martrasat*, king of that city above 100 years before, believed in one God, the incarnation of the Son, and the Trinity in Unity; besides which, a copper crucifix was found affixed to a wall when the city was taken. These Christians may have been descendents from the converts to the true faith through the ministration of the holy apostle Thomas.

About the year 1300 the Mahometans began to conquer India [4]. The first who attempted this with great power was Shah Mahmud Nasraddin [5], king of Delhi, who came down with a powerful army from the north, and conquered all the gentiles as far as the kingdom of Canara. He returned to Delhi, leaving Habed Shah to prosecute the conquest, who became so powerful by his valour and conduct that he coped with his master; and his nephew Madura prosecuting his enterprise after the decease of Habed, cast off his allegiance to the

4 From various circumstances in the context, the word India is here evidently confined to the peninsula to the south of the Nerbudda, called generally Deccan, or the south.—E.

5 He was the sixth king of a dynasty of Turks from Persia, which founded the kingdom of Delhi in 1202, or rather usurped it from the family of Ghaur, who conquered it in 1155 from that of Ghazni, which had subdued all India in 1001 as far as the Ganges. Mahmud Shah Nasr Addin began his reign in 1246, so that the conquests mentioned in the text must have happened considerably before 1300.—Astl. I. 71. a.

the king of Delhi, and having possessed himself of the kingdom of Canara, called it the Deccan, from the various nations composing his army, this word having that import in their language[6]. Too great an empire is always in danger of falling to pieces. Mahmud Shah[7], being aware of this, used every possible precaution for his safety, which was effectual for some time; but at length several of the governors of this extensive empire erected their provinces into independent sovereignties. The greatest of these was he of Goa, the sovereign of which about the time of the Portuguese coming into India was named Sabayo, who died about the time that Albuquerque went against Goa; upon which Kufo Adel Khan, king of Bisnagar possessed himself of Goa, and placed it in the hands of his son Ismael. The other princes were Nizamaluco, Mudremaluco, Melek Verido, Khojah Mozadan, Abexeiassado, and Cotemaluco, all powerful but some of them exceedingly so[8]. Sabayo was born of very mean parentage at Saba in Persia, whence his name; but having long served the king of the Deccan with great fidelity, had a grant of the city of Calberga, whence he extended his conquests over the Pagans of Bisnagar, and reduced Goa which had belonged to the Moors of Onor, killing Malek Husseyn its prince or ruler who defended it with a garrison of twelve hundred men. Goa had several dependencies, with which and the other territories he had acquired Sabayo, became the most powerful prince in these parts, and was consequently hated by them all. He maintained himself however against all his neighbours while he lived, sometimes by means of force, and at other times by profound policy; but his death produced great alteration.

Having

6 Deccan or Dakshin signifies *the south,* and is properly that portion of India which lies between the Nerbudda and Kistna rivers. It would far exceed the bounds of a note to illustrate the Indian history, which is very confusedly and imperfectly stated in the text.—E.

7 In the text of Faria named Mamud-xa, and probably the same person named immediately before Madura.—E.

8 These names are strangely corrupted in the Portuguese orthography of Faria, and the princes are not well distinguished. Only three of them were very considerable: Nizam Shah, or Nizam-al-Mulk, to whom belonged Viziapour; Koth, or Kothb-shah, or Kothb-al-Mulk, the same with Cotamaluco of the text, who possessed Golconda; and Kufo Adel Khan, called Cufo king of Hidalcan in Faria, who held Bisnagar.—Astley, I. 71. d.—The great king of Narsinga is here omitted; which Hindoo sovereignty seems at that time to have comprised the whole of southern India, from the western Gauts to the Bay of Bengal, now the high and low Carnatic with Mysore.—E.

Having sailed from Onor accompanied by Timoja, Albuquerque came to anchor off the bar of Goa on the 25th of February 1510. As it was necessary to sail up the northern arm of the bay or river, on the bank of which the city was situated, Albuquerque sent his nephew Antonio de Noronha, accompanied by Timoja, to sound the channel. A light vessel of easy draught of water which led the way gave chase to a brigantine belonging to the Moors, which took shelter under protection of a fort or blockhouse, erected for protecting the entrance of the harbour, which was well provided with artillery and garrisoned by 400 men, commanded by Yazu Gorji a valiant Turk. Seeing the other vessel in chase, Noronha pressed after him; and though the fort seemed strong, they attacked and took it after a stout resistance, during which the commandant lost greater part of one of his hands, yet persisted to defend his post till deserted by his men, when he too retired into the city. In the mean time, in emulation of his new allies, Timoja attacked and took another blockhouse on the continental shore of the channel leading to Goa, which was defended by some artillery and forty men. After these exploits the channel was sounded without any farther obstruction.

Next day, as Albuquerque was sailing up the channel to proceed in his enterprise, he was met by Mir Ali and other chief men of the city, who came to surrender it to him, only stipulating that their lives, liberties, and goods should be secured. The reason of this surrender was because Gorji had terrified them by his account of the astonishing and irresistible prowess of the Portuguese, and because a *Joghi*, or native religious saint, had predicted a short time before, that Goa was soon to be subjected by strangers. Albuquerque readily accepted the surrender on the terms proposed, and having anchored before the town on the 27th of February, was received on shore by the inhabitants with as much honour and respect as if he had been their native prince. Mounting on a superbly caparisoned horse which was brought for his use, he received the keys of the city gates, and rode in great pomp to the palace which had been built by Sabayo, where he found a great quantity of cannon, arms, warlike ammunition, and horses. Having issued orders and regulations which were much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, he dispatched several messages or embassies to the neighbouring sovereigns, the only effect of which was to shew his high spirit. Such of the

the neighbouring towns as were dependent upon Goa, sent deputations without delay to proffer their obedience and submission. The command of the fort or castle was given to Don Antonio de Noronha, the government of the infidels to Timoja, and the other offices were disposed of to the general satisfaction. Understanding that several ships belonging to Ormuz and other places on the Arabian coast, were lading in the port of Baticala, four Portuguese vessels were sent thither, which took and carried them to Cochin, and sent an ample supply of provisions to Goa.

About four months after the easy conquest of Goa, the fortune of Albuquerque began to change its appearance, as those persons in Goa on whose fidelity he had reposed most confidence, in spite of the remonstrances of Timoja, entered into plots to deliver up the place to its former master Ismael. They had submitted so easily to Albuquerque, because unprovided for effectual resistance, to save their properties, and to gain time till Ismael Adel Khan was prepared to come to their relief. Having at length completed his preparations, he sent on before him in June 1510 his general-in-chief Kamul Khan with 1500 horse and 8000 foot, on which Albuquerque took proper measures to defend his recent acquisition. Having detected a conspiracy of the Moors to deliver up the city, his first step was to secure and punish the chief conspirators; among these were Mir Cassem and his nephew, to whom he had confided the command of four hundred Moors, whom he caused to be hewed in pieces by his guards; several others were hanged in the most public places of the city, and the rest were rigorously imprisoned, above 100 being convicted of participating in the plot. By these rigid measures the city was terrified into submission.

Soon afterwards Kamul Khan approached with the van of the army of Ismael, and attempted to pass over into the island by means of boats which he had provided for that purpose. He was courageously opposed by Noronha, who captured twelve of the boats; many of the enemy were killed by the Portuguese, and many others devoured by the alligators which swarmed in the channel round the island; but at length Kamul Khan effected a landing in force on the island, and the Portuguese were obliged to take refuge within the walls of the city. Kamul Khan then invested the city with his army, which he began to batter with his cannon, and Albuquerque used every possible effort to defend the place. Is-

mael Adel Khan now came up to second his general, at the head of 60,000 men, 5000 of whom were cavalry. Part of this great army passed over into the island to strengthen the besiegers, and the rest took post in two divisions on the continent to prevent the introduction of provisions, one of these being commanded by an officer of reputation, and the other by the mother and women belonging to Ismael, who maintained their troops by *the gain from* 4000 *prostitutes*, who followed the camp. By the arrival of this vast army the city of Goa was completely surrounded, and no opportunity was left for Albuquerque to execute any enterprise against the numerous assailants. Making what was necessary prudent, he and his officers resolved to abandon the city before day, which was accordingly executed though with much hazard, the way being occupied by the troops of the enemy, and Albuquerque had his horse killed under him; yet he got off all his men without loss after a siege of twenty days.

After this retreat, it was resolved to spend the winter in these seas, for which purpose the fleet came to anchor in a bay, which although not commodious was the best that could be had on this part of the coast; and being incommoded by a fort named *Pangi* which had a considerable number of cannon, it became necessary to gain possession[9]. Accordingly 300 Portuguese troops were appointed for the assault, while Noronha had the command of a body of reserve, and Albuquerque guarded the shore. While the Portuguese prepared during the night to assail the fort next morning, 500 men marched by order of Ismael to reinforce the garrison; and when the Portuguese marched to the assault, both the Moorish garrison and the relief, being all drunk, mistook the Portuguese for friends; the garrison believing them to be the reinforcement, and the relief conceiving them to have been the garrison coming out to meet them. They were soon however fatally undeceived by the attack of the Portuguese, in which 340 of them were slain, and the rest put to the rout, while the Portuguese only lost one man who was drowned accidentally. A similar circumstance happened at the bulwark which had been formerly won by Timoja at *Bardes*. By these two severe

9 From the context it is obvious that this bay and the fort of Pangi were in the close neighbourhood of Goa; in fact the bay appears to have been the channel leading to Goa, and the fort one of those bulwarks on the continental shore which defended the navigation of that channel.—E.

vere defeats of his people, Ismael was so excessively alarmed that he left Goa, and his fear was much increased as some conjurer had foretold that he was to be killed by a cannon-shot near some river. He sent several ceremonious messages to Albuquerque, on purpose to discover what was doing on board the ships, and by the threatening answers he received his fears were materially augmented. In consequence of this intercourse of messages, Ismael was prevailed on to exchange some Portuguese, who had necessarily been left behind when Goa was abandoned, for the Moors engaged in the late conspiracy who remained prisoners with Albuquerque.

About this time Albuquerque received intelligence that some vessels were preparing at Goa to set his ships on fire, on which he anticipated the intentions of the Moors by sending a force up the river to burn these vessels, which was effected, but Don Antonio de Noronha was slain in this enterprise. Noronha used to moderate the violent passions of his uncle Albuquerque, who after his death allowed the severity of his temper to proceed to extremities. Having detected a soldier in an amour with one of the female slaves he used to call his daughters, and whom he was accustomed to give away in marriage, he ordered him immediately to be hanged; and as some of his officers demanded to know by what authority he had done this arbitrary and cruel deed, he ordered them all below deck, and flourishing his sword said that was his commission for punishing all who were disobedient, and immediately cashiered them all. During the continuance of this winter, the Portuguese fleet suffered extreme hardships, especially from scarcity of provisions; and on sailing from thence after the cessation of winter[10], they discovered four sail which they supposed to have been Turks, or Mamelukes rather, but on coming nearer, they were found to be a squadron from Portugal under the command of Diego Mendez. Besides these, the king had sent out this year other seven ships, under Sequeira, who arrived at Cananor soon after Albuquerque; and a third armament of two ships to settle a trade at Madagascar.

On the return of Albuquerque from Goa to Cananor, he was much rejoiced at the prospect of such powerful succours, and

10 By winter on the coast of Malabar, must only be understood, the period of storms and excessive bad weather which occurs at the change of the monsoons, when it is imminently perilous to be at sea.—E.

and communicated his intentions of immediately resuming his enterprise against Goa, but was overruled in the council by Sequeira, on which Albuquerque went to Cochin, and obtained a victory over the Malabars of Calicut, who endeavoured to obstruct the Portuguese from loading pepper. Having dispatched Sequeira with the homeward bound ships, and soon afterwards Lemos with four more, he determined to resume the enterprise upon Goa. As Diego Mendez, who had formerly been favourable to this design, and several other captains, now opposed it, because it interfered with their intentions of going to Malacca, as directed by the king, Albuquerque commanded them all under the severest penalties not to quit the coast without his orders. Though much dissatisfied, they were obliged to obey. Accordingly, having fitted out twenty-three ships at Cananor, in which he embarked with 1500 soldiers, he proceeded to Onor to join his ally Timoja, whom he found busied in the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of a queen; and being anxious to have the honour of the viceroys presence at the wedding he invited him to land, which proved very dangerous, as they were kept on shore for three days in consequence of a storm, and when Albuquerque returned to the ships a boat with thirty men was lost. On leaving Onor for Goa, Timoja sent three of his ships along with Albuquerque, and promised to join him at Goa with 6000 men.

Albuquerque anchored for the second time before the bar of Goa on the 22d of November 1510. Impressed with a strong recollection of the dangers he had escaped from on the former attempt, and anxious to sooth the discontent which he well knew subsisted among some of his principal officers on account of having been reluctantly compelled to engage in this expedition, he addressed them in a conciliatory harangue by which he won them over entirely to concur with him in bringing the hazardous enterprise in which he was engaged to a favourable issue. Having made the proper dispositions for the assault, the troops were landed at early dawn on the 25th of November, and attacked the enemy who defended the shore with such determined intrepidity that they were put to flight with great slaughter, and without the loss of a man on the side of the Portuguese. The enemy fled and endeavoured to get into the city by one of the gates, and being closely pursued by the Portuguese who endeavoured to enter along with them, the fight was there renewed, till at length many of

of the Portuguese forced their way into the city doing prodigious execution, and the battle was transferred to the streets. These were successively cleared of the enemy by dint of hard fighting all the way to the palace, in which time the Portuguese had lost five officers of some note, and the fight was here renewed with much valour on both sides. Albuquerque, who had exerted himself during the whole action with equal courage and conduct, now came up with the reserve, and the Moors were completely defeated, flying in all directions from the city and endeavouring to escape to the continent, but through haste and confusion many of them perished in the river. After this decisive victory, it was found that of 9000 men who defended the city, 6000 had perished, while the Portuguese lost fifty men. *Medeorao*[11], or *Melrao*, nephew to the king of Onore, who commanded the three ships sent by Timoja, behaved with great courage and fidelity on this occasion: Timoja came himself to Goa with a reinforcement of 3000 men, but too late to assist in the attack, and was only a witness to the carnage which had taken place. The booty in horses, artillery, arms, provisions, and ships, was immense, and contributed materially to enable Albuquerque to accomplish the great designs he had in contemplation.

The Portuguese who were slain in this brilliant exploit were all honourably interred; those of the enemy were made food for the alligators who swarmed in the river. All the surviving Moors were expelled from the city, island, and dependencies of Goa, and all the farms were restored to the gentiles, over whom Timoja was appointed governor, and after him Medeo-rao, formerly mentioned. While employed in settling the affairs of his conquest, ambassadors came from several of the princes along the coast to congratulate Albuquerque on his brilliant success. Both then and afterwards, many of the officers of Adel Khan made inroads to the neighbourhood of Goa, but were always repelled with loss. At this time, Diego Mendez and other two captains belonging to his squadron, having been appointed by the king of Portugal for an expedition to Malacca, stole away from the port of Goa

11 This person is afterwards named by Faria *Melrao*, and is said to have been nephew to the king of Onore; the editor of Astley calls him *Melrau*. Perhaps his real name might have been *Madeo row*, and both he and Timoja may have been of the Mahratta nation.—E.

Goa under night in direct contravention of the orders of Albuquerque, intending to proceed for Malacca. Albuquerque sent immediately after them and had them brought back prisoners; on which he deprived them of their commands, ordering them to be carried to Portugal to answer to the king for their conduct, and condemned the two pilots who had conducted their ships from the harbour to be immediately hung at the yard-arm. Some alleged that Albuquerque emulously detained Diego Mendez from going against Malacca, which enterprise he designed for himself, while others said that he prevented him from running into the same danger which had been already met with by Sequeira at that place, the force under Mendez being altogether inadequate to the enterprise.

To provide for the future safety of Goa, Albuquerque laid the foundations of a fort, which he named *Manuel*, after the reigning king of Portugal. On this occasion, he caused the names of all the captains who had been engaged in the capture of Goa to be engraven on a stone, which he meant to have put up as a monument to their honour; but as every one was desirous of being named before the others, he turned down the stone so as to hide all their names, leaving the following inscription,

Lapidem quem reprobaverunt ædificantes.

Thus they were all pleased, rather wishing their own individual praises to be forgotten, than that others should partake. Albuquerque assuming all the powers of sovereignty in his new conquest for the king of Portugal, coined money of gold, silver, and copper, calling the first *Manuels*, the second *Esperas*, and the third half esperas. Resolving to establish a permanent colony at this place, he engaged several of the Portuguese to intermarry with the women of the country, giving them marriage portions in lands, houses, and offices as an encouragement. On one night that some of these marriages were celebrated, the brides became so mixed and confounded together, that some of the bridegrooms went to bed to those who belonged to others; and when the mistake was discovered next morning, each took back his own wife, all being equal in regard to the point of honour. This gave occasion to some of the gentlemen to throw ridicule on the measures pursued by Albuquerque; but he persisted with firmness in his plans, and succeeded in establishing Goa as the metropolis or centre of the Portuguese power in India.

The

The king of Portugal had earnestly recommended to Albuquerque the capture of the city of Aden on the coast of Arabia near the entrance of the Red Sea; and being now in possession of Goa, he thought his time mispent when not occupied in military expeditions, and resolved upon attempting the conquest of Malacca; but to cover his design, he pretended that he meant to go against Aden, and even sent off some ships in that direction the better to conceal his real intentions. Leaving Don Rodrigo de Castel Branco in the command of Goa with a garrison of 400 Portuguese troops, while the defence of the dependencies and the collection of the revenue was confided to Medeorao with 5000 native soldiers, Albuquerque went to Cochin to prepare for his expedition against Malacca.

The city of Malacca is situated on the peninsula of that name, anciently called *Aurea Chersonesus*, or the Golden Peninsula, and on the coast of the channel which separates the island of Sumatra from the continent, being about the middle of these straits. It is in somewhat more than two degrees of north latitude [12], stretching along the shore for about a league, and divided in two nearly equal parts by a river over which there is a bridge. It has a fine appearance from the sea, but all the buildings of the city are of wood, except the mosque and palace which are of stone. Its port was then frequented by great numbers of ships, being the universal mart of all eastern India beyond the bay of Bengal. It was first built by the *Celates*, a people who chiefly subsisted by fishing, and who united themselves with the *Malays* who inhabited the mountains. Their first chief was Paramisora, who had been a person of high rank in the island of Java, whence he was expelled by another chief who usurped his lordship, on which occasion he fled to Cincapura, where he was well received by the lord of that place and raised to high employment. But having rebelled against his benefactor, he was driven from thence by the king of Siam, and was forced to wander about Malacca, as a just punishment for his ingratitude. Having drawn together a number of the before-mentioned natives, with whom he established a new colony, he gave the name of *Malacca* to the rising city, signifying in the language of the country *a banished man*, as a memorial of his own fortunes. The first king of Malacca was *Xaque Darxa*, or

12 In lat. 2° 25′ N.

or sheikh Dar-shah, called by some authors *Raal Sabu*, or Ra-el-Saib, who was the son of Paramisora, and was subject to the kings of Siam; but from whom his successors revolted. The country of Malacca is subject to inundations, full of thick woods, and infested by dangerous and savage beasts, particularly tigers, so that travellers are often forced to pass the nights on the tops of high trees, as the tigers can easily take them off from such as are low by leaping. The men of Malacca are courageous, and the women very wanton. At this time the city of Malacca was rich and populous, being the centre of trade between the eastern and western parts of India. Mahomet was then king of Malacca, against whom the king of Siam had sent an army of 40,000 men, most of whom perished by sundry misfortunes, but chiefly through similar treacherous devices with those which had been put in practice against Sequeira. But now Albuquerque approached to revenge them all. Mahomet, fearing to meet the reward of his former treachery to the Portuguese, had procured the assistance of the king of *Pam*[13], who brought an army of 30,000 men with a great number of pieces of artillery[14].

On the 2d of May 1511, Albuquerque sailed from Cochin on his expedition against Malacca, with 19 ships and 1400 soldiers, 800 of whom were Portuguese, and 600 Malabars. While off the island of Ceylon he fell in with and captured five vessels belonging to the Moors, which were bound for Malacca. On arriving at the island of Sumatra, the kings of Pedier and Pisang sent friendly messages to Albuquerque, on which occasion Juan de Viegas, one of the men left behind by Sequeira was restored to freedom, he and others having made their escape from Malacca. About this time likewise, Nehoada Beguea, who had been one of the principal authors of the treachery practiced against Sequeira, fled from Pedier and being taken at sea by Ayres Pereira, to the great astonishment of every one shed not one drop of blood, though pierced by several mortal wounds; but on taking off a bracelet of bone from his arm the blood gushed out. The Indians, who discovered the secret, said this bracelet was made from the bone of a certain beast which is found in Java, and

13 Named Pahang or Pahan, by the editor of Astleys Collection.

14 In the text of Faria, and following him in Astley, the number of cannon is said to have been 8000; a number so incredible that we have used a general expression only on this occasion in the text.—E.

and has this wonderful virtue. It was esteemed a great prize and brought to Albuquerque. After this, they fell in with another ship in which were 300 Moors [15] who made so resolute a defence, that Albuquerque was obliged to come up in person to assist in the capture, which was not accomplished without considerable danger. In this vessel was *Geniall*, the rightful king of Pisang, who had been banished by an usurper. Three other vessels were taken soon after, from one of which a minute account was procured of the military preparations at Malacca.

On the 1st of July 1511, the Portuguese fleet cast anchor in the roads of Malacca, infusing terror and dismay among multitudes that covered the whole shore, by the clangour of their warlike instruments, and the noise of repeated discharges of cannon; being sensible of their guilty conduct to Sequeira and conscious that the present armament was designed for their condign punishment. Next day a Moor came off in great state with a message from the king, and was received with much courtesy and ceremonious pomp by Albuquerque [16], to whom he said that if he came for trade, the king was ready to supply whatever merchandise he wanted. Albuquerque made answer that the merchandise he sought for was the restitution of the Portuguese who had been left there by Sequeira, and when they were restored, he should then say what farther demands he had to make from the king. On his return to the city, the Moor spread universal consternation by this answer, and it was agreed to endeavour to avert the threatened danger, by restoring the Portuguese, and by paying a large sum of money. But Prince Al'oddin, the son of the king of Malacca, and his brother-in-law the king of Pahang opposed this, and made ready for defence. Upon this Albuquerque began some military execution, and the king restored the captives. After this some farther negociations ensued, as the king was desirous of peace, which Albuquerque offered to agree to, on condition of having permission to build a fortress at Malacca, and that the

15 All are Moors with Faria, particularly Mahometans. The crew of this vessel were probably Malays, perhaps the most ferociously desperate people of the whole world.—E.

16 On this occasion, Faria mentions that Albuquerque wore his beard so long that it was fastened to his girdle; having made a vow when he was forced to retreat from Ormuz, that it should never be trimmed till he sat on the back of Khojah Attar for that purpose.—E.

the king should repay the entire charges incurred by Sequeira and the present armament, all the damage having been occasioned by his own treachery and falsehood; but he demanded to have an immediate answer, whether the king chose peace or war. The king was willing to have submitted to the terms demanded by the Portuguese viceroy, but his son and the king of Pahang opposed him, and it was at length determined to stand on their defence.

On the 24th of July, being the eve of St James the apostle, every thing being disposed in order for attack, the signal was given for landing, by the discharge of artillery, and immediately the Portuguese leapt on shore and charged the enemy with loud shouts. The hottest of the battle was about gaining and defending the bridge, which enterprise Albuquerque undertook in person, and where the enemy after a vigorous defence, in which great numbers of them were slain, were forced to leap into the river, where many of them were drowned. The prince and the king of Pahang bravely opposed another party of the Portuguese who endeavoured to force their way to the bridge to join the viceroy, and at the same time King Mahomet came out on a large elephant, attended by two others having castles on their backs, whence numbers of darts were launched against the Portuguese. But the elephants being soon severely wounded, turned and fled through among their own men, trampling many of them to death and making way for the Portuguese to join those who had possession of the bridge. At this place Albuquerque fortified himself, and as considerable harm was done to his men by poisoned arrows discharged from the tops of the adjoining houses, he caused them to be set on fire. After bestowing great praises on his captains for their courageous behaviour, and perceiving that his people began to grow faint by long exertions, excessive heat, and want of food, he withdrew to the ships towards night. Ten of the Portuguese died in consequence of their wounds from the poisoned arrows. The loss of the enemy was not known. The king of Pahang withdrew to his own country, under pretence of bringing a reinforcement, but never returned.

While Albuquerque rested and refreshed his men on board, Mahomet was busily employed in making every possible preparation for defending the city. For this purpose he undermined the streets in several places, in hopes to blow up the assailants,

assailants, and strewed poisoned thorns in the way, covering them over to prevent their being observed. He likewise fortified the bridge, and planted cannon in many places. As a prelude to the second assault, Albuquerque sent Antonio de Abreu in a vessel well manned to gain possession of the bridge. On his way thither he had to pass through showers of bullets from both sides of the river and from the battlements of the bridge, and though desperately wounded, refused to be brought off, when Deniz Fernandez Melo, who came up to his rescue proposed sending him to the ships to have his wounds dressed, saying, "Though he neither had strength to fight nor voice to command, he would not quit his post while life remained." Floats of wildfire were sent down the river to burn the vessel; but at length Albuquerque in person gained possession of the bridge, and the vessel being freed from the fire rafts, had liberty to act against the enemy. Having rested his men a short time on the bridge, Albuquerque penetrated the city, through showers of bullets, darts, and arrows; and having been apprised of the mines in the principal street, he took another way and gained the mosque. At length, after a prodigious slaughter of the enemy, he gained entire possession of the city, having only with him in this action 800 Portuguese and 200 Malabars.

At the end of nine days every one of the Moors who inhabited this great city were either slain or driven out, and it was repeopled with strangers and some Malays, who were permitted to take possession of the vacant houses. Among these last was Utimuti rajah, whose son had formerly endeavoured to assassinate Sequeira. Utimuti was a rich and powerful native of Java, of whom more hereafter. The soldiers were allowed to plunder the city during three days. There were found 3000 pieces of *great cannon*, out of 8000 [17] which King Mahomet had relied upon for the defence of his city, the rest having been carried off to *Bintang*, where the king and prince Al'oddin had fortified themselves. As it might have been of dangerous consequence to permit these princes to establish themselves so near the city of Malacca, Albuquerque sent a force to dislodge them, consisting of 400 Portuguese, 400 Malays belonging to Utimuti, and 300 men belonging

17 This prodigious train of artillery is quite incredible, though twice repeated in the same terms, but it is impossible to form any rational conjecture for correcting the gross error or exaggeration in the text.—E.

belonging to the merchants of Pegu who resided in Malacca. On the approach of these troops, the king and prince took flight, leaving seven elephants with all their costly trappings, and the Portuguese returned to Malacca. Now reduced to wander in the woods and mountains of the interior, Mahomet so severely reflected upon the obstinacy of his son and the king of Pahang, that he and his son quarrelled and separated, each shifting for himself.

To secure this important conquest, Albuquerque built a fort or citadel at Malacca, which from its beauty was called *Hermosa*. He likewise built a church, which was dedicated to the *Visitation of our Lady;* and coined money of different values and denominations, which was ordered to pass current by proclamation, and some of which he caused to be scattered among the populace. By these and other prudent measures he gained the hearts of the people, attracted strangers to settle in Malacca, and secured this important emporium of trade. Although Albuquerque was perfectly conscious of the deceitful character of Utimuti rajah, yet considering it to be sometimes prudent to trust an enemy under proper precautions, he gave him authority over all the Moors that remained in Malacca. It was soon discovered however, that Utimuti carried on a private correspondence with Prince Al'oddin, under pretence of restoring him to the sovereignty of Malacca, but in reality for the purpose of using his remaining influence among the people to set himself up. On receiving authentic information of these underhand practices, Albuquerque caused Utimuti with his son and son-in-law to be apprehended, and on conviction of their treason, he ordered them to be publicly executed on the same scaffold which they had formerly destined for Sequeira. This was the first public exertion of sovereign justice which was attempted by the Portuguese in India, but was soon followed by others. *Pate Quitir*, another native of Java, whom Albuquerque appointed to succeed Utimuti in the government of the Moors in Malacca, was gained by the widow of Utimuti, by promise of her daughter in marriage with a portion of 100,000 ducats, to revenge the death of her husband on the Portuguese, and to assassinate Albuquerque. Quitir accepted her offer, meaning to seize the city for himself. About the same time also, the king of Campar formed a similar design, for the attainment of which purpose he sent a congratulatory embassy to Albuquerque,

from

from whom he demanded the office which had been conferred on Quitir. These plots having no consequences at this time, shall be farther explained in the sequel.

During his residence at Malacca, Albuquerque received embassies from several princes, particularly from the king of Siam; and he sent likewise embassies in return to the kings of Siam and Pegu. He sent also two ships to discover the Molucca islands and Banda [18], and gave orders to let it be known in all quarters that Malacca was now under the dominion of Portugal, and that merchants from every part of India would be received there on more favourable terms than formerly. Having now established every thing in Malacca to his mind, Albuquerque determined upon returning to Cochin, leaving Ruy de Brito Patalim to command the fort with a garrison of 300 men. He left at the same time Fernando Perez de Andrada with ten ships and 300 soldiers to protect the trade, and carried four ships with himself on his return to Cochin.

During these transactions at Malacca a rebellion broke out among the natives at Goa, taking advantage of which, *Pulate Khan*, an officer in the service of Kufo Adel Khan king of Bisnagar passed over into the island of Goa with a considerable army, and laid siege to the city. One of the principal exploits during this siege was a sally made by Rodrigo Robello de Castello Franco the governor, in which the besiegers suffered considerable loss. But Rodrigo was soon afterwards slain, and Diego Mendez de Vasconcellos was chosen to take the command by the universal suffrages of the besieged. At this time Adel Khan became jealous that his general Pulate Khan intended to usurp the sovereignty over the territory of Goa, on which account he sent his brother-in-law, Rotzomo Khan to supersede him, who entered into a treaty with Diego Mendez, by whose assistance he got the mastery over Pulate Khan. Finding himself at the head of 7000 men, while there were not above 1200 troops in the city of Goa, 400 only of whom were Portuguese, Rotzomo resolved to endeavour to drive them out, and resumed the siege

18 According to some authors these were commanded by Lopez de Azevedo and Antonio de Abreu, who set out in 1511 and returned in 1513; but according to others Antonio de Abreu, Francisco Serrano, and Ferdinand Magalhaens were the officers employed on this occasion, during which Magalhaens projected his circumnavigation of the globe.—Astley, I. 74. a.

siege. Being short of provisions, the besieged began to suffer severely from famine, and several of the men deserted to the enemy, some of whom repented and returned to the city. In this critical situation, Emanuel de la Cerda who had wintered at Cochin fortunately arrived with succours, and was followed soon after by Diego Fernandez de Beja, who had been sent to demolish the fort at Socotora, and to receive the tribute at Ormuz. By these the besieged were abundantly relieved and succoured with recruits and provisions when almost reduced to extremity. Soon afterwards arrived Juan Serram who had gone from Portugal the year before with Peyo de Sa, in order to settle a trade in the island of Madagascar, but ineffectually; and Christopher de Brito, who happened to be at Cananor with a large ship and four smaller vessels, where he heard of the distressed situation of Goa, went immediately thither with a strong reinforcement and an ample supply of provisions.

On his voyage from Malacca to Cochin, the ship in which Albuquerque was embarked struck during the night on a rock off Cape Timia in the kingdom of *Aru* on the coast of Sumatra. Being completely separated a midships, the people who had taken refuge on the poop and forecastle were unable to communicate with each other, and the night was so exceedingly dark that no assistance could be sent from the other vessels. When day-light appeared next morning, Albuquerque was seen holding a girl in his arms, whom chance had conducted to him during the confusion. Pedro de Alpoem came up to his relief, though with much difficulty and danger. On this occasion some of the men were lost, and much valuable commodities, but what Albuquerque most regretted was the wonderful bone which prevented the wounded Moor from bleeding, and some iron lions of curious workmanship, which he had intended for supporters to his tomb. Albuquerque continued his voyage after this disaster in the ship commanded by Alpoem; and on his way back took two Moorish ships, which, though rich did not make amends for the loss he had sustained in the wreck of his own. Immediately on his arrival at Cochin, being informed of the distress of Goa, he dispatched eight vessels to that place with men and provisions, promising soon to repair thither in person. There were then in the town 1000 men, who were besieged by an army of 20,000 natives.

It being now the year 1512, six ships arrived in India from Portugal, having spent a whole year on the voyage without touching at any port; and though the men were tired and sick, they relieved several places. At this time likewise a fleet of thirteen ships arrived from Portugal, one of which was lost on the island of *Angoxa*. This fleet, which carried 1800 soldiers, anchored off the bar of Goa on the 15th of August 1512. They immediately drove the enemy from a fort which they had constructed at Benistarim; after which Don Garcia and George de Melo passed on with their squadrons, accompanied by Juan Machado and others, who had been recently delivered from slavery in Cambaya. Albuquerque was much rejoiced at the great reinforcements brought out by his nephew Don Garcia and Melo, and by the relief of the captives, as they enabled him to proceed in the enterprises which he had in contemplation. His satisfaction was much increased by the arrival of Antonio de Saldanna with the garrison of Quiloa, which had been abandoned as a place of small importance. About the same time there arrived ambassadors from Persia and Ormuz, the latter of whom had orders from his master to proceed to Portugal.

Having arranged every thing at Cochin, and appointed Melo to the command of Cananor, Albuquerque proceeded to Goa, where he was received with every demonstration of joy and respect. After visiting the fortifications, he endeavoured to concert measures for driving Rotzomo Khan from the works which he had constructed for besieging Goa. On the sixth day after his arrival, being on an eminence with several officers taking a view of the works of the enemy, 4000 Moors, 200 of whom were horse, were seen sporting on the plain, it being Friday, which is the sabbath of the Mahometans. On this occasion, a detachment of the Portuguese made a sudden attack on the Moors, and after a hot skirmish drove them for shelter to their works, having slain above an hundred of the enemy, with the loss of one officer and one private, and several wounded. Having resolved to take possession of a strong fort which the enemy had erected near Goa for the protection of their camp, Albuquerque caused it to be attacked both by sea and land at the same time; and thinking that the sea attack was not conducted with sufficient vigour, he went himself in a boat to give orders, and came so near that a cannon-shot struck the head of a Canara who steered his boat, dashing the blood and brains on his beard. Enraged at this incident, he offered

offered a high reward to any one who should destroy that cannon; on which one of his gunners aimed a shot so exactly that it struck the muzzle of the cannon which flew in pieces, and killed the Moorish cannoneer. By this fortunate circumstance, the Portuguese were able to get farther up the river and to get close to the fort. At this time *Zufolari*, one of the generals of the Moors, appeared with 7000 men on the continental shore to relieve the fort; but being unable to effectuate his purpose, was forced to retire after sustaining some loss by a distant cannonade. Albuquerque now closely invested the fort with 4000 men, 3000 of whom were Portuguese. He divided these into two bodies, one under his own immediate command, and the other under the charge of his nephew Don Garcia. At first the Portuguese received some damage; but in the end Rotzomo Khan agreed to surrender the fort with all its cannon and ammunition, to deliver up all the Portuguese prisoners and deserters, and to evacuate the island of Goa and its dependencies. The Portuguese deserters were severely punished by order of Albuquerque, having their ears, noses, right hands, and the thumbs of their left cut off, in which mutilated condition they were sent home to Portugal. One of these, named Ferdinando Lopez, as a penance for his crimes, voluntarily remained with a negro at the island of St Helena, where he began some cultivation, and was afterwards serviceable to several ships that called in there, by furnishing them with refreshments.

Having thus completely relieved Goa, Albuquerque endeavoured to gain over Rotzomo Khan to the Portuguese service, but unsuccessfully; but his good fortune made a great impression on many of the native princes, several of whom sent pacific embassies to the viceroy. The king of Calicut, terrified at the growing power of the Portuguese, concluded a treaty of peace with Don Garcia, whom his uncle had sent to take the command at Cochin[19]. The kings of Narsinga, Visiapour, Bisnagar, and other districts of India, sent ambassadors to the viceroy; who endeavoured in his answers to impress them powerfully with the value of amity with the Portuguese, and dread of encountering their arms, and sent back envoys of his own to these princes, to acquire intelligence respecting their power

19 The editor of Astleys Collection adds, *with liberty to build a fort;* but this condition is not to be found in the text of Faria, which is followed in that work literally on most occasions, though often much abridged.—E.

power and resources. There arrived likewise at Goa an ambassador from the Christian sovereign of Abyssinia, whom the Europeans denominate Prester John[20], who was destined to go over to Portugal, carrying a piece of the *true cross*, and letters for the king of Portugal from the queen-mother *Helena*, who governed Abyssinia during the minority of her son David. The purport of this embassy was to arrange a treaty of amity with the king of Portugal, and to procure military aid against the Moors who were in constant hostility with that kingdom. This ambassador reported that there were then three Portuguese at the Abyssinian court, one of whom, named Juan, called himself ambassador from the king of Portugal; and two others, named Juan Gomez and Juan Sanchez, who had been lately set on shore at Cape Guardafu, by order of Albuquerque, in order to explore the country.

Every thing at Goa being placed in order, the viceroy now determined upon carrying the enterprise against Aden into execution, which had been formerly ordered by the king of Portugal. Without communicating his intentions to any one, he caused twenty ships to be fitted out, in which he embarked with 1700 Portuguese troops, and 800 native Canaras and Malabars. When just ready to sail, he acquainted the captains with the object of his expedition, that they might know where to rendezvous in case of separation. Setting sail from Goa on the 18th of February 1513, the armament arrived safe at Aden. This city, called Modocan by Ptolemy, is situated on the coast of Yemen or Arabia Felix, in lat. 12° 45′ N. near the mouth of the Red Sea, and looks beautiful and strong from the sea, being rich and populous owing to the resort of many nations for trade. But immediately behind are the barren and rocky mountains of Arzira, which present numerous cliffs and precipices. The soil is arid, having very little water, which is procured from a few wells and cisterns, as this part of the country is scarcely watered from the heavens above once in two or three years. Hence it is devoid of all trees, and has neither gardens nor orchards.

Immediately

20 In our early volumes it will be seen that this imaginary *Prete Jani*, Prester John, or the Christian Priest-king, had been sought for in vain among the wandering tribes of eastern Tartary. The Portuguese now absurdly gave that appellation to the Negus of Habesh, or Emperor of the Abyssinians; where a degraded species of Christianity prevails among a barbarous race, continually engaged in sanguinary war and interminable revolution.—E.

Immediately on the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, Miramirzan the governor sent a complimentary message to the viceroy with a present of provisions; but as there was no prospect of voluntary submission or surrender, Albuquerque resolved upon carrying the place by assault, but found the enterprise more difficult than he expected. Having landed his men early in the morning, the troops advanced to the walls with scaling ladders: but after a considerable number had got up to the top of the wall, the ladders broke under the weight of the multitudes who pressed to get up; so that Albuquerque was obliged to order down those who had already ascended, by means of a single ladder constructed out of the broken fragments of the rest. Thus, after four hours engagement, the Portuguese were forced to desist from the attack with some loss, occasioned more by the insufficiency of the ladders than by the prowess of the enemy. George Sylveyra and five men were killed on the spot, but several others died afterwards of their wounds, and some from bruises occasioned by falling from the walls and ladders. Submitting to his bad fortune, and by the persuasion of his officers, Albuquerque resolved to abandon this enterprise, that he might have sufficient time remaining to sail for the mouth of the Red Sea. But before leaving Aden, he took a redoubt or bulwark which defended the entrance into the harbour, where a great many Moors, or Arabs rather, were slain, and 37 pieces of cannon taken. Having plundered the ships in the harbour, they were all burnt; and on the fourth day after arriving at Aden, the fleet set sail for the mouth of the Red Sea, on their arrival at which great rejoicings were made by Albuquerque and the Portuguese, as being the first Europeans who had ever navigated that celebrated sea.

The form of the Red Sea is not unlike that of a crocodile, having its mouth at the narrow Straits of Mecca or Babelmandeb, the head being that sea which lies between Cape Guardafu and Fartaque, and the extremity of the tail at the town of Suez. Its general direction is from N. N. W. to S. S. E. being 530 leagues long, and 40 over where broadest [21]. The channel for navigation is about the middle, where it has sufficient depth of water for the largest ships, but both sides are very shallow,

21 The extreme length of the Red Sea is 400 geographical leagues, 20 to the degree, or about 1380 statute miles, and its greatest breadth 65 of the same leagues, about 225 miles.—E.

shallow, and much encumbered by sand banks and numerous small islands. No river of any note falls into it during its whole extent. It is called by the Moors or Arabs, *Bahar Corzu* or the Closed Sea, and by others the Sea of Mecca; but by Europeans the Arabian Gulf or the Red Sea, owing to the red colour it derives from its bottom, as was proved by a subsequent viceroy, Don Juan de Castro, who caused some of the bottom to be dragged up in several places, when it was found to consist of a red coralline substance; while in other places the bottom was green, and white in some, but mostly red. The water itself, when taken up, is as clear as in any other part of the sea. The Red Sea does not abound in fish, but it produces small pearls in many places. The mouth of the Red Sea, called the Straits of Mecca or of Bab-al-mandeb, is in lat. 12° 40′ N. and is as it were locked up by seven small islands, the largest of which, now *Mehun*, was called by Ptolemy *Perantonomasiam.* On going from the straits towards Suez along the eastern or Arabian shore, there are only a few small ports of no note for the first 44 leagues, till we come to the island of *Kamaran*, which is subject to the king of Aden. At 60 leagues from thence we come to *Gezan* a large town; thence 130 leagues to *Yambo*, all in the dominions of Mecca, having several good towns and harbours. Among these are the famous and well known ports of *Ziden* and *Juddah*, or *Joda*; *Mecca* being 15 leagues inland from the latter. From Yambo it is 60 leagues to *Toro*, where the children of Israel are said to have crossed the Red Sea, which at this place is 3 leagues across. Thence to *Suez* is 40 leagues, and there ends the Arabian shore. On sailing back to the straits along the western shore of Egypt and Ethiopia, from Suez which is 20 leagues from Grand Cairo the vast metropolis of Egypt, it is 45 leagues to Al-cosier; thence 135 to the city of Suakem, in which space there are many ports: From thence 70 leagues farther on is the island and port of Massua, and opposite to it Arkiko; and thence other 85 leagues bring us back to the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb. Behind a ridge of mountains which runs close along the whole coast of Ethiopia, lie the dominions of Prester John, which has always preserved Christianity after its own manner, and has of late been much supported therein by the Portuguese arms.

Entering into the Red Sea, Albuquerque sailed along the coast to the island of Kamaran, which he found abandoned by its inhabitants from dread of his approach. He took two

vessels by the way, and found four others at this place, one of which belonged to the Soldan of Egypt. From this island he visited several others; and one day there appeared in the sky to the whole persons in the fleet a very bright red cross, seemingly about six feet broad, and of a proportional length. All the Portuguese knelt down and worshipped the heavenly sign, Albuquerque making a devout prayer; after which the happy omen was joyfully hailed by the sound of music and cannon, till at length it was covered over by a bright cloud and disappeared. As the trade wind failed for carrying him to Juddah, Albuquerque returned to Kamaran where he wintered, and where his people suffered extreme misery from famine and sickness. In July 1513, as soon as the weather would permit, he sailed again for India, meaning to appear again before Aden, and touched at the island of Mehun, in the middle of the straits, to which he gave the name of Vera Cruz, in memory of the miraculous vision with which they had been favoured, and erected a very high cross upon an eminence. From thence he sent two ships to examine the city and port of Zeyla, on an island in a bay of the coast of Adel, where they burnt two ships belonging to the Moors, and joined the fleet again before Aden. He found the fortifications of this place repaired and strengthened; and after exchanging a cannonade which did little damage on either side, and burning some ships in the harbour, he sailed for India.

Albuquerque arrived at Diu about the middle of August 1513, and was immediately supplied with some provisions accompanied by a courteous message from Malek Azz the lord of that city under the king of Cambaya, more from fear than affection. Being aware of his duplicity, Albuquerque dealt cautiously with this chief, and demanded permission to erect a fort at Diu; but Malek Azz excused himself, referring Albuquerque to the king of Cambaya, whom he secretly advised to refuse if asked. However it was agreed to settle a Portuguese factor at this place to conduct the trade; and at parting Azz treated Albuquerque with so much artful civility, that he said he had never seen a more perfect courtier, or one more fitted to please and deceive a man of understanding. Some time afterwards, the king of Cambaya gave permission for the Portuguese to erect a fort at Diu, on condition that he might do the same at Malacca. At this time there arrived two ships from Portugal, a third having been cast away in the voyage, but the men saved. Albuquerque went to Goa, and

and sent his nephew Noronha to Cochin to dispatch the homeward bound trade, along with which an ambassador was sent from the zamorin to the king of Portugal, peace being now established with that sovereign, who permitted a fort to be erected at his capital. By these ships likewise were sent the presents of many of the Indian princes to the king of Portugal, together with many captives taken in war. There went also a Portuguese Jew, who had been an inhabitant of Jerusalem, and had been sent by the guardian of the Franciscans to acquaint Albuquerque that the Soldan of Egypt threatened to destroy all the holy places at Jerusalem.

Pate Quitir, the native of Java, who had been preferred by Albuquerque to the command of the native inhabitants of Malacca, continued to carry on measures for expelling the Portuguese, and having strengthened himself secretly, at last broke out into rebellion. Having slain a Portuguese captain and several men, and taken some pieces of cannon, he suddenly fortified the quarter of the city in which he resided, and stood on his defence with 6000 men and two elephants. Ferdinando Perez and Alfonso Pessoa went against him with 320 men, partly by land and partly by water, and after a long contest forced him to flee for refuge into the woods after many of his men were slain. A considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition was found in that part of the city which he had fortified, which was burnt to the ground after being plundered of much riches. Having received succour from Java and Mahomet, the expelled king of Malacca, Quitir, erected another fort in a convenient place at some distance from the city, where he became powerful by sea and land, being in hopes of usurping the sovereignty of Malacca. Perez went out against him, but though he fought as valiantly as before, he was forced to retreat after losing three captains and four soldiers. At this time *Lacsamana*, an officer belonging to Mahomet, entered the river of Malacca with a great number of men and many cannon on board several vessels. Perez attacked him with three ships, and a furious battle took place which lasted for three hours, with much advantage on the side of the Portuguese, but night obliged the combatants to desist, and Perez took a position to prevent as he thought the Malayans from escaping out of the river during the darkness. But Lacsamana threw up an intrenchment of such respectable appearance during the night, that it was thought too dangerous to attempt an attack, and Perez retired

tired to the fort. At this time three ships entered the port from India, bringing a supply of ammunition and a reinforcement of 150 soldiers; but Lacsamana had established himself so advantageously, that he intercepted all the vessels carrying provisions for Malacca, which was reduced to such straits that many fell down in the streets from famine. The same plague attended Pate Quitir in his quarters[22].

When the season became fit for navigation, Perez set out with ten ships and a galley in quest of provisions. While sailing towards Cincapura, the galley discovered a sail, and stuck by it till the fleet came up. It was found to be laden with provisions and ammunition for Pate Quitir. Perez brought the captain and other head men on board his own ship, where they attempted to slay the Portuguese, even Perez being stabbed in the back by a cris or dagger. Being foiled in this attempt, most of them leapt into the sea, but some were taken and put to the rack who confessed there was a son of Quitir among them, and that they were followed by three other vessels similarly laden. These were likewise captured and carried to Malacca. At the same time Gomez de Cunna arrived with his ship laden with provisions from Pegu, where he had been to settle a treaty of amity and commerce with the king of that country. The famine being thus appeased and the men recovered, Perez attacked Pate Quitir by sea and land; and having fortunately succeeded in the capture of his fortified quarters, which were set on fire, that chieftain was forced to retire to Java, and Lacsamana, on seeing this success of the Portuguese, retired with his forces.

Java is an island to the south-east of Sumatra, from which it is divided by a strait of fifteen leagues in breadth. This island is almost 200 leagues in length from east to west, but is narrow in proportion to its breadth, being divided by a long range of mountains through its whole length, like the Apennines of Italy, which prevents intercourse between the two coasts. It has several ports and good cities, and its original inhabitants appear to have come from China. In after times the Moors of Malacca[23] possessed themselves of the sea coast,

22 It is probable that Mr Stevens has mistaken the sense of Faria at this place, and that the famine in Malacca was occasioned by the joint operations of Lacsamana and Pate Quitir, holding the city in a state of blockade.—E.

23 Faria perpetually confounds all Mahometans under the general denomination of Moors. These possessors of the coast of Java were unquestionably Malays.—E.

coast, obliging the natives to take shelter in the forests and mountains of the interior. At this period a Malay chief named *Pate Unuz* was lord of the city of Japara, who became afterwards king of Sunda. Indignant that the metropolis of the Malayan territories should be possessed by the enemies of the Mahometan faith, he had been seven years preparing a powerful armament of 90 sail to attempt the conquest of Malacca, during all which time he kept up a secret correspondence with the Javan Malays who inhabited that city. Several of his ships were equal in size to the largest Portuguese galleons, and the one destined for himself was larger than any ship then built by the Europeans. Having completed his preparations, he embarked with 12,000 men and a formidable train of artillery, and appeared suddenly before the city. Ferdinando Perez immediately embarked with 350 Portuguese and some native troops in 17 vessels, and attacked the Javan fleet, with which he had an obstinate engagement, doing considerable damage to the enemy, but night parted the combatants. Next morning Pate Unuz endeavoured to get into the river Maur with his fleet; but Perez pursued him, and penetrating into the midst of the enemy plied his cannon and fire-works with such success, that many of the Javan ships were sunk and set on fire. After a furious battle of some endurance, Unuz fled and was pursued all the way to Java, where he preserved his own vast vessel as a memorial of his escape and of the grandeur of his fleet, and not without reason, as a merchant of Malacca engaged to purchase it of Perez for 10,000 ducats if taken. This victory cost the Portuguese some blood, as several were slain, and few escaped without wounds. From this time forwards, the natives of Java were for ever banished from Malacca.

Soon after this brilliant victory, Ferdinando Perez sailed from Malacca to Cochin with a valuable cargo of spice, accompanied by Lope de Azevedo and Antonio de Abreu, who came from the discovery of the Molucca islands with three ships. After their arrival at Cochin, Antonio de Miranda arrived there from Siam, to the great joy of Albuquerque, who thus reaped the rich fruits of his care and labour for the acquisition of Malacca, and the happy return of those whom he had sent upon other discoveries.

King Mahomet had not yet lost all hope of recovering Malacca, to which he now drew near; and having in vain attempted to succeed by force, had recourse to stratagem. For this

this purpose he prevailed on a favourite officer named Tuam Maxeliz, to imitate the conduct of Zopirus at Babylon. Being accordingly mutilated, Tuam fled with some companions to Malacca, giving out that he had escaped from the tyrannical cruelty of his sovereign. Ruy de Brito, who then commanded in the citadel of Malacca, credited his story and reposed so much confidence in his fidelity that he was admitted at all times into the fortress. At length, having appointed a particular day for the execution of his long-concerted enterprise, on which Mahomet was to send a party to second his efforts or to bring him off, he and his accomplices got admittance into the fort as usual, and immediately began to assassinate the Portuguese garrison by means of their daggers, and had actually slain six before they were able to stand to their defence. Brito, who happened to be asleep when the alarm was given, immediately collected his men and drove the traitor and his companions from the fort, at the very moment when a party of armed Malays came up to second their efforts. The commander of this party, named Tuam Calascar, on learning the miscarriage of Tuam Maxeliz, pretended that he came to the assistance of Brito, and by that means was permitted to retire.

Soon after this Pedro de Faria arrived at Malacca from the Straits of Sabam, bringing with him *Abdela* king of Campar, who being no longer able to endure the insolence of his father-in-law Mahomet, came to reside in security under the protection of the Portuguese in Malacca. This was in the month of July[24], shortly after the arrival of George de Albuquerque from Goa to command at Malacca. By instructions from the viceroy, Abdela was appointed *Bendara*, or governor of the natives, which office had till then been enjoyed by *Ninachetu*, who was now displaced on account of some miscarriage or malversation. Ninachetu, who was a gentile, so much resented this affront, that he resolved to give a signal demonstration of his fidelity and concern. He was very rich, and gave orders to dress up a scaffold or funeral pile in the market-place or bazar of Malacca, splendidly adorned with rich silks and cloth of gold, the middle of the pile being composed of a vast heap of aromatic wood of high price. The entire street from his dwelling to the pile was strewed with sweet-scented herbs

24 Faria omits any mention of the year, but from the context it appears to have been in 1513.—E.

herbs and flowers, and adorned with rich hangings, correspondent to the magnificence of the pile. Having collected all his friends, and clad himself and family in splendid attire, he went in solemn procession to the bazar, where he mounted the scaffold and made a long harangue, in which he protested his innocence and declared that he had always served the Portuguese with the utmost zeal and fidelity. Having ordered the pile to be fired, and seeing the whole in flames, he declared that he would now mount to heaven in that flame and smoke, and immediately cast himself into the flaming pile, to the great admiration of all the beholders.

At this time the king of Campar had gone home, intending to return to assume his office of Bendara, but was hindered by Mahomet and the king of Bintang, who fitted out a fleet of 70 sail with 2500 men under the command of the king of *Linga*, and besieged Campar, in the harbour of which town there were eight Portuguese vessels and some native *proas*, under the command of George Botello. Observing this squadron to be somewhat careless, the king of Linga fell suddenly with his galley on the ship commanded by Botello, followed by the rest of his fleet; but met with so warm a reception that his galley was taken, so that he had to leap overboard, and the rest of the enemies fleet was put to flight. The siege was now raised, and Botello conveyed the king of Campar to Malacca, where he exercised the office of Bendara with so much judgment and propriety, that in four months the city was visibly improved, great numbers of people resorting thither who had formerly fled to Mahomet to avoid the oppressions of Ninachetu. Perceiving the growth of the city under the wise administration of Abdela, Mahomet determined to put a stop to this prosperity by means of a fraud peculiar to a Moor. He gave out secretly, yet so that it might spread abroad, that his son-in-law had gone over to the Portuguese at Malacca with his knowledge and consent, and that the same thing was done by all those who seemed to fly there from Bintang, with the design to seize upon the fort on the first opportunity, and restore it to him who was the lawful prince. This secret, as intended by Mahomet, was at length divulged at Malacca, where it produced the intended effect, as the commandant, George de Albuquerque, gave more credit to this false report than to the honest proceedings of the Bendara, who was tried and condemned as a traitor, and had his head cut off on a public scaffold. In consequence

of

of this event, the city was left almost desolate by the flight of the native inhabitants, and was afterwards oppressed by famine.

During the year 1513, while these transactions were going on at Malacca, the viceroy Albuquerque visited the most important places under his charge, and gave the necessary orders for their security. He dispatched his nephew Don Garcia to Cochin, with directions to expedite the construction of the fort then building at Calicut. He appointed a squadron of four sail, under the command of his nephew Pedro de Albuquerque, to cruise from the mouth of the Red Sea to that of the Persian Gulf, with orders to receive the tribute of Ormuz when it became due, and then to discover the island of Bahrayn, the seat of the great pearl-fishery in that gulf. He sent ambassadors well attended to several princes. Diego Fernandez de Beja went to the king of Cambaya, to treat about the erection of a fort at Diu, which had been before consented to, but was now refused at the instigation of Malek Azz. Fernandez returned to Goa with magnificent presents to Albuquerque, among which was a Rhinoceros or *Abada*, which was afterwards lost in the Mediterranean on its way from king Manuel to the pope along with other Indian rarities. Juan Gonzalez de Castello Branco was sent to the king of Bisnagar, to demand restitution of the dependencies belonging to Goa, but with little success.

In September 1513, five ships arrived at Goa from Portugal under the command of Christopher de Brito, one of which bound for Cambaya was lost. Having dispatched these ships with their homeward cargoes, Albuquerque prepared for a military expedition, but was for some time indetermined whether to bend his course for Ormuz or the Red Sea, both expeditions having been ordered by the king. In order to determine which of these was to be undertaken, he convened a council of all his captains, and it was agreed that Ormuz was to be preferred, which was in fact quite consonant to the wishes of the viceroy. He accordingly set sail on the 20th of February 1514, with a fleet of 27 sail, having on board a land force of 1500 Portuguese and 600 native Malabars and Canaras. The fleet anchored in the port of Ormuz on the 26th of March, and an immediate message of ceremony came off from the king with rich presents; but Albuquerque was better pleased with finding that Michael Ferreyra, whom he had

sent

sent on an embassy to Ismael king of Persia, to negociate a treaty of amity and commerce, had strong hopes of success.

Seif Addin king of Ormuz and his governor Khojah Attar were now both dead, and Reis Hamet now possessed the entire favour and confidence of the new king. Among other things, Albuquerque sent to demand being put immediately in possession of the fort which he had formerly begun to build at Ormuz, and that some principal persons should be sent to ratify and confirm the submission which the former king Seif Addin had made of the kingdom to the supremacy of the king of Portugal. All was consented to, as there was no sufficient power for resistance; and Reis Noradin the governor came to wait upon Albuquerque accompanied by his nephew, to make the desired ratification. The viceroy made rich presents on the occasion, and sent a splendid collar of gold to the king, with the Portuguese standard, as a mark of the union between the two nations. Public rejoicings were made on both sides on account of this amicable arrangement; and Albuquerque took possession of the fort, which had been formerly begun, and by using every exertion it rose in a few days to a great height, so that the viceroy and his principal officers took up their residence in some houses in its neighbourhood. Albuquerque now made splendid preparations to receive the ambassador from the king of Persia, who brought a magnificent present from his sovereign, consisting of rich brocades, precious stones, splendid golden ornaments, and many fine silks. The ambassador was honourably received, and the treaty concluded to mental satisfaction. This ceremony took place on a scaffold erected in public near the residence of the viceroy, and had been delayed for a considerable time on purpose to be exhibited in great splendour to the people of Ormuz, that they might see that the Portuguese friendship was sought after by so powerful a sovereign. The king of Ormuz was at a window to see the procession.

Reis Hamet[25], formerly mentioned, had come to Ormuz from Persia with the design of seizing the city and delivering it up to the Sophi. He had insinuated himself so effectually into the favour of the king as to govern him in all respects, and nothing was done but by his directions. The better to carry on his enterprise, he had gradually introduced a number of

25 Reis or Rais signifies a chief, and is commonly given on the coasts of Arabia and Persia to sea captains: In Faria it is Raez.—Astl. I. 75. a.

of his dependents into the city, and was actually preparing to kill the king and seize the government, but deferred his intentions to a more favourable opportunity. Albuquerque was fully informed of all these secret practices, and that the king was anxious to be delivered from the influence of Hamet; he therefore endeavoured to devise means for effectuating the purpose, and fortune soon gave him an opportunity. An interview had been appointed to take place between the king and Albuquerque; but prompted by his fears, Hamet endeavoured to shun this danger, by proposing that Albuquerque should wait upon the king, lest if the king went to visit the viceroy, he might be obliged to attend him. But Albuquerque insisted upon receiving the visit of the king, which was at last agreed to, on condition that neither party was to be armed. Some of the attendants upon Hamet were however secretly armed, and Hamet came armed himself, and pressed foremost into the room with much rudeness, on which Albuquerque made a concerted signal to his captains, who instantly dispatched him. After this the king came, and a conference began between him and the viceroy, which was soon interrupted by a violent clamour among the people, who supposed their king was slain. But the people belonging to Hamet, knowing that their master had been killed, ran and fortified themselves in the kings palace. Albuquerque proposed immediately to have dispossessed them by means of his troops; but the king and governor found other means of expelling these men from the city, who to the number of 700 men went to Persia.

When this tumult was appeased, the people of Ormuz were much gratified at seeing their king conducted back to his palace in great pomp, attended by Albuquerque and all his officers, more especially as he was now freed from the tyranny of Hamet, and restored to the majesty of a king[26]. Albuquerque now dispatched the Persian ambassador, accompanied by Ferdinando Gomez, carrying a present of double the value of that he had received, and having orders to give a proper account of the late transactions at Ormuz, especially in regard to Reis Hamet. Gomez was well received, and brought

26 It is scarce possible to conceive how Faria could gravely make this observation, when the Portuguese had imposed an annual tribute on the king of Ormuz, and were actually building a fortress to keep the capital under subjection.—E.

brought back a favourable answer. It would require more room than can be spared in this history to give an account of the affairs of Persia; it may therefore suffice to say that the valiant prince who reigned over Persia at this time was engaged in war with the Turks, and was desirous of taking advantage of the Portuguese assistance against his enemy.

While the fort of Ormuz was building, or rather finishing, Albuquerque persuaded the king that it would contribute to the safety of the city to put all their cannon into the fort to defend them against their enemies, but in reality to disable them from resisting the Portuguese domination. Security is a powerful argument with those who are in fear, so that the king and his governor reluctantly consented to this demand. Thus the rich and powerful kingdom of Ormuz was completely subjected to the Portuguese dominion, yet more to the advantage than detriment of its native princes; who were more oppressed before by the tyranny of their ministers, than afterwards by the tribute they had to pay to the Portuguese, besides the security they enjoyed under protection of the Portuguese arms. Yet liberty is sweeter than all other conveniences.

Albuquerque dispatched his nephew Don Garcia de Noronha with most of the fleet to Cochin, with orders to send home the ships of the season with the trade to Portugal, remaining behind to conclude such arrangements as seemed to require his presence. He soon afterwards fell sick, and was persuaded by his attendants to return to India for the recovery of his health, which he consented to, and left Pedro de Albuquerque in the command of the fort at Ormuz. His departure gave great concern to the king, who loved him as a father. While on the voyage to Goa, he got notice that 12 ships were arrived in India from Portugal with orders for his return to Europe, Lope Soarez who commanded that fleet being appointed his successor. He was likewise informed that Diego Mendez and Diego Pereyra, both of whom he had sent home as prisoners for heinous crimes, had come back to India, the one as governor of Cochin and the other as secretary to the new viceroy. These news gave him much dissatisfaction, and he is reported to have vented his distress on the occasion to the following purpose. "It is now time for me to take sanctuary in the church, having incurred the kings displeasure for the sake of his subjects, and their anger for the sake of the king. Old man! fly to the church! Your

honour

honour requires that you should die, and you have never yet omitted any thing in which your honour was concerned!" Then raising his hands and eyes to heaven, he gave God thanks that a governor had come out so opportunely, not doubting that he should soon die. He fell into a profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul almost in the arms of death, at which place he wrote the following letter to the king. "This, Sir! is the last letter your highness will receive from me, who am now under the pangs of death. I have formerly written many to your highness full of life and vigour, being then free from the dread thought of this last hour, and actively employed in your service. I leave a son behind me, *Blas de Albuquerque*, whom I entreat your highness to promote in recompence of my services. The affairs of India will answer for themselves and me."

Having arrived on the bar of Goa, which he called his *Land of Promise*, he expired on the 16th of December 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age, retaining his senses to the last, and dying as became a good Christian. Alfonso de Albuquerque was second son to Gonzalo de Albuquerque lord of Villaverde, by Donna Leonora de Menezes, daughter of Alvaro Gonzalez de Atayde, first count of Atouguia. He had been master of the horse to King John the Second. He was of moderate stature, having a fair and pleasing countenance, with a venerable beard reaching below his girdle to which he wore it knotted. When angry his looks were terrible; but when pleased his manners were merry, pleasant, and witty. He was buried in a chapel which he built near the gate of the city of Goa, dedicated to *Our Lady of the Mountain;* but, after a long resistance from the inhabitants of Goa, his bones were transferred to the church of *Our Lady of Grace* at Lisbon.

The dominion of the Portuguese in India was founded by three great men, Duarte Pacheco, Francisco de Almeyda, and Alfonso de Albuquerque; after whom scarcely was there a single successor who did not decline from their great character, having either a mixture of timidity with their valour, or of covetousness with their moderation, in which the vices predominated. In gaining this Indian crown, *Pacheco* alone acted with that fiery heat which melted the arms and riches of the zamorin; only *Almeyda* could have filed and polished it, by his own and his sons sword, bringing it into form by humbling the pride of the Egyptian Soldan; while *Albu-*

querque gave a finish to its ornaments, by adorning it with three precious jewels, *Goa*, *Malacca* and *Ormuz* [27].

SECTION VI.

Portuguese Transactions in India, under several governors, from the close of 1515, *to the year* 1526.

WHILE the great Alfonso de Albuquerque was drawing towards the last period of his life, Manuel, as if he had foreseen that event, sent out Don Lope Soarez de Albergaria to succeed him in the government, with a fleet of 13 ships, carrying a force of 1500 soldiers, many of whom were gentlemen by birth, and still more so by their actions. Among them was Duarte Galvam, a person of learning and judgment, who was sent ambassador to Abyssinia with considerable presents, some for *Prester John*, and some for the church. On his arrival at Cochin, the new governor offended many by the reservedness of his carriage and manners, and became particularly disagreeable to the rajah, who had been accustomed to the discreet and easy civility of Albuquerque. Don Garcia de Noronha took charge of the homeward bound ships, and went away after no small disagreement with Soarez. Till this time, the Portuguese gentlemen in India had followed the dictates of honour, esteeming arms their greatest riches; but henceforwards they gave themselves entirely up to trade, those who had been captains becoming merchants; insomuch that command became a shame, honour a scandal, and reputation a reproach. Having entered upon the exercise of his government, he visited the forts, in which he placed new captains, gave out orders, and transacted other affairs of small moment, which serve rather to fill the page than to advance the dignity of history.

In the year 1515, five ships sailed from Lisbon under the command of Juan de Sylveira, three of which arrived in Lisbon, and the other two were lost on the sands of St Lazarus. By orders from the king, proceeding on information that the Soldan

27 Portuguese Asia, II. vii. This rhetorical flourish by De Faria, gives a specimen of what was perhaps considered fine writing in those days; but it strongly marks the important services of Albuquerque, and is therefore here inserted.—E.

Soldan was fitting out a great fleet at Suez, Soarez sailed from Goa on the 8th of February 1516, with 27 sail of vessels of various sizes and descriptions, having 1200 Portuguese and 800 Malabar soldiers on board, besides 800 native seamen, and directed his course for the Red Sea in order to oppose the Mameluke fleet. On arriving at Aden, Miramirzan the governor immediately offered to surrender the place, declaring he would have done so to Albuquerque if that officer had not at the very first proceeded to hostility. The real state of the matter was that the place was indefensible, as Reis Soliman, the admiral of the Egyptian fleet of which Soarez was in search had beaten down a part of the wall so that the town was defenceless. Lope Soarez was so much pleased by this flattering offer that he trusted Miramirzan and declined taking possession of the city till his return from the Red Sea, and went away in search of Reis Soliman; but he neither met with him, nor did he take Aden on his return. While on his voyage up the Red Sea, Don Alvaro de Castro with forty men was lost through covetousness, as he so overloaded his ship with goods from some captured vessels that she became water-logged and went to the bottom. Some other ships of the fleet received damage during this part of the voyage. Hearing that Soliman was driven by stress of weather to Jiddah, where he had no means of defence, Soarez determined to sail to that place.

Jiddah or Juddah, the sea-port of Mecca, is a town and harbour of Arabia on the eastern shore of the Red Sea in about 22° of north latitude, situated in a most barren soil composed of deep loose sand, being more calculated for commerce than delight. The buildings are good, but the harbour very bad, and its inhabitants consist partly of native Arabs and partly of foreign merchants. It was fortified by Mir Husseyn after his defeat by Almeyda, under pretence of defending the sepulchre of Mahomet, but in reality for his own security as he was afraid to return defeated to the Soldan. While he was occupied in constructing the fortifications, Reis Soliman a low born Turk of Mitylene in the Archipelago, but a bold and successful corsair, offered his services to the Soldan, and was appointed admiral of the Suez fleet of 27 sail, which was fitting out for the attack of Aden. Mir Husseyn was accordingly discarded and Soliman appointed in his place. After the failure of his attempt on Aden, where he lost a considerable number of men, Soliman made a descent on Zobeid in the

Tehamah

Tehamah near the island of Kamaran, where he acquired a considerable booty, from whence he proceeded to Jiddah, where he slew Mir Husseyn: And learning that the emperor of the Turks had slain the Soldan in battle, and subverted the sovereignty of the Mamelukes in Egypt, he surrendered the Egyptian fleet and the port of Jiddah to the conqueror.

Finding the port dangerous, Soarez came to anchor about a league from the city of Jiddah, yet so excellent were some of the cannon of the place, that three or four pieces were able to carry that prodigious distance. Soliman sent a message to the Christian fleet offering a single combat man to man, which Gaspar de Silva and Antonio de Menezes both offered to accept, but Soarez would not allow the combat. Soarez now caused the channel leading up to Jiddah to be sounded, and at this time the inhabitants were much alarmed by the fire of one of the Portuguese vessels; but Soliman appeased the tumult, and made his appearance without the walls with some of his men, while the walls were filled by vast multitudes of the infidels, who rent the air with loud cries. After two days of inaction, the Portuguese began to complain of the delay; but Soarez appeased his officers by shewing his instructions, in which he was ordered to fight the fleet of the Mamelukes, which could not be accomplished, and not to attack the city, where there might be much danger and little chance of profit. Though the votes differed in the council of war, it was resolved by a majority to desist from the enterprise against Jiddah, and accordingly Soarez and his armament retired to Kamaran, whence he detached several ships to different parts of the Red Sea. At this place died Duarte Galvam, a learned and ingenious man, who had been employed in several embassies in Europe, and though above seventy years of age was now going ambassador to *Prester John.* At the time of his death, he told his attendants that his son George and all his men had been cast away in their vessel, and that the inhabitants of the island of Dalac had cut off the heads of Lorenzo de Cosme and others that had been sent to that place. All this was afterwards found true, yet it was utterly impossible that the intelligence could have reached Duarte at Kamaran before his death.

After suffering much distress from famine, of which several men died, and losing seventeen Portuguese who were made prisoners by the Arabs, and carried to Jiddah, Soarez set sail from Kamaran and appeared before Zeyla in the kingdom of

 Adel,

Adel, on the north-east coast of Africa, a little way out from the mouth of the Red Sea. This place was called *Emporium Avalite* by Ptolemy, who describes it as a great mart in ancient times. On the present occasion Zeyla was taken with little opposition, being unprepared for defence, and was reduced to ashes. From Zeyla, Soarez went to Aden on the coast of Arabia, but soon found he had been to blame for not taking possession when formerly offered it; as Miramirzan had repaired the wall, and now procrastinated the surrender of his city by various affected delays. Soarez fearing to lose the season of the trade winds for returning to India, set sail for Barbora on the same coast with Zeyla, which he meant likewise to destroy; but the fleet was dispersed in a storm, and on its being afterwards collected, it was found that more than eight hundred men had perished, from famine, disease, and shipwreck, in this disastrous and ill-conducted expedition.

While these disasters attended Soarez, the city of Goa, where Monroy commanded, was threatened with destruction. According to orders from Soarez, some ships had been taken from the enemy, but with more profit than reputation, though not without danger. One Alvaro Madureira, who had married at Goa, fled to the enemy and turned Mahometan. He afterwards repented and returned to Goa; but again fled to the Moors and brought them to attack the Portuguese ships, which were in imminent danger of being captured. About this time likewise, one Ferdinando Caldera, who was also married at Goa, fled from that city to avoid punishment for some crime he had committed, and joined the Moors; though some say that he was forced to desert by Monroy, who was in love with his wife. However this may have been, Caldera went to serve under *Ancostan* an officer of the king of Bisnagar. Don Gutierre de Monroy demanded of Ancostan to deliver him up, which was refused; after which Monroy suborned another person to go over to the enemy to assassinate Caldera; which was done, but the assassin was instantly slain by the Moors. On the return of Soarez to Goa, being informed of these incidents, he left Monroy to take what satisfaction he thought proper from Ancostan. Monroy accordingly sent out his brother Don Fernando at the head of 150 Portuguese, 80 of whom were horse, and a considerable body of natives, to attack Ancostan. Fernando defeated the Moors at *Ponda*; but the Moors having rallied defeated him in his turn, and

obliged

obliged him to retire with the loss of 200 men killed and taken prisoners. On these hostilities, the whole country was up in arms, and Adel Khan the king of Bisnagar ordered his general *Sufo Lari* to besiege Goa. Lari accordingly endeavoured to cross over into the island at the head of 4000 horse and 26,000 foot, but was repulsed. In the mean time, as all intercourse was cut off between the island and the continent, the besieged became distressed by want of provisions; but on the arrival of three ships, one from Portugal, one from Quiloa, and the third from China, Lari raised the blockade and the former peace was renewed.

Similar misfortunes took place at Malacca, through the misrule of George de Brito and others, which occasioned all the native inhabitants to desert the city to avoid oppression. In this situation, Mahomet, the exiled king, sent a considerable force to attempt recovering his capital, under the command of *Cerilege Rajah* his general. Cerilege intrenched his army, and so pressed the besieged that the Portuguese had assuredly been driven from Malacca, had not Don Alexius de Menezes arrived to assume the government with a reinforcement of 300 men.

Antonio de Saldanna arrived in India in 1517 with six ships. In this fleet one Alcacova came out as surveyor of the king's revenue, invested with such power as greatly curtailed the influence of Soarez, and having the inclination to encroach still farther on his authority than he was warranted. This occasioned great dissensions between the governor and surveyor; who finding himself unable to prevail, returned into Portugal where he made loud complaints against the administration of affairs in India. Hence began the practice of listening to complaints at home against the governors and commanders employed in India; and hence many took more care in the sequel to amass riches than to acquire honour, knowing that money is a never-failing protection from crimes. Soarez sent Juan de Sylveira to the Maldive islands, Alexius de Menezes to Malacca, Manuel de la Cerda to Diu, and Antonio de Saldanna with six ships to the coast of Arabia by orders from the king. The only exploit performed by Saldanna was the capture and destruction of Barbora, a town near Zeyla but much smaller, whence the inhabitants fled. Saldanna then returned to India, where he found Soarez about to sail for the island of Ceylon.

The island of Ceylon, the southernmost land in India, is to

to the east of Cape Comorin. It is sixteen leagues distant from the continent [1], to which some imagine that it was formerly joined. This island is about 80 leagues from north to south, and about 45 leagues from east to west [2]. The most southerly point, or Dondra Head, is in lat. 5° 52′ N. The most northerly, or Point Pedro, in 9° 48′. In the sea belonging to this island there is a fishery of the most precious pearls. By the Persians and Arabs it is called *Serendib* [3]. It took the name of *Ceylon* from the sea by which it is surrounded, owing to the loss of a great fleet of the Chinese, who therefore named that sea *Chilam*, signifying danger, somewhat resembling *Scylla;* and this word was corrupted to Ceylon. This island was the *Taprobana* of the ancients, and not Sumatra as some have imagined. Its productions are numerous and valuable: Cinnamon of greatly finer quality than in any other place; rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones; much pepper and cardamoms, Brazil wood, and other dyes, great woods of palm-trees, numbers of elephants which are more docile than those of other countries, and abundance of cattle. It has many good ports, and several rivers of excellent water. The mountains are covered with pleasant woods. One of these mountains, which rises for the space of seven leagues, has a circular plain on the top of about thirty paces diameter, in the middle of which is a smooth rock about six spans high, upon which is the print of a man's foot about two spans in length. This footstep is held in great veneration, being supposed to have been impressed there by a holy man from Delhi, who lived many years on that mountain, teaching the inhabitants the belief in the one only God. This person returned afterwards to his own country, whence he sent one of his teeth to the king of the island as a token of remembrance, and it is still preserved as a holy relick, on which they repose much confidence in time of danger, and many pilgrims resort thither from places a thousand miles distant. The island is divided into nine kingdoms, *Columbo* on

1 The distance between Ceylon and the Carnatic across Palks Bay is about 63 English miles; but at Jafnapatnam and Ramiseram, this distance is lessened to 48, by two capes, at the former projecting from the island, and at the latter from the continent.—E.

2 From Point Pedro in the north to Dondra Head in the south, are 265 miles, and its widest part from Negombo in the west to Poukiri Chene in the east is 143 statute miles.—E.

3 More properly Selan-dib, or the Isle of Selan. The derivation of the name of Ceylon in the text does not admit of commentary.—E.

on the west being the chief of these. The others are *Gale* on the south, *Jaula*, *Tanavaca*, *Cande*, *Batecalon*, *Vilacem*, *Trinquinimale*, and *Jafanapatam* [4].

Albuquerque had established a treaty of amity and commerce with the king of Columbo, who furnished the Portuguese with cinnamon; and Soarez went thither at this time, by order of the king of Portugal, to construct a fort at Columbo, and to reduce the prince of that country to pay tribute. On this occasion his fleet consisted of seven gallies, two ships, and eight small vessels, carrying materials and workmen for building the fort, and 700 Portuguese soldiers. At first the king consented to have the fort built, but changed his mind at the instigation of the Moors, and put Soarez to considerable difficulty; but in the end the Moors were put to flight, the fort built, and the king constrained to become a tributary vassal of Portugal, by the yearly payment of 1200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants.

At this time Juan de Sylveira returned from the Maldives, where he had taken two ships belonging to Cambaya, and had got permission of the king of the Maldives to erect a fort at the principal harbour. Sylveira went upon a similar mission to Bengal, where he was in great danger; as a young man of Bengal who sailed there with him, gave notice of his having taken these two ships, so that he was considered as a pirate. He had fared worse than he did, but for the arrival of Juan Coello from Pisang, sent by Andrada to the king of Bengal. After passing the winter in Bengal with great difficulty on account of famine, Sylveira set sail, being invited by the king of Aracan to come to his port of Chittagon by a messenger who brought him a valuable present; but all this kindness was only intended to decoy him to his ruin, at the instigation of the king of Bengal. He escaped however from the snare, and arrived at Ceylon as Soarez had finished the fort of Columbo, of which he appointed Sylveira to the command, leaving Azevedo with four ships to guard the sea in that neighbourhood.

About

4 All of these except *Cande*, *Candi*, or *Kandi*, the central mountainous region, still occupied by the native Hindoo race, appear to have been small sovereignties of the Moors or Malays; and have been long under European rule, having been conquered by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British in succession. The topography of Ceylon will be illustrated hereafter, and does not admit of being explained in the compass of a note.—E.

About the same time Menezes secured the safety of Malacca, as mentioned before, by supplying it with men and ammunition, and appointed Alfonso Lopez de Costa to the government, in place of Brito who was dying. Duarte de Melo was left there with a naval force; and Duarte Coello was sent with an embassy and present to the king of Siam, to confirm a treaty of peace and amity, and to request of him to send a colony of his subjects to inhabit the city of Malacca, so that the Moors whom he hated as much as the Portuguese, might be for ever excluded from that place. All this was agreed to, and as a testimonial of his friendship to the Christians, he caused a great cross, ornamented with the arms of Portugal, to be erected in a conspicuous part of the city of Hudia, where he then resided. Having thus succeeded in his mission, Coello was forced by stress of weather upon the coast of Pahang, where he was received in a friendly manner by the king, who voluntarily submitted to become a vassal to the crown of Portugal, and to pay a cup of gold as an annual tribute. This was done more from hatred to the king of Bintang, than from love to the Portuguese.

The kingdom of Siam was at this time one of the greatest in the east, the two others of greatest consequence being China and Bisnagar. The great river *Menam* runs through the middle of the kingdom of Siam from north to south, having its source in the great lake of *Chiamay* in lat. 30° N. and its mouth in 13°, so that the length of this kingdom is 330 leagues. On the west it joins Bengal, on the south Malacca, on the north China, and on the east Cambodia. Its territory contains both mountains and plains, and it is inhabited by many different races of people, some of whom are extremely cruel and barbarous, and even feed on human flesh. Among these the *Guei* ornament themselves with figures impressed by hot irons[5]. Siam abounds in elephants, cattle, and buffaloes. It has many sea-ports and populous cities, *Hudia* being the metropolis or residence of the court. The religion of the Siamese agrees in many considerable points with Christianity, as they believe in one God, in heaven and hell, and in good and bad angels that attend upon every person[6]. They build sumptuous temples, in which they have images

5 Perhaps tattooing may be here alluded to.—E.

6 It is hardly possible to conceive how it could enter into the conception of any one to compare the stupid polytheism of the worshippers of Budda, with

images of vast size. They are very religious, sparing in their diet, much given to divination, and addicted to the study of astrology. The country is exceedingly fertile, and abounds in gold, silver, and other metals. The memorable services of the subjects are recorded that they may be read to the kings. When the king of Siam takes the field, he is able to set on foot a force of 300,000 men and 10,000 elephants.

About this time, Fernan Perez de Andrada arrived at Pisang, where he was well received, but lost his largest ship, which was set on fire by the careless management of a lighted candle, so that he was forced to return to Malacca. From that place Juan Coello [7], was sent to China, meeting with furious storms and other dangers by the way. While on the coast of Tsiompa, taking in fresh water, he was nearly lost. At Patane and other places he established commercial treaties with the native princes, and spent the winter without being able to reach China, being obliged to return to Malacca to refit. After which he again resumed his voyage for China with eight ships. The empire of China is the most eastern in Asia, as Spain is the most westerly in Europe; and opposite to China is the island of Hainan, as that of Cadiz is to Spain. It is almost as large as all Europe, being divided from Tartary by a wonderful wall which runs from east to west above 200 leagues, and ends at a vast mountain or promontory which is washed by the eastern sea of Tartary. This vast empire is divided into fifteen provinces. Along the coast are those of *Quantung*, *Fokien*, *Chekiang*, *Nanking*, *Xantung*, and *Leaotung;* those of the inland country are *Queicheu*, *Junnan*, *Quangsi*, *Suchuen*, *Huquang*, *Xensi*, *Kiangsi*, *Honan*, and *Xansi*, in all of which there are 244 cities. Its riches are prodigious, and its government admirable above all others. The natives allege that they alone have two eyes, the Europeans one, and that all the other nations are blind. They certainly had both printing and cannon long before the Europeans. The city of Quantung or Canton, which is the principal sea-port, is remarkable for its size, the strength of its fortifications, and the prodigious resort of strangers for trade.

After

with the Christian religion: In one thing indeed the Catholic church has contrived to establish a resemblance, by the subordinate worship of innumerable idols or images.—E.

7 It will appear from the sequel that Fernan Perez de Andrada commanded on this voyage, not Coello as stated in the text.—E.

After some considerable difficulties and dangers, Fernan Perez arrived at Canton, where he had a conference with the three governors of the city, to whom he presented Thomas Perez as ambassador to the emperor from the king of Portugal, and requested them to forward him and the present he was charged with. Perez settled a commercial treaty with the governors of Canton, and having concluded his traffic there and at the neighbouring parts, he returned to Malacca, loaded with riches. He was no less welcome there than Menezes had been formerly, as it was reduced to a dangerous situation in consequence of war with the king of Bintang, of which we shall have occasion to give an account in the sequel.

In 1518 Diego Lopez de Sequeira was sent out as governor of India, in reward for his services in Africa and for having discovered Malacca. One of his ships was in danger of perishing at the Cape of Good Hope in consequence of being run against by a great fish, which stuck a long horn or beak two spans length into her side. It was afterwards found that this was a fish called the *needle*. Soarez immediately resigned the government to Sequeira, and set sail for Portugal with nine ships. On taking possession of the government, Sequeira sent Alonson de Menezes to reduce Baticala in the island of Ceylon, the king of which place had neglected to pay the stipulated tribute; and Juan Gomez was sent to build a fort at the Maldive islands. Sequeira then went from Cochin to Goa, whence he dispatched Antonio de Saldanna to the coast of Arabia, and Simon de Andrada to China.

About this time the king of Bintang attacked Malacca by land with 1500 men and many elephants, while 60 vessels blockaded the harbour. The Portuguese garrison consisted only of 200 men, many of whom were sick, but the danger cured them of their fevers, and every one ran to repel the enemy. After a severe encounter of three hours the enemy was repulsed with great loss: He continued however before the town for three weeks and then retired, having lost 330 men, while 18 of the Portuguese were slain. On the arrival of reinforcements, having been much injured by frequent inroads from the fort of *Maur* not far from Malacca, the Portuguese took that place by assault, killing most of the garrison which consisted of 800 Moors, and after securing the spoil burnt Maur to the ground. There were 300 cannon at this place, some of which were brass. Nothing more of any note

happened

happened this year, except that Diego Pacheco with most of his men were lost in two ships, which went in search of the *Island of Gold*[8].

In the year 1519, Antonio Correa concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the king of Pegu, which was mutually sworn to between him and the kings ministers, assisted by the priests of both nations, Catholic and Pagan. The heathen priest was called the grand *Raulim*, who, after the treaty or capitulation was read, made according to their custom *in the golden mine*[9], began to read from a book, and then taking some yellow paper, a colour dedicated to holy purposes, and some sweet-smelling leaves impressed with certain characters, set both on fire; after which, holding the hands of the minister over the ashes, he pronounced some words which rendered the oath inviolable. By way of a parallel to this solemnity, Correa ordered his priest to attend in his surplice with his breviary; but that was so tattered and torn that it was unfit to be seen by these heathens, on which he ordered a book of church music to be brought, which had a more creditable appearance, being larger and better bound; and opening at the first place which appeared, the priest began the lesson *Vanity of Vanities*, which answered among these ignorant people as well as if it had been the gospel[10]. The metropolis of the kingdom is called *Bagou*, corruptly called Pegu, which name is likewise given to the kingdom. It has the Bay of Bengal on the west, Siam on the east, Malacca on the south, and Aracan on the north. This kingdom is almost 100 leagues in length, and in some places of the same breadth, not including the conquered provinces. The land is plain, well watered, and very fertile, producing abundance of provisions of all kinds, particularly cattle and grain. It has many temples with a prodigious multitude of images, and a vast number of ceremonies. The people believe themselves to have descended from a Chinese *dog* and a woman, who alone escaped from shipwreck on that coast and

8 Possibly Japan is here meant.—E.

9 This singular expression may have been some court phrase of the court of Pegu, meaning the royal presence.—E.

10 On this trifling incident, the editor of Astley's Collection gives the following marginal reference, *A merry passage*. Ludere cum sacris is rather a stale jest, and perhaps the grand Raulim was as ingenious as Correa and his priest, to trick the ignorant unbelievers in their sacred doctrines of Bhudda.—E.

and left a progeny; owing to which circumstance in their opinion, the men are all ugly and the women handsome. The Peguers being much addicted to sodomy, a queen of that country named Canane, ordered the women to wear bells and open garments, by way of inviting the men to abandon that abominable vice.

On the arrival of Antonio Correa with relief at Malacca, Garcia de Sa resolved to take revenge on the king of Bintang. He therefore gave Correa the command of 30 ships, with 500 soldiers, 150 of whom were Portuguese, with which armament Correa proceeded to the place where the king had fortified himself, which was defended by a fort with a great number of cannon and a numerous garrison. The access to this place was extremely difficult and guarded by a great number of armed vessels; yet Correa attacked without hesitation and carried the fort, which had 20 pieces of cannon, the garrison being forced to retire to the town, where the king still had a force of 2000 men and several armed elephants. The Portuguese, following up their first success, pushed up the river clearing away all that obstructed them; after which they landed and took the town, killing many of the enemy, and put the rest to flight, the king among the rest fled on an elephant, and never stopped till they came to Bintang. The town above mentioned was plundered and burnt by the Portuguese; and the discomfited king remained long at Bintang unable for any new enterprise against the Portuguese. The successes of the king of Bintang in the beginning of this war had encouraged the kings of Pisang and Acheen to commit some outrages against the Portuguese; for which reason being now victorious, Garcia de Sa determined to be revenged upon them. Having some success, he fitted out a ship commanded by Manuel Pacheco to take some revenge for the injuries he had sustained; and Pacheco had occasion to send a boat for water rowed by Malays, having only five Portuguese on board, which fell in with three ships belonging to Pisang each having 150 men. Finding it impossible to escape, they boarded the commander with such resolute fury that they soon strewed the deck with the dead bodies of the enemy, and the remainder of the crew leapt overboard, followed by their captain, who was seen hewing them with his cymeter in the water in revenge for their cowardice. The *five* Portuguese thus obtained possession of the ship, and the other two fled, on which Pacheco returned to Malacca with

with his prize in triumph, and the captured ship was long preserved as a memorial of this signal exploit. The king of Pisang was so much terrified by this action that he sued for peace, and offered ample reparation of all the injuries he had done to the Portuguese.

In this same year 1519 Diego Gomez went to erect a fort at the principal island of the Maldives; but behaved himself with so much arrogance that the Moors killed ten or twelve of his men. This is the chief of *a thousand isles* which lie in clusters in that sea, and such is the signification of *Male-dive.* They resemble a long ridge of mountains, the sea between being as valleys and serving for communications from isle to isle; and about the middle of the group is the large island, in which the king resides. The natives of these islands are gentiles, but the government is in the hands of the Moors. They are so close together, that in many of the channels the yard-arms of ships passing through rub against the shores, or on the trees on both sides. Their chief product is cocoa-nut trees, the kernel of these nuts producing a pleasant and nutritive fruit, while the outer rhind or husk is useful for making cables. There is another sort of these trees *growing at the bottom of the sea*, having larger fruit than the land cocoa-nut, and which is a more powerful antidote against poison than even the *Bezoar* stone [11].

During this same year 1519, a fleet of 14 ships was sent from Portugal to India, which was dispersed to several parts. Some fell in with the coast of Brazil, where fifty men were slain; and Don Luis de Guzman, one of the captains, turned pirate and became very rich, but afterwards met with his deserts. Six staid at Mozambique. George de Albuquerque the admiral reached India with only four sail. One was driven back to Lisbon. Another watering at *Matira* lost some men, and six more at *Oja*, whom the king long kept with kind entertainment; but their ship which left them was lost on a sand bank off Quiloa, and the Moors of that place and of Monfia and Zanzibar slew them all except one man.

After Sequeira had dispatched the homeward bound trade of the season, under the command of Fernan Perez de Andrada, he sailed on the 13th of February 1520, from Goa with 24 sail of ships of various sizes, having on board 1800 Portuguese soldiers, and about an equal number of Malabars and

11 This submarine cocoa-nut tree is utterly inexplicable.—E.

and Canarins, bound for the Red Sea. Off the coast of Aden his ship struck on a rock and split in pieces; but the men were all saved, and Sequeira the governor went into the galleon of Pedro de Faria. A Moorish ship was taken at the entrance into the Red Sea, from which they learnt that there were six Turkish gallies at Jiddah with 1200 men, intending to proceed against Aden. The weather prevented the Portuguese from going in quest of the Turkish squadron, and in fact it would have been to no purpose; as on hearing that the Portuguese were in these seas, the Turks hauled their gallies on shore. While Sequeira was on his voyage for Massua, a small black flag was seen on the disk of the sun towards evening on the 9th of April being Easter Sunday. On arriving at Massua they found all the inhabitants had fled, yet they found some vessels in the port which they captured. The inhabitants of Massua had fled to the neighbouring port of *Arkiko* in the dominions of *Prester John*, and the governor of the town sent a messenger with a letter to Sequeira desiring that he would make peace with the people who had fled to him for protection; at the same time he asked nothing for the town where he commanded, because they were all Christians, and because they had a prophecy among them which foretold the coming of Christians to settle a correspondence with them, and which he now believed to be fulfilled on seeing the Christian colours. Sequeira sent a courteous answer, and drew nearer the shore, on which several Christians came on board. They told him that their prince had sent several years before an ambassador named Mathew, to a king at the other end of the world whose fleet had conquered India, on purpose to become acquainted with these remote Christians and to demand succour against the Moors; but that the ambassador had never returned. On hearing this, Sequeira was satisfied that they dealt ingeniously with him, as he had actually brought that ambassador along with him, and had orders from the king of Portugal to land him safe in the dominions of *Prester John*. On this, the ambassador of whom they spoke of was brought before them, to their great mutual joy, as he had been ten years absent from his country. Next day ten monks came from a neighbouring convent of *the Vision* to visit Mathew, and were received in great ceremony by the priests of the fleet dressed in their surplices. Great rejoicings were made on occasion of this meeting between two such distant nations agreeing in the same faith; and the consequence

sequence of this meeting was, that those who from the beginning had not acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, now submitted to his authority [12].

The kingdom of *Prester John*, now first visited by Sylveira, is mostly known by this appellation but improperly, as its right name is the empire of Abyssinia, Abassia, Habesh, or the higher Ethiopia. It received the former appellation from the great king *Jovarus*, who came to it from the Christians of Tartary, having a cross carried before him like our bishops, and carrying a cross in his hand, with the title of *Defender of the Faith*, as being a Jacobite Christian [13]. The dominions of this prince are situated between the rivers *Nile*, *Astabora*, and *Astapus*. To the east they border on the Red Sea for 120 leagues, this being the smallest side, as their whole extent is 670 leagues. On the west it borders on those Negroes who possess the great mines of gold, and who pay tribute to the sovereign of Abyssinia. On the north it is divided from the Moors by a line drawn from the city of *Suakem* to the isle of *Meroe* in *Nubia*. On the south it borders on the kingdom of *Adel*, from the mountains of which country the river *Obi* descends, and falls into the sea at the town of *Quilimane* in the kingdom of *Melinda*.

The kings of Abyssinia pretend to descend from King Solomon by the queen of *Sheba* or *Saba*; who being delivered by the way, named her son *Melech*, and sent him to his father, to be by him declared king of Ethiopia. Whereupon Solomon anointed him, and gave him the name of *David*, after his grandfather. Solomon likewise appointed him a household, giving him officers of his own, and sent with him as high priest, Azaria the son of Zadoc, who stole the tables of the law from the temple of Jerusalem, and carried them along with his new prince. It is affirmed that the descendants of these original officers still possess the same employments. The Abyssinians had some knowledge of the law of Christ from Queen *Candace*, in whom they glory as being of their country: But their true apostles were St Philip and St Mathew.

12 The submission of the Abyssinian church to the Roman pontiff was a mere pretence, which afterwards produced long and bloody civil wars, and ended in the expulsion of the Portuguese from the country.—E.

13 It is not worth while to inquire whence this ridiculous legend of king or Saint Jovarus has been derived. The origin of Christianity in Abyssinia will be considered on an after occasion, when we come to the particular travels in that country.—E.

Mathew. In memory of his descent, the king or emperor of Abyssinia begins the enumeration of his many titles in this manner: "*David*, beloved of God, pillar of the Faith, descendant of Judah, grandson of David, son of Solomon, son of the pillar of Sion, son of the progeny of David, son of the hand of Mary, &c. Emperor of the higher Ethiopia," &c. He dwells for the most part in a camp, resembling a populous city, and is frequently removing from one part of the country to another. In his messages, he uses a style similar to that of the kings of Portugal and Spain, beginning "*I the king.*" The people are very religious, having many churches and great numbers of monasteries which belong only to two religious orders, that of St Anthony, and the Canons regular. Those religious persons who live in convents wear long cotton garments; but all the others, and their priests and nuns, are dressed in skins, hardly covering so much as modesty requires. They have no considerable towns, have little learning, no skill in mechanics, and are very rude in their diet and clothing. In such houses as assume any degree of grandeur, all the furniture is brought from other countries. There are as expert thieves in this country as our gypsies are in Europe. This is the substance of what could be gathered by the first discoverers of Abyssinia.

On the news of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet at Massua, and of the return of Mathew the ambassador, the Baharnagash [14] or governor of the province in which Arkiko is situated came there attended by 200 horse and 2000 foot. After some difference about a proper place of meeting between him and Sequeira, they at length agreed to meet on the sea-shore, and were seated on chairs on the sand, under the burning heat of the sun. At this meeting, Sequeira delivered Mathew the Abyssinian ambassador to the Baharnagash, and recommended to his protection Don Rodrigo de Lima who was sent ambassador from King Manuel to the emperor of Abyssinia. They treated likewise about building a fort as a protection against the Moors, either at Kamaran or Massua, and both swore to the sincerity of their friendly intentions on a cross, after which they separated and presents were mutually interchanged. Don Rodrigo de Lima set forwards on his journey unaccompanied by Mathew, who soon afterwards died in the monastery of the Vision. Sequeira erected

14 In Faria called Barnagux.

erected a great cross in that port, in memory of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, and caused many masses to be said in the mosque of Massua. From that port he went to the island of Dalac, where he burnt the town, previously abandoned by its inhabitants. He then stood over to the coast of Arabia, where one galley was cast away in a storm and most of her men lost. Leaving the Red Sea and sailing along the coast of Yemen, the fleet arrived at Cape Kalayat, towards the entrance of the Persian Gulf, where George Albuquerque waited its arrival. Going from thence to Muscat, Albuquerque was left to winter there with all the ships, and Sequeira went on to Ormuz with the gallies.

In this same year 1520, during the expedition of Sequeira to the Red Sea, *Chrisna-rao* king of Bisnagar collected together a vast army of 35,000 horse, 733,000 foot, and 586 armed elephants, each of which carried a castle on its back with four men. In this army there were 12,000 water-bearers, that all might be supplied without any being under the necessity of dispersing to seek for it. The baggage was immense and the followers numberless, among whom were above 20,000 common women. This prodigious army was collected for the purpose of taking the city of *Rachol* then under the power of Adel Khan king of Visiapour, but which had belonged to the ancestors of Chrisna-rao, who had left it in charge to their successors to attempt its recovery. The city of Rachol was naturally almost impregnable, being situated on a high mountain and fortified by several stone walls, with large deep ditches and strong towers, well stored with artillery and other means of defence, and having a garrison of 400 horse, 8000 foot, 20 elephants, and a sufficient quantity of provisions and ammunition to tire out the most patient besiegers. Chrisna-rao encamped his vast army around the city, to which he gave many fruitless assaults during three months. At length Adel Khan approached to relieve the siege, having an army of 18,000 horse, 120,000 foot, 150 elephants, and many large pieces of cannon. After many skirmishes, the two armies at last joined battle, in which at the beginning Chrisna-rao received much damage; but rallying his innumerable forces, made such havoc among the troops of Adel Khan, that only those escaped from the sword or from captivity who at last moved pity even in their enemies. Besides great riches in the camp of Adel Khan, the victor got 100 elephants, 4000 horses, 400 large cannons, and a

 great

great many small ones. Adel Khan made his escape on an elephant; but forty Portuguese who served in his army were all slain after behaving themselves with great valour.

After this great victory, Chrisna-rao resumed the siege of Rachol, but was unable to make any impression on its walls. At this time one *Christopher de Figueredo* came to his camp, attended by twenty other Portuguese, bringing some Arabian horses for sale to the king. In discourse with Chrisna-rao respecting the siege, Figueredo asked permission to view the place, and to try what he could do with his Portuguese, which was granted. Figueredo gave two assaults, and being seconded in the latter by the troops of Chrisna-rao, he gained possession of the place. Soon afterwards, Adel Khan sent an embassy to Chrisna-rao, begging the restoration of the prisoners and plunder which had been taken in the late battle and in the captured city. Chrisna-rao offered to restore the whole, on condition that Adel Khan would acknowledge his supreme authority, as emperor of Canara, and come to kiss his foot in token of submission and vassalage. This degrading condition was accepted, but its performance was prevented by several accidents. In the mean while, however, Ruy de Melo, who commanded in Goa, taking advantage of the declining situation of the affairs of Adel Khan, possessed himself of those parts of the continent adjoining to the Isle of Goa, with a force only of 250 horse and 800 Canara foot.

In the same year 1520, Lope de Brito went to succeed Juan de Sylveira in the command of the fort of Columbo in Ceylon, and carried with him 400 soldiers and many workmen, by whose means he made the fort so strong that it raised the jealousy of the natives of Columbo, who at the instigation of the Moors gave over trade with the Portuguese and besieged the fort for five months, during which the garrison suffered great hardships. At length Antonio de Lemos arrived with a reinforcement of fifty men; with which small additional force Brito ventured to attack the vast multitude of the enemy, whom he completely routed, and matters were immediately restored to their former quiet.

On the change of the monsoon, Sequeira set sail from Ormuz and joined Albuquerque at Muscat, where he found one ship from Lisbon of nine that sailed together, but all the rest came safe afterwards. One of the ships of this fleet, while sailing before the wind beyond the Cape of Good Hope, was stopped all of a sudden. On examining into the cause, it

it appeared that a sea monster bore the ship on its back, the tail appearing about the rudder and the head at the boltsprit, spouting up streams of water. It was *removed by exorcisms*, no human means being thought sufficient. By the sailors it was called the *Sambrero*, or the *hat-fish*, as the head has some resemblance to a hat. A similar fish, though less, had been seen on the coast of Portugal near *Atouguia*, where it did much harm.

As the king had sent orders to the governor to build forts at the Moluccas, Sumatra, Maldive, Chaul, and Diu, Sequeira determined upon attempting the last first. Having dispatched the homeward ships from Cochin, he collected a fleet of 48 vessels of various kinds and sizes, on board of which he embarked 3000 Portuguese and 800 Malabars and Canarins. With this great force he appeared before Diu on the 9th of February 1521. Malek Azz, being suspicious that this armament was destined against him, had fortified and intrenched the city with great care. At the arrival of the Portuguese, Malek Azz was at the court of Cambaya, but had left his son Malek Saca with a strong garrison and three experienced commanders. Observing the strength of the place, Sequeira called a council of war to consult upon what was proper to be done, when it was concluded to desist from the enterprise. The officers of the fleet, though they had all concurred in this decision, and even privately allowed its prudence and necessity, accused the governor of cowardice on this occasion, though his valour was well known. Sequeira accordingly retired to Ormuz for the winter, sending Alexius de Menezes to Cochin with full power to conduct the government during his absence, and several of the other captains went to different ports to trade. Menezes dispatched the homeward trade from Cochin, and sent other ships to various parts of India, some of which went to Sumatra.

The island of Sumatra extends in length from the north-west to the south-east, for about 220 leagues, by 70 in its greatest breadth, and is cut nearly in two equal parts by the equinoctial line. It is separated from Malacca by a narrow strait, and its most southern point is parted from Java by one still narrower. Java is above 100 leagues long by twelve in breadth. To the east of Sumatra is the great island of Borneo, through which likewise the equinoctial passes, leaving two-thirds of the island on the north side of the line. The maritime parts of Sumatra are flat, but the interior is

full of mountains, pervaded by many large rivers, and covered by impenetrable woods which even the rays of the sun are unable to pierce. Owing to these circumstances Sumatra is very unhealthy, yet is much resorted to for its rich and valuable productions, and particularly on account of its abounding in gold. Besides gold, it produces white sandal-wood, benzoin, camphor, pepper, ginger, cinnamon [15], abundance of silk, and abounds in fish and cattle. It has in one part a spring of petroleum or rock oil, and one of its mountains is a volcano. The original natives of the island are pagans; but the Moors who came there first as merchants, have possessed themselves of the island as lords ever since the year 1400. Among the inland tribes is one called *Batas*, who are of most brutal manners, and even feed on human flesh. The Moors who dwell on the coast, use several languages, but chiefly the *Malay*. Their weapons are poisoned arrows like the natives of Java from whom they are descended, but they likewise use fire-arms. This island is divided into nine kingdoms; of which *Pedier* was once the chief; but now that of *Pacem* or *Pisang* is the most powerful, yet its kings only continue to reign so long as it pleases the rabble.

At this time George Albuquerque was sent to Sumatra, on purpose to restore a king of Pisang who had been expelled and had fled to the Portuguese for protection and aid. On his arrival, having secured the co-operation and assistance of the neighbouring king of Ara, Albuquerque sent a message to the usurper desiring him to resign the kingdom to the lawful prince, who had submitted to the king of Portugal. *Genial*, the usurper, offered to make the same submission, if allowed to retain possession, but this offer was refused. Albuquerque then attacked Genial in his fort, which was scaled and the gate broke open; yet the usurper and thirty men valiantly defended a tower over the gateway, till Genial was slain by a musket-shot, on which the others immediately fled. The Portuguese troops, about 300 in number, were opposed by 3000 Moors in the market-place, assisted by some elephants. Hector de Sylveira endeavoured to strike one of these in the trunk with his lance, which the beast put aside, and laying hold of Sylveira threw him into the air, yet he had the good fortune to survive. Two other Portuguese soldiers had better success, as one of them killed the rider and the other wounded

15 Probably cassia.

wounded the elephant, on which he turned among his own party whom he trampled to death without mercy. The Moors now returned to another post, but with the aid of the king of Ara, they were completely defeated by the Portuguese, 2000 of them being slain. In this battle Albuquerque received two wounds in his face, and four or five persons of note were killed on the side of the Portuguese, besides a great many wounded. Next day the dispossessed prince of Pisang was reinstated with much ceremony, being made tributary to the king of Portugal, and a fort was erected at his capital, as at other places, to keep him under subjection.

At this time Antonio de Brito arrived at Pisang from Acheen, where his brother George de Brito had been slain by the Moors with a great number of men, in a scandalous attempt to rob the sepulchres of the kings of that country of a great quantity of gold they were said to contain. Antonio was now left by Albuquerque in the command of the new fort of Pisang, with three ships which were afterwards of great service against a Moor who infested the coast. On his return to Malacca, of which he had the command, Albuquerque prepared to make war upon the king of Bintang. That island, about 40 leagues from Malacca, is forty leagues in circumference, having two strong castles, and its rivers staked to prevent the access of ships, so that it was considered as almost impregnable. Albuquerque went from Malacca with 18 vessels and 600 men, and finding it impossible to get his ships up, he endeavoured to land his men from boats to attack one of the forts; but the water being up to their middles, and the enemy making a brave resistance, they were forced to retire after losing twenty men, besides a great number wounded.

In the same year 1521, Antonio de Brito sailed for the Molucca islands. These islands are in the middle of a great number of others under the equator, about 300 leagues east from Malacca. There are five principal islands to which the general name of Moluccas is applied, about 25 leagues distant from each other, the largest not exceeding six leagues in circumference. The particular names of these are *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Mousell*, *Macquein* and *Bacham* [16]. They are covered

16 The principal island of the Molucca group is Gilolo; those in the text being small islands to the west of Gilolo. The large island mentioned in the text under the name of Batochina, can be no other than Gilolo.—E.

covered with woods and subject to fogs, and are consequently unhealthy. These five islands produce cloves, but no kind of food; and the large island of *Batochina*, which is 60 leagues long, produces food but no cloves. In some of these islands, particularly Ternate, there are burning mountains. Their chief subsistence is of a kind of meal made from the bark of certain trees resembling the palm[17]. There are certain canes that have a liquor in their hollows between the joints, which is delightful to drink. Though the country abounds in animals, the natives eat very little flesh, but live chiefly on fish which their seas produce inexhaustibly. They are very warlike and by no means affable, and are most expert both in running and swimming. Their religion is idolatrous, but we have no account whatever respecting their original. The Moors had possessed themselves of this country not long before the coming of the Portuguese, as a Mahometan priest who had come along with the first of the Moorish invaders was still alive at the arrival of Brito.

Antonio de Brito was sent on this occasion to build a fort in the island of Ternate, which had been long desired by its king *Boylefe*. His force consisted of six ships and 300 soldiers, and was increased at the island of Agacim by four sail under the command of Garcia Enriquez. On arriving at Ternate, the old king Boylefe was dead, and the king of Tidore had admitted the Spaniards to settle on his island; yet seeing that the queen who governed Ternate during the minority of her son gave a friendly reception to Brito, the king of Tidore visited him and offered to deliver up the Spaniards to him if he would build the fort on Tidore instead of Ternate. But Ternate was preferred as the most convenient, Brito laying the first stone on the festival of St John the Baptist, the 28th of December 1521.

At this time a private correspondence was carried on between Francis Serram, who resided in Ternate and Ferdinando de Magallanes in Portugal, which turned to the advantage of Spain and the detriment of Portugal. Magalanes, otherwise named Magellan, was a man of note and a knight of St Jago, who had served with reputation at Azamor in Africa and in several parts of India. Having solicited for a small

17 This is obviously an erroneous account of *Sago*, an alimentary substance procured from the *pith* of a tree of the palm tribe, not from the *bark*.—E.

small allowance usually given in reward of service, and which was refused, he left Portugal and entered into the service of Spain. From his skill in sea affairs, and the correspondence he held with Serram at Ternate, he concluded there might be another way to India; and as the Spaniards had already tasted the fruits of these islands, he wrote to Serram that he hoped soon to be his guest at Ternate going thither by a new way [18]. He accordingly got the command of five ships with 250 men, some of whom were Portuguese. Sailing from the port of San Lucar de Barameda on the 20th of September 1519, after having renounced his country by a solemn act, he sailed towards the south along the eastern coast of South America. When past Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brasil, the men began to grow mutinous, and still more so when they had gone beyond the river of St Julian on the coast of Patagonia, where they did not immediately find the strait or passage to the Pacific Ocean, and found themselves pinched by the cold of that inhospitable climate. As they proceeded to hold disrespectful discourses against Magellan, both reflecting upon his pretended knowledge, and expressing doubts of his fidelity, which came to his knowledge, he called together all the principal people in his squadron, to whom he made a long and learned discourse. Yet a conspiracy was entered into to kill Magellan, by three of his captains, named Cartagene, Quixada, and Mendoza. Their design however was discovered, on which Mendoza was immediately stabbed, and the other two arrested and punished as traitors; Quixada being quartered *alive*, while Cartagene and a priest concerned in the plot were set ashore on the barbarous coast. Most of the men were engaged in the conspiracy, but it was necessary to pardon them that there might be seamen for prosecuting the voyage.

Magellan wintered at this place [19], and some men who were sent about twenty leagues into the interior brought a few natives

18 From the text, coupled with a consideration of the infallible grants of his holiness, who had given every part of the world to the west of a certain meridian to the Spaniards and all eastwards to the Portuguese, or all to both, those Spaniards who had been at the Moluccas must have come from the western coast of Mexico. Magellan proposed a new route by the southwest, to evade the grant of the sovereign pontiff, which was actually accomplished, though he lived not to enjoy what may in some measure be termed the treasonable honour.—E.

19 Though not directly so expressed in the text, Magellan appears to have wintered at Port St Julian.—E.

natives to the ships, who were of a gigantic stature, being above three yards high. After suffering much through cold, hunger, and continual fatigue, they at length reached the *Cabo de las Virgines*, in lat. 52° S. so named because discovered on the day of the 11,000 virgins. Below this cape, they discovered the strait of which they were in search, being about a league wide [20]. In their progress, the strait was found in some places wider and in others narrower than its mouth. The land on both sides was high, partly bare, and part covered with wood, among which were many cypress trees. The mountains were covered with much snow, which made them appear very high. Having advanced about 50 leagues into this strait, another was seen and Magellan sent one of his ships to explore it; but after waiting much beyond the time appointed for her return, *he ordered the astrologer*, Andrew Martin *to erect a figure*, who answered that she was gone back to Spain, and that the crew had confined the captain, Alvaro de Mesquita, for opposing that measure. This was actually the case, and they were eight months on the voyage. After this event, which gave much vexation to Magellan, he continued his voyage through the straits much against the inclination of his people, and at length got out into the southern Pacific Ocean with three ships, that commanded by Juan Serrano having been wrecked and the men saved with much difficulty.

To escape from the excessive cold of the southern extremity of America, Magellan now shaped his course W. N. W. and when about 1500 leagues from the straits, he found an island in lat 18° S. and another 200 leagues farther on. Having lost his computation for the Moluccas, he discovered several islands in lat. 15° 30′ N. and at length came to the island of *Subo* in lat 10° N. being about 12 leagues in circumference. He was hospitably received here, and found the natives of so tractable a disposition, that the king and queen of the island, with their children and above 800 of the inhabitants were baptised. This prince was at war with a neighbour, and was assisted by Magellan. After two victories, Magellan was slain in a third battle on the 27th of April 1521, together with his astrologer and some others. The baptised king now entered into an agreement with his enemies, and poisoned all the Christians who were on shore. Those who

20 Now called the Straits of Magellan from its discoverer.—E.

who remained on board, being too few in number to navigate the three ships, burnt one, and set sail with the other two, one of which was the famous *Victory*, commanded by Juan Sebastian Cano, *being the first ship that circumnavigated the globe*. They arrived at the Moluccas, where they were well received by the king of Tidore, who was much dissatisfied by the Portuguese having given the preference to Ternate in forming their establishment. At this place they took in a loading of spice, and went thence to *Banda*, where they completed their cargo by the assistance of a Portuguese named Juan de Lourosa. One of the Spanish ships returned to Ternate, many of the crew having died of a contagious disease, and the small remnant being unable to continue the voyage. They were hospitably received by Antonio de Brito, who relieved and sent them to India, whence they returned to Europe in the Portuguese ships.

The *famous ship Victory* returned in triumph to Spain, after performing that wonderful *Voyage round the World*. Her arrival occasioned new contests between the courts of Spain and Portugal, Charles V. and John III. then reigning, because the Molucca islands were considered as belonging to Portugal, according to the former agreement respecting the discoveries of the globe. In the year 1524, a congress of civilians and geographers was held to determine this affair, at a place between Badajos and Elvas; but it was not settled till the year 1525[21].

In one of the former years, Fernan Perez de Andrada had established a trade at Quantung or Canton in China, which was so exceedingly profitable that every one was eager to engage in it. In the present year 1521, Simon de Andrada was sent by Sequeira to China with five ships, and cast anchor in the port of the island of *Tamou* opposite to Canton, where his brother had been formerly. The Portuguese ambassador to the emperor of China still remained at that place, but set out soon afterwards up a large river with three vessels splendidly decorated with Portuguese colours, it being a received custom that none but those of China should be seen there, which

21 As this first circumnavigation will fall to be related more at large, in a division of our arrangement devoted expressly to that subject, it has not been deemed necessary to elucidate this short incidental account from De Faria, by any geographical commentary.—E.

which are gules a lion rampant [22]. In this manner he arrived at the foot of a mountain from which that great river derives its source. This mountainous ridge, called *Malexam*, beginning at the bay of Cochin-China in the province of Fokien [23], runs through the three southern provinces of China, Quangsi, Quantung, and Fokien, dividing them from the interior provinces, as Spain is divided from France by the Pyrenees. Thomas Perez, leaving the vessels at this place, travelled northwards to the city of Nanking, where the king then was, having spent four months in the journey without stopping at any place. The emperor however thought proper to appoint his audience at Peking, a city far distant, to which place Perez accordingly followed. While on the journey, Simon de Andrada behaved himself so improperly in the island of Tamou that an account of his proceedings was sent to court, and Thomas Perez and his companions were condemned to death as spies. The rigour of this sentence was mitigated, but the embassy was not received, and Perez was sent back as a prisoner to Canton, with orders that the Portuguese should restore Malacca to its native king, who was a vassal to China, in which case the embassy would be received; but otherwise the ambassador and his suite were to be put to death, and the Portuguese for ever excluded from China as enemies. Simon de Andrada conducted himself with a high hand, as if he had been king of Tamou, where he raised a fort, and set up a gallows to intimidate the people He committed violence against the merchants who resorted to the port, and bought young people of both sexes, giving occasion to thieves to steal them from their parents. These extravagant proceedings lost nothing in their transmission to court, and were the cause of the severe orders respecting Perez and his followers.

At this time Diego Calva arrived with one ship from Lisbon, and several others from Malacca, and in consequence of this addition to their strength, the Portuguese acted still more insolently than before, and so exasperated the governors of the province that they apprehended several of them, and even contrived

22 The text seems irreconcileably contradictory, perhaps from mistranslation; but the circumstance is not important.—E.

23 This account of the ridge of Malexam is considerably erroneous. The ridge of mountains in the text begins in the west of China on the borders of the province of Yunnan, between Koeitchoo and Quansee, and ends in the east at the province of Foo-tchien.—E.

contrived to take the last arrived ship. At the commencement of hostilities Duarte Coello arrived from Malacca with two ships well manned and armed. The *Itao*, or Chinese admiral in these seas, attacked the Portuguese with fifty ships, and though he did them some damage, he was so severely handled by the artillery that he was forced to retire and to remain at some distance, keeping up a strict blockade. After matters had remained in this state for forty days, Ambrose del Rego arrived with two additional ships from Malacca, and the Portuguese determined upon forcing their way through the Chinese fleet. The battle on this occasion was very bloody; but in consequence of a gale of wind dispersing the Chinese fleet, the Portuguese were enabled to get away from the island of Tamou. The Itao revenged himself upon such of the Portuguese as had fallen into his hands, and particulary upon Thomas Perez and his companions, who were all slain, and their baggage robbed of the present intended for the emperor, and of all the commodities which Perez had purchased during his residence in China. Such was the profitableness of the China trade at this time, that Perez though only an apothecary of mean parentage, had by this time acquired 2000 weight of rhubarb, 1600 pieces of damask, 400 pieces of other silks, above 100 ounces of gold, 2000 ounces of silver, 84 pounds of loose musk, above 3000 purses or cods of that perfume, called *Papos*, and a great deal of other commodities.

As *Mocrim* king of *Lasah* refused to pay the tribute which was due to the king of Ormuz for the islands of Bahrayn and Catifa on the coast of Arabia, the king of Ormuz was backward in paying the tribute to the Portuguese, alleging his inability on account of not receiving payment from his vassal. On this account a force had been already sent against the king of Lasah, accompanied by some Portuguese auxiliaries, but had been unsuccessful. The king of Ormuz, wishing effectually to humble his vassal, applied to Sequeira for assistance, who consented on purpose to secure the tribute due to the Portuguese. Accordingly in the year 1521, an armament of 200 vessels belonging to the king of Ormuz, having on board 3000 Arabs and Persians, sailed for Bahrayn under the command of Reis Xarafo or Sharafo, accompanied by seven Portuguese ships with 400 soldiers commanded by Antonio Correa. On their arrival at Bahrayn, Mocrim was found well prepared for their reception, having 300 Arab horse,

horse, 400 Persian archers, 20 Turkish musketeers besides some natives armed with firelocks, and above 11,000 native troops armed with different weapons. He had besides thrown up strong intrenchments and redoubts, well provided with cannon, and these formidable military preparations were under the charge of experienced commanders.

The Persian Gulf, which intervenes between Arabia and Persia, takes its name from the latter, as the more noble country. This famous gulf begins at Cape *Jasques* or *Carpela*, in lat. 26° N. and ends at the mouth of the river Euphrates, having many cities, rivers, woods, and islands along its northern or Persian shores. On the other or Arabian shore, beginning at Cape *Mozandan* or *Musaldon*, named *Assaborum* by the ancients, and ending where it meets the other side at the Euphrates, there are only four towns. One of these, *Catifa* or Al Katif, is opposite the island of Bahrayn, where is the pearl-fishery. This island is 30 leagues in circumference, and seven leagues long, and is 110 leagues from Ormuz. The principal product of this island is tamarinds, but it has likewise all the other fruits that grow in Spain. The largest town is of the same name with the island, besides which there are about 300 villages, inhabited by Arabs and Moors [24]. The air is very unhealthy. The pearls found here, though not in such abundance, are more valuable than those of Ceylon in India, or of Hainan in China. On the continent of Arabia, opposite to Bahrayn is the city of *Lasah* [25], of which Mocrim was king.

Having formed his dispositions of attack, Correa landed at the head of 170 Portuguese, giving orders to Reis Xarafo to send assistance wherever he might see it necessary. Ayres Correa, the brother of the Portuguese commander, led the van or forlorn hope of fifty men, all of whom were knee deep in water. The Portuguese assaulted the trenches with great bravery, and were opposed with much resolution by the enemy, headed by the king; and after some time both parties were so much fatigued by the heat as to be under the necessity of taking some respite, as by mutual consent. After a short

24 It is difficult to comprehend the distinction; and perhaps we ought to read Arabs *or* Moors.—E.

25 Lasah may have been the name of the territory, and perhaps applied likewise to the capital which is named *Al Katif* in our maps, and the territory *Bahrayn*. These are two islands of Bahrayn, one of which from the text appears to have been named Catifa.—E.

short rest, the attack was renewed, and the king being shot through the thigh, of which wound he died six days afterwards, his men lost heart, and great numbers of them being killed and wounded, they fled leaving a complete victory to the Portuguese. During the whole engagement, Reis Xarafo looked on from his vessel as an unconcerned spectator; but when afterwards the body of the deceased king was carried over to Lasah for interment, he went there and cut off his head, which he sent to Ormuz. In this engagement the Portuguese had seven men killed and many wounded, but the island was effectually reduced. For this exploit, Correa had the title of Bahrayn added to his name, and was authorized to bear a kings head in his coat of arms, which is still borne by his descendents.

In this same year 1521, the zamorin of Calicut made war against Cochin at the head of 200,000 men; and although only forty Portuguese were in the army of Cochin, and but thirty of these armed with muskets, the enemy retired in dismay. At this time likewise Diego Fernandez de Beja, who had been left before Diu, came to join Sequeira at Ormuz, having been attacked by some vessels belonging to Malek Azz, whose double dealing was now apparent. To prevent certain frauds that had been practised by the native officers of the customs at Ormuz, Sequeira thought proper to appoint Portuguese officers in that charge, which so exasperated the natives that they endeavoured to shake off the yoke, as will appear hereafter.

Being determined to resume the plan of establishing a fort at Diu, Sequeira sent back Beja to that place with four stout vessels, with orders to hinder all ships from entering the port. Beja executed these orders for some time effectually, and even took some vessels; but Malek Azz came against him with a number of ships well armed with cannon, sunk one of the Portuguese galleons and did much damage to the others which were becalmed; but on the wind springing up, the vessels of the enemy were forced to retire. While Sequeira was on his voyage from Ormuz against Diu, he captured a vessel by the way, and divided the Moorish crew among his ships. Those who were put on board the ship commanded by Antonio Correa, set fire to the powder-room, by which the poop was blown into the air and the vessel sunk; in which miserable catastrophe the brave conqueror of Bahrayn perished.

rished[26]. Owing to these misfortunes, Sequeira desisted from the enterprise against Diu, and went to *Chaul* where he found Ferdinando Camelo, who had brought permission from Nizam al Mulk to build a fort at that place, chiefly to favour the importation of horses for his own use, as that trade was then confined to Goa. The building of the fort was accordingly begun without delay. As Malek Azz suspected that the establishment of the Portuguese at this place might lessen greatly the trade of Diu, he made his appearance off Chaul with above fifty vessels, and sunk a large Portuguese ship just come from Ormuz. Azz continued to blockade the port of Chaul for three weeks, doing much damage to the squadron which was opposed to him; yet the construction of the fort went on with all diligence. Learning that his successor was arrived at Cochin, which rendered his presence necessary at that place, Sequeira forced his way through the enemy, leaving his nephew Henry de Menezes to command the fort, and Antonio Correa with the charge of the ships.

After the departure of Sequeira for Cochin, Aga Mahomet who commanded the fleet belonging to Malek Azz did every thing in his power to hinder the construction of the fort. To secure the entrance of the river, the Portuguese had erected a redoubt or bulwark on the side opposite the fort, which was commanded by Pedro Vaz Permeo with a garrison of thirty men. Mahomet sent 300 of his men by night to surprise this bulwark, but they were so valiantly opposed by the small garrison, though the captain and several men were slain, that they maintained their ground till relieved by Ruy Vaz Pereira with a reinforcement of sixty men, who put the enemy to flight after having lost a hundred men. By this success the enemy were much daunted, and particulary one Sheikh Mamud, a great man in the city, who pretended to be a friend to the Portuguese, yet did every thing in his power secretly to molest them. On occasion of the defeat of Aga Mahomet, the sheikh sent to congratulate Antonio Correa; who well knowing his treachery, sent him back the heads of his messengers, and hung up their bodies along the shore. The sheikh was astonished at this act, and now proceeded to open hostilities, encouraging Aga Mahomet to persevere in the blockade,

26 Yet only a few lines afterwards, Antonio Correa is found to be alive and commanding a squadron off Chaul. Having no means to correct this contradiction, the text is left as published by Stevens.—E.

blockade, giving him intelligence that the Portuguese were in want of ammunition. But Don Luis de Menezes arrived with reinforcements and a supply of ammunition and provisions, to whom Correa resigned the command.

Don Duarte de Menezes entered upon the government of India on the 22d of January 1522, John III. being then upon the throne of Portugal. Having dispatched his predecessor with the homeward trade, and sent off commanders to the different establishments in India, he began to experience the bad effects of Sequeira having appointed Portuguese officers to the custom-house at Ormuz; as he received advice that the Moors of that place had taken arms and killed some men, and had even besieged the fort. He immediately sent his brother with relief, and appointed Simon de Andre to command at Chaul, who began his career by taking two Turkish gallies, and gaining a victory over the people of Dabul, by which that city was reduced to pay tribute. Malek Azz was terrified by these successes, and withdrew his fleet from before Chaul.

As formerly mentioned, the late governor Sequeira had appointed Portuguese officers to collect the revenue of Ormuz, which in fact had been done contrary to his own private judgment, but by command of the king of Portugal. These officers conducted themselves oppressively to the natives, from whom they made many undue exactions to satisfy their own cupidity, and behaved to them with much insolence and violence, even forcing from them their wives and daughters. Unable to endure these oppressions, the inhabitants of Ormuz and its dependencies formed a conspiracy against the Portuguese, and broke out into open insurrection against them suddenly at Ormuz, Bahrayn, Muscat, Kuriat, and Zoar [27], all in one night by previous concert, by a private order from the king of Ormuz. This attack was so sudden and well concerted, that above 120 of the Portuguese were slain on that night, and one *Ruy Boto* was put to the torture by the Moors in defence of the faith. The Portuguese at Ormuz, where Don Garcia Coutino then commanded, exerted themselves as well as they could to defend themselves, and secured the ships which happened to be at that place under the protection of the

27 These three last mentioned places are all on the north-eastern point of Arabia, near Cape Rasalgat, and appear to have been then dependent on the kingdom of Ormuz.—E.

the fort, which was immediately besieged. Of these events immediate intelligence was sent by Don Garcia to Cochin and other places for relief, fearing he might be constrained to surrender for want of provisions and water; and in fact two of the Portuguese vessels were burnt by the Moors under the guns of the fort.

Tristan Vaz de Vega and Manuel de Souza happened to be then at Muscat in their ships, and immediately made sail to the relief of Ormuz. Tristan Vaz arrived first, and made his way to the fort through 160 sail of Moorish vessels by which it was blockaded. Two days afterwards the ship commanded by Manuel de Souza was seen at anchor at the distance of two leagues. It was very dangerous for those at the fort to assist him, and yet it was absolutely necessary for the common safety that he should be relieved; wherefore Tristan Vaz adventured with his ship to his aid, forcing his way as before through the vast Moorish fleet, eighty of which pursued him in full sail, and even De Souza, thinking him at first an enemy did him some harm. The king of Ormuz, to inspire his people to exert themselves in the capture of these two ships, exhibited a large heap of gold as his intended reward for such of his subjects as should take Tristan and Manuel prisoners; while at the same time he set apart a heap of female attire, to be worn in disgrace by those who might not behave valiantly. Actuated at the same time by desire of reward and fear of disgrace, the Ormuzians manned 130 of their vessels, with which they furiously assailed the two Portuguese ships: yet they both made their way through showers of bullets and arrows to the fort, to the great joy and relief of the governor and garrison. Despairing of being able to shake off the Portuguese yoke, and dreading the punishment of his revolt, the king of Ormuz abandoned his city and retired to *Kishom* or *Queixome*, an island about 15 leagues in length and 3 leagues from Ormuz, close to the shore of Persia. This island is sufficiently fertile but very unhealthy. On his retreat, he gave orders for all the inhabitants of Ormuz to follow him, and to set their city on fire, which burnt furiously for four days and nights. Even at this time some of the Portuguese gentlemen in the fort of Ormuz were in private correspondence with the king, giving him instructions how to conduct himself with the succeeding governor, so as to ensure his restoration; which they did on purpose to enrich

themselves by exacting presents from the king in recompence of their services.

Don Luis de Menezes, as already mentioned, was sent by his brother Duarte, the governor-general, with ten sail to relieve and take the command of Ormuz. On arriving at Zoar, he destroyed the town with fire and sword, and then gave the sovereignty of it to Sheikh Husseyn, to hold it in direct vassalage of Portugal, instead of being dependent upon Ormuz as hitherto. In the mean time the king of Ormuz was murdered at Kishom by his own officers, who crowned his son Mamud Shah, a youth of thirteen. On the arrival of Don Luis, a treaty was entered into with the new king, by which it was agreed that the king and inhabitants were to return to Ormuz; that the former tribute of 20,000 *Xerephines* should be continued, and all arrears paid up; and that the Portuguese officers should not interfere in the government of the city or its revenues. On the conclusion of this treaty, the king sent a present of gold, jewels, pearls, and silks for the king of Portugal, and another for Don Luis, but which he publicly ordered to be sent along with the other.

Some time after this, but in the same year 1522, Don Duarte went to Ormuz to examine into the cause of the late troubles; but he punished those who had least influence, and overlooked the most guilty. *Reis Xarafo*, a person of great power, who had been the most active instigator in the late troubles, was rewarded; and *Reis Xamexir*, who had killed *Reis Xahadim* at the instigation of Don Luis, was banished instead of the promised reward. Duarte augmented the tribute by adding 35,000 Xerephines to the former 25,000 [28], which could not be paid when the city was in a flourishing condition, and yet 60,000 were now demanded when it lay in ruins and its trade was destroyed.

At this time Don Luis was sent with nine ships to the Red Sea. At Socotora he lost one of his ships. He took and burnt the town *Zaer* [29] on the coast of Arabia, because the sheikh refused to restore the goods of a Portuguese merchant or factor who had died there. At *Veruma* [30] he burned some ships, and then battered the city of Aden, after which he entered the Red Sea, where he did nothing worthy of notice, and

28 It was only called 20,000 a few lines before.—E.

29 Perhaps *Shahr* near Makulla on the coast of Yemen.---E.

30 This place was probably near Aden on the coast of Arabia.—E.

and returned to his brother at Ormuz, but was much dissatisfied with the conduct of Duarte at that place.

That part of the continent of India adjoining to Goa, belonging to Adel Khan king of Visiapour, which had been seized by Ruy de Melo during the war with the king of Narsinga, was now lost by Francisco Pereyra Pestana. Pestana was a brave officer, and exerted himself to the utmost; but as Adel Khan had now no other object to employ his arms, his power was not to be resisted. Ferdinando Rodriguez Barba indeed obtained a signal victory over the forces of Adel Khan; and after this Pestana and Sotomayor, with only thirty horse and a small number of foot, defeated 5000 foot and 400 horse. But in the end numbers prevailed, and the country was reduced to the obedience of Adel Khan, and afterwards confirmed to him by treaty.

About this time the governor Duarte made particular inquiry respecting St Thomas the apostle, in consequence of orders to that effect from the king of Portugal; and the following is the substance of the information he transmitted. In the year 1517, some Portuguese sailed in company with an Armenian, and landed at Palicat on the coast of Coromandel, a province of the kingdom of Bisnagar, where they were invited by the Armenian to visit certain ruins of many buildings still retaining the vestiges of much grandeur. In the middle of these was a chapel of indifferent structure still entire, the walls of which both outside and in were adorned with many crosses cut in stone, resembling those of the ancient military order of Alcantara, which are *fleuree* and *fitched*[31]. A Moor resided there, who pretended to have miraculously recovered his sight by a visit to this holy place, and that his ancestors had been accustomed to entertain a light in the chapel. There was a tradition that the church, of which this small chapel was all that remained entire, was built by St Thomas, when he preached Christianity to the Indians, and that he and two of his disciples were here interred, together with a king who had been converted by his miracles. In consequence of this information, Don Duarte sent Emanuel de Faria, with a priest and a mason to repair this chapel. On digging about the foundation on one side which threatened to fall, they found about a yard below ground a tomb-stone with an inscription

31 Heraldic terms, implying that the three upper arms of the cross end in the imitation of flowers, while the lower limb is pointed.—E.

inscription implying "That when St Thomas built this church the king of Meliapour gave him the duties of all merchandize imported, which was the tenths[32]." Going still deeper, they came to a hollow place between two stones, in which lay the bones of a human body with the butt and head of a spear, which were supposed to be the remains of the saint, as those of the king and disciple were also found, *but not so white*. They placed the bones of the saint in a *China chest*, and the the other bones in another chest, and hid both under the altar. On farther inquiry, it appeared by the ancient records of the kingdom, That Saint Thomas had come to Meliapour about 1500 years before, then in so flourishing a condition that it is said by tradition to have contained 3300 stately churches in its environs. It is farther said that Meliapour was then twelve leagues from the coast, whereas its ruins are now close to the shore; and that the saint had left a prediction, "That when the sea came up to the scite of the city, a people should come from the west having the same religion which he taught." That the saint had dragged a vast piece of timber from the sea in a miraculous manner for the construction of his church, which all the force of elephants and the art of men had been unable to move when attempted for the use of the king. That the *bramin* who was chief priest to the king, envious of the miracles performed by the saint, had murdered his own son and accused the saint as the murderer; but St Thomas restored the child to life, who then bore witness against his father; and, That in consequence of these miracles, the king and all his family were converted.

An Armenian bishop who spent twenty years in visiting the Christians of that part of India which is near *Coulam*[33], declared on oath that he found what follows in their writings: That, when the twelve apostles were dispersed through the world, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Judas Thaddeus went together to Babylon where they separated. Thaddeus preached in Arabia, since possessed by the Mahometans. Bartholomew went into Persia, where he was buried in a convent of Armenian monks near *Tebris*. Thomas embarked at Basrah on the

32 The strange expression in the text ought probably to have been the tenths of the duties on importation.—E.

33 Coulam is on the coast of Travancore; in which country a remnant of the ancient Indian Christians has been recently visited by Dr Buchannan, which will fall to be particularly noticed in a future division of this collection.—E.

the Euphrates, crossed the Persian Gulf to Socotora, whence he went to Meliapour, and thence to China where he built several churches. That after his return to Meliapour and the conversion of the king, he suffered martyrdom through the malice of the bramins, who counterfeited a quarrel while he was preaching, and at length had him run through by a lance; upon which he was buried by his disciples as formerly related in the church he had built at Meliapour. It was likewise affirmed by a learned native of Coulam, that there were two religious houses built in that part of the country by the disciples of St Thomas, one in Coulam and the other at Cranganor; in the former of which the *Indian Sybil* was buried, who advised King *Perimal* of Ceylon to meet other two Indian kings at Muscat, who were going to Bethlem to adore the newly born Saviour; and that King Perimal, at her entreaty, brought her a picture of the Blessed Virgin, which was kept in the same tomb. Thus was the *invention* of the holy relics of the apostle of India; which gave occasion to the Portuguese to build the city of St Thomas, in the port of Palicat, seven leagues from the ruins of the ancient Christian city of Meliapour.

In the year 1522, Antonio Miranda de Azevedo was commander of the fort at Pisang in the island of Sumatra. On the west coast of that island there are six Moorish kingdoms of which Pedier was the chief, and to which those of Achem and Daga were sudordinate. But in consequence of war among themselves, Achem gained the superiority, and the king of Pedier retired to the fort for the protection of the Portuguese[34]. On coming to the city of Pedier with a great force, the king of Achem endeavoured to inveigle the king of that place into his hands, and prevailed on some of the leading men of the city to write their king that he might come there in safety as his enemies were expelled, and he might easily destroy them by the assistance of the Portuguese. He accordingly went to the city, aided by eighty Portuguese soldiers and two hundred Moors, which went by sea in small row boats, while the king himself went along the shore with above a thousand armed elephants[35]. He was received at Pedier

34 At first sight this appears to have been the fort of Pisang, but from the sequel it would rather seem to have been another fort at or in the neighbourhood of Pedier.—E.

35 It is hardly possible that the lord of a petty state on the coast of Su-

Pedier with feigned joy, but with a determination to make him prisoner, which was only deferred till the arrival of the Portuguese, that they likewise might be secured; but being apprized of his danger, the king fled next day to the mountains with two elephants and a few faithful followers. The Portuguese thus left on the shore unsupported were attacked by the enemy with showers of darts and arrows, when their commander Don Emanuel Enriquez and thirty-five soldiers were slain, and the rest fled. Don Andres Enriquez, after this loss, found himself unequal to defend the fort, and sent for relief to Raphael Perestello who was at *Chittigon* the chief port of Bengal. Perestello immediately sent a ship for this purpose under the command of Dominick Seixas, who landed at *Tenacari* to procure provisions; but one *Brito* who had succeeded *Gago* as captain of a band of thirty Portuguese pirates, ran away with the vessel from that port after she was laden, and left Seixas with seventeen other Portuguese on shore, who were reduced to slavery by the Siamese. Such is the fate of those who trust persons who have violated all human and divine laws[36]. Don Andreas Enriquez, being reduced to great extremity, requested the governor-general to send him a successor, who accordingly sent Lope de Azevedo; but Enriquez changed his mind, as the situation was very profitable, and refused to surrender the command, on which Azevedo returned to India. In the mean time the king of Achem overran the whole country with fire and sword, and took possession of the city of Pisang with fifteen thousand men, summoning Enriquez to surrender the fort. Enriquez having sustained and repelled three assaults, set sail for India that he might save the great riches he had acquired, leaving the command to Ayres Coello, who valiantly undertook the dangerous service.

While on his voyage to India, Enriquez met two ships commanded by Sebastian Souza and Martin Correa, bound for the Island of Banda to load with spices; who learning the dangerous situation of Pisang, went directly to that place. Ayres

matra should have so large a number of elephants, more perhaps than the Great Mogul in the height of the sovereignty of Hindostan. Probably Capt. Stevens may have mistaken the original, and we ought to read "With above a thousand men and several armed elephants."—E.

36 Though obscurely expressed in the text, these thirty pirates appear to have been employed in the ship commanded by Seixas; probably pardoned after the punishment of their former leader Gago.—E.

Ayres Coello had just sustained a furious assault with some loss; and on seeing this relief the enemy abated their fury. Eight days afterwards, Andres was forced back by stress of weather to Pisang. One night, above 8000 of the enemy surrounded the fort, in which there were 350 Portuguese, some of whom were sick and others disabled by wounds, but all much spent with continual watching and fatigue. The enemy advanced in profound silence and applied seven hundred scaling ladders to the walls, on which they immediately mounted with loud shouts. The dispute was hotly maintained on both sides for some time; but some ships being set on fire enabled the Portuguese to point their cannon with such accuracy, that many of the enemy were slain, and the rest obliged to desist from the assault. Next morning above two thousand of the enemy were found slain around the walls, with two elephants; while on the Portuguese side only one woman was slain in her chamber by an arrow. The remaining six thousand of the enemy immediately retired, leaving half their ladders and large quantities of fireworks. Yet taking into consideration the difficulty and expence of maintaining this port, it was resolved to ship off all the men and goods, and to set it on fire, leaving the large cannons filled with powder, that they might burst when the fire reached them. Greater part of the fort was destroyed; but the enemy saved some of the cannon, which were afterwards employed with considerable effect against the Portuguese. Some goods were lost in shipping, as the Portuguese were in a great fright, and embarked up to the neck in water. By this abandonment of their post, the Portuguese lost more reputation with the natives of Sumatra than they had gained by their former valiant defence. They were fully sensible of this, as they met a powerful reinforcement at sea under Azevedo; and learnt that the king of Aru was marching by land to their assistance with 4000 men. The king of Achem followed up his good fortune, and rendered himself all-powerful in Sumatra, beyond even his hopes.

About this time[37] Malacca was much straitened by the king of Bintang, who sent a powerful armament against it, to oppose

37 De Faria is often defective in dates, and always confused. The events about this time are only vaguely stated as having happened during the government of Duarte Menezes, between the years 1522 and 1524, both inclusive. Among the confused mass of ill-digested and often indistinctly related events, many of which possess hardly any interest, we have now deemed it proper, in

pose which George Albuquerque sent a naval force under Don Sancho Enriquez; but in a violent storm 70 out of 200 Portuguese were lost. Till now the king of Pahang had sided with the Portuguese; but seeing the tide of fortune had turned against them, he too became their enemy. Ignorant of this change, Albuquerque sent three ships to his port for provisions, where two of his captains and thirty men were killed: The third made his escape, but was slain with all his men at Java. Simon de Abreu and his crew were slain on another occasion; and two vessels sent to prevent provisions from getting into Bintang were lost.

In 1524, the memorable DON VASCO DE GAMA, now count of Vidugueyra, went out to India as viceroy with 14 ships and 3000 soldiers. During the voyage, two caravels were lost with all their men, and a third was lost but the men saved. Gaspar Mossem, one of the captains, was basely killed by his crew, merely because he was not a Portuguese. While at sea near Cambaya in a dead calm, the sea tossed so violently all of a sudden that all the people thought they were lost: But the viceroy perceiving it was caused by an earthquake, called out, "Courage my friends, the sea trembles for fear of you." One great ship of Mecca, worth 60,000 crowns, was taken, and the fleet arrived at Goa. Having visited some of the forts, and issued the necessary orders, Gama sent three gallies from Cochin to Calicut, as the subjects of the zamorin began to be troublesome. One of these fought for three hours with fifty large *paraos* and lost three men; but on the coming up of the others, the enemy were put to flight. The new viceroy had intended to execute several important enterprises; but he soon fell sick, and finding his end fast approaching, he appointed Lope Vaz de Sampayo to act as his successor till Don Enrique de Menezes, then at Goa, who was next in nomination by the king, might arrive. Vasco de Gama died on Christmas eve 1524, having been only three months viceroy. He was of middle stature, somewhat gross, and had a ruddy complexion. He had a natural boldness for any great undertaking, and was well fitted

in the farther prosecution of this History of the Portuguese transactions in India, to omit many trivial and uninteresting events, confining our attention to those of some importance, and which appear worth recording. The Portuguese Asia of De Faria minutely relates every consecutive squadron sent to or from India, and every trifling commercial adventure; the insertion of which in our collection would be needlessly tedious.—E.

fitted for every thing entrusted to him, as a sea captain, as discoverer, and as viceroy; being patient of fatigue, prompt in the execution of justice, and terrible when angry.

Immediately after the death of the viceroy, Lope Vaz de Sampayo dispatched Francisco de Sa to Goa, to carry information to Don Enrique de Menezes that he had succeeded to the government of Portuguese India. Leaving De Sa to command in Goa, Menezes went immediately to Cochin to assume his new situation; having first sent his nephew George Zelo with a galliot and five armed paraos against a fleet which infested the coast. Zelo met 38 vessels laden with spice commanded by *Cutiale*, four of which were taken and the rest driven on shore. These four were brought in barbarous triumph to Goa, having many of the enemies hung upon the shrouds. The Canarin rowers carried thirty heads, in token of the victory, and twelve prisoners alive, *who were given up to the boys to be stoned to death.* Zelo had similar success afterwards against a ship and nine paraos. He sailed after that to Cochin with his uncle, who, being accidentally joined by George de Menezes, defeated 36 paraos belonging to Diu, 17 of which were taken. When at Cananor he hanged a Moor of quality, on which many of his relations left the city and took to robbing on the river. But, with consent of the king of Cananor, Don Enrique sent Hector de Sylveira against them with two gallies and a brigantine, who destroyed four *towns*[38] and took all their cannon, not without considerable difficulty. About the same time Christopher de Brito went with fourteen row-boats and about an hundred men to scour the coast of Canara, where he destroyed some of the Moors; but those of Dabul sent two galliots and seven other vessels against him, with above three hundred men. In the commencement of the engagement Brito was slain; but his people exerted themselves so valiantly to revenge the death of their commander, that after four hours hard fighting most of the Moors were slain, and their commander and all the rest taken. The Moorish captain died afterwards of his wounds at Goa, being first converted to the Christian faith.

The fort at Calicut was at this time much straitened by the Nayres, yet the small garrison of fifty Portuguese maintained their post with much honour. Don Enrique, to punish the

38 Perhaps instead of *towns* we ought to read *tonys*, a species of vessel then used by the inhabitants of the Malabar coast.—E.

the hostilities of the Moors of Calicut, fitted out fifty sail of vessels from Cochin, to which were added other fifty belonging to the inhabitants of that city, twenty-seven of which belonged to one individual named Arel de Porca[39]. With these vessels, carrying 2000 soldiers, the governor arrived at Paniani, one of the principal towns in the territory of Calicut, which was well fortified and stored with cannon under the command of a Portuguese renegado. Besides these fortifications on the land, the river was defended by a number of armed vessels drawn up in order of battle. After a severe contest, the fortifications of Paniani were carried, and the enemy fled into the woods. The town and all the vessels in the fort were burnt. Next day twelve ships were burnt in the port of Calicut, and several more in some creeks near the town. The armament proceeded in the next place to *Coulete*, which was fortified in a similar manner to Paniani, with a prodigious number of artillery, an hundred and fifty armed ships, and a garrison of 20,000 men. The Portuguese proceeded to the attack, and after a long and obstinate contest, drove the enemy from their works with great slaughter, and took fifty-three vessels, most of which were laden with pepper, with the loss of fifty-four Portuguese killed and many wounded. The other vessels belonging to the enemy being much shattered in the engagement, were all burnt, and the town was destroyed.

Shortly after this, the zamorin of Calicut besieged the Portuguese fort at that place with an army of 12,000 men, and surrounded it with a broad and deep trench. Don Juan de Lima commanded in the fort with 300 men, and did every thing in his power to obstruct the besiegers in the construction of their lines; but they were at length finished and planted with a vast number of cannon, some of which were so large as to carry balls of two spans diameter. On receiving advice of this siege, Don Enrique sent a reinforcement of 150 men in two caravels commanded by Christopher Jusarte and Duarte Fonseca. They succeeded in forcing their way into the fort in spite of a violent opposition by sea and land. Immediately afterwards, the enemy endeavoured to take the fort by escalade, but were repulsed with great slaughter. A farther

39 These hundred vessels were probably *paraos*, or small native craft, considering that they only carried 2000 soldiers, only at the rate of 20 for each vessel.—E.

farther reinforcement of 500 men from Cochin being unable to reach Calicut, Don Enrique went there with all the naval force he could collect, being unwilling that his government should suffer the disgrace of allowing this fortress to be taken by the enemy. Having thrown some strong reinforcements into the fort, Don Enrique landed with the remainder of his troops, after clearing the shore of the enemy, by means of his guns assisted by grenadoes and other fireworks. All the intrenchments and redoubts of the besiegers were successively carried, with prodigious slaughter of the Moors and Nayres, of whom above 3000 were slain, besides many others burnt in their wooden forts and bulwarks. In this engagement Don George de Menezes made great slaughter of the enemy with a two-handed sword; till losing his right hand, he took a smaller sword in his left, and continued to fight with great valour.

Don Enrique remained master of the field, in which he encamped for some days: But as the fort was not considered important in proportion to its expence, it was stripped of every thing of value with great care and privacy, and mines and trains laid to blow it up; after which the whole army retired to the ships. On seeing the fort evacuated, the Moors rushed in to plunder in vast numbers; but the mines suddenly taking fire, blew up the whole fabric with a vast explosion, in which great numbers of the enemy perished miserably.

In the year 1526, Hector de Sylveira went with a squadron to the Red Sea, and on his way thither assaulted and took the city of Dhofur on the coast of Yemen in lat. 17° N. He then entered the Red Sea, where he reduced the islands of Massua and Dallac to pay tribute; after this he went to *Arkiko* on the coast of Abyssinia, where he received Don Rodrigo de Lima who had been on an embassy to the king of Abyssinia, and was there waiting for a passage along with an ambassador from *Prester John* to the king of Portugal.

In this same year 1526, a small vessel was sent from Ternate to discover the islands of Celebes, which were said to abound in gold. The discoverer easily found the islands but no gold. Being on his return to the Moluccas, he was carried away by a storm to the eastward till he lost his reckoning, and unexpectedly fell in with a large and beautiful island, inhabited by a simple race of men who treated the Portuguese with much civility. They were strong made and of a comely appearance, with their complexion inclining to fair, having long

long lank hair and long beards, and their clothing was of fine mats. Their food consisted chiefly of roots, cocoa nuts, and figs. Their language was not understood, but by signs they gave the Portuguese to understand that there was gold in the mountains, but of which they made no use. They had no knowledge of iron or any other metal. Leaving this island, which they named after the pilot Diego Lopez Sequeira, they returned to Ternate, after an absence of eight months.

Don Enrique de Menezes, died at Cananor about the end of January 1526, in the thirtieth year of his age. He was a man of large stature, with a pleasing countenance, just in all his actions, continent, free from covetousness, a true patron of merit, and of the most unblemished honour. During his government he refused uniformly to accept any of the numerous presents offered him by the eastern princes; and conducted himself with such perfect integrity in every transaction, that at his death his whole treasure amounted only to thirteen rials and a half; and he had even expended the whole of his patrimonial estate during the short continuance of his government of Portuguese India, chiefly in rewarding the merits of his officers.

Section VII.

Continuation of the Portuguese Transactions in India, from 1526 to 1538.

At his death in January 1526, Don Enrique de Menezes left a paper sealed up, by which the succession to him in the government was to be regulated, in case the person nominated for that purpose by the king should happen to be absent. That paper was lost, yet it was known that he had named Francisco de Sa, then commanding in Goa, as his provisional successor. The second royal nomination was now opened, in which Pedro de Mascarenas was appointed successor to Don Enrique; but Mascarenas commanded at Malacca, which was at a great distance, and the season of the year did not admit of that navigation. On opening the third patent, Lope Vaz de Sampayo was the person there named, who was accordingly invested in the government,

 having

having engaged on oath to resign to Mascarenas on the arrival of that officer from Malacca.

At this time George Zelo and Pedro de Faria blockaded the port of Cananor, in which lay a fleet belonging to the zamorin. Sampayo immediately sent orders to Antonio de Sylveria and Christopher de Souza, then at Goa, to join the other two officers at Cananor to prevent the escape of the enemy, and went in person with seven ships and a considerable land force to endeavour to destroy them. *Cutiale*, the admiral of this fleet belonging to the zamorin, used every effort to defend himself, both by disposing his ships in formidable order, and by intrenchments and batteries on shore, where he had a land force of 10,000 men. Having made proper dispositions, Sampayo landed with about 1300 soldiers, leaving orders with Pedro de Faria to set the *paraos* belonging to the enemy on fire. The trenches of the enemy were carried after an obstinate resistance, and with great slaughter of the Moors, and seventy paraos were destroyed. By this signal victory, above eighty brass cannon were gained; but Sampayo spared the town, as it belonged to the king of Narsinga, with whom the Portuguese were then in peace.

Having dispatched several officers on command to different places, Sampayo sailed for Ormuz with five ships and 300 men. In his way thither he reduced the towns of Kalayat and Muscat, which had revolted owing to the exactions of Diego de Melo. His only transaction at Ormuz was to compose some differences that had arisen between Melo and Reis Xarafo, to receive the tribute due by the king of Ormuz, and to take along with him the ambassador whom George de Lima had brought from Abyssinia. From Ormuz, Sampayo dispatched Hector de Sylveira to cruise off Diu, on purpose to intercept the ships of the Red Sea that traded with Cambaya, of which three were taken. Sylveira then went to Diu, where he remained a long time at the request of Malek Saca, who made use of him to secure himself against the tyranny of the king of Cambaya.

Reis Soliman, the Turk who killed Mir Husseyn at Juddah, as formerly related, recovered the favour of Sultan Selim who had conquered Egypt from the Mamelukes, having acquired the favour of that prince by delivering up to him the city of Juddah which he had gained in the service of the Soldan, and by means of a considerable present: for even princes, though they have no need of receiving gifts, are

are apt to be won like other men by their means; and as Soliman promised to perform wonders in India for his service, Selim ordered twenty gallies and five galleons which were then at Suez to be added to the fleet under Reis Soliman. In the mean time Selim died at Cairo, and was succeeded by his son Soliman, who sent that large reinforcement, under the command of Hayraddin, to Reis Soliman, who was then fortifying the island of Kamaran. Upon some disgust, Hayraddin killed Reis Soliman; and in his turn was slain by Mustapha the nephew of Soliman. Mustapha, being afraid of the consequences of this action, sailed from Kamaran with a small number of vessels, the greater part of the fleet refusing to join him. He went first to Aden and thence to Diu, where he put himself under the protection of the king of Cambaya. An account of these revolutions in the Turkish fleet, which had given great apprehensions to the Portuguese in India, was carried to King John by Antonio Tenreyro over land, to the great admiration of every one, being the first who had performed that journey, till then thought impossible.

At this time Mascarenas, who waited in Malacca for the proper season of sailing to Cochin to assume the government, went against Bintang with twenty-one ships and 400 Portuguese soldiers, having likewise 600 Malays commanded by Tuam Mahomet and Sinai rajah. Although the capital of Bintang was well fortified and defended by 7000 men, Mascarenas surmounted every opposition and took the place. Of the enemy 400 were slain and 2000 made prisoners. A vast booty was made on this occasion, among which were nearly 300 pieces of cannon, and the Portuguese lost only three men in this glorious exploit. The king of Bitang died of grief, and Mascarenas restored it to the lawful heir under vassalage to Portugal, the former king having been an usurper.

The island of Sunda is divided on the south from Java by a very narrow channel. It produces pale gold with abundance of pepper and provisions. The natives are numerous but unwarlike, yet are curious in adorning their arms. They worship idols, and often sell their children to supply their necessities. The women are beautiful, those of the higher ranks being chaste, contrary to what is usual in most parts of the world. They have convents, as in Spain and Portugal, in which they reside while virgins; and the married women kill themselves on the death of their husbands. This

were

were a good custom to shew their duty and affection, were it not contrary to the law of nature, and therefore a barbarous error. Enrique Leme happening to go there, drawn by the plenty and goodness of its pepper, he was well received by the king of *Samiam*, who offered ground for a fort, and to pay an yearly tribute of 351 quintals of pepper, to purchase the friendship and support of the Portuguese against the Moors, by whom he was much infested. But when Francisco de Sa came to build the fort, he met with such opposition from the Moors that he was obliged to return to Malacca.

In the same year 1526, Martin Iniguez de Carchisano arrived in the port of Kamafo in Tidore with a Spanish ship, one of six which had been sent the year before from Spain to those parts which belonged of right to the Portuguese. Don Garcia Enriquez, who then commanded at the Moluccas, on learning the arrival of these Spaniards, and finding that they occasioned the spice to rise in price, went in person to expel them, but was obliged to retire with considerable damage from the Spanish cannon; yet the Spanish ship afterwards sunk. At this time Don George de Menezes, formerly mentioned as having lost his hand in the glorious action at Calicut, arrived at the Moluccas, having discovered the island of Borneo and many other islands by the way. Soon afterwards two ships were sent to Borneo with presents for the king, among which was a piece of tapestry adorned with figures of men. On seeing these, the ignorant barbarian cried out *that they were enchanted men, who would kill him in the night;* and no persuasions could convince him of his error, nor would he receive the presents or permit the Portuguese to remain in his port.

In the year 1527, it being understood at Cochin that Pedro de Mascarenas was on his way from Malacca to assume the government, Lope Vaz de Sampayo who acted *ad interim*, held a council of the principal officers, at which it was resolved not to admit Mascarenas to that high office. After this determination, Sampayo sailed for Goa, leaving Alphonso Mexia to command at Cochin, with orders to execute the resolutions of the council. On landing unarmed at Cochin, Mascarenas was opposed and wounded by Mexia; and proceeding afterwards to Goa, he was made prisoner and put in irons by order of Sampayo. These violent proceedings had nearly occasioned a civil war among the Portuguese in India; but at length, in the end of December 1527, Sampayo

payo was confirmed in the government, and Mascarenas went home to Portugal, where he was appointed to the command of Azamor in Africa.

In the year 1528, Don Juan Deza was sent to cruise on the coast of Calicut, where in several rencounters he took fifty vessels laden with various commodities. He burnt the town of Mangalore; and falling in with the fleet of Calicut, consisting of seventy paraos well manned and armed under the command of the *Chinese* admiral Cutiale, Deza took most of them killing 1500 Moors, and taking nearly as many prisoners, among whom was Cutiale.

Antonio Miranda de Azevedo was sent in the end of January 1528 to the Red Sea, with twenty ships and above 1000 soldiers, to endeavour to burn the Turkish gallies in the port of Kamaran which had formerly belonged to Reis Soliman. After taking some prizes by the way, he met with Enrique de Macedo in the mouth of the Red Sea, who had engaged a large Turkish galleon. The Turks had boarded him, and threw a burning dart which stuck in his main-sail and began to set it on fire; but in consequence of a strong gust of wind shaking the sail, the dart fell back into the Turkish vessel, where it set fire to the powder and the ship and all her crew were blown up. Several other valuable ships belonging to the Moors were taken, but the main object of this expedition completely failed, as the wind did not allow the fleet to get up the Red Sea to Kamaran.

In consequence of the civil discord among the Portuguese, the Moors had been enabled to annoy their trade in different parts: And as Lope Vaz understood that a successor to the government was on his way from Portugal, he prepared to be revenged on the Moors, wishing to deliver up the government in prosperity, by clearing the sea from pirates. With this view he fitted out eighteen ships at Cochin, with which he encountered 130 armed paraos at Cananor; and as the wind did not allow his large ships to get into action, he went against that numerous fleet with only thirteen paraos. Even with this disproportionate force he did considerable damage to the Malabar fleet. On seeing two paraos coming from Cananor to the aid of Sampayo, and that the large Portuguese ships were enabled to make sail by means of a breeze springing up, the Malabars fled as fast as possible. In the pursuit eighteen of them were sunk and twenty-two taken, in which were fifty pieces of cannon. Eight hundred of the enemy were slain, and

and many made prisoners. Those that fled, and others who joined them, fell afterwards into a snare near Cochin.

With the same fleet, Sampayo went immediately in search of *Arel*, lord of *Porca*. In this expedition, Simon de Melo burnt twenty-six ships belonging to the enemy, and set the town of *Chatua* on fire. Afterwards with a thousand men he assaulted Porca; and though Arel was not there at the time, the inhabitants made a brave but unavailing defence, as the place was taken, plundered, and destroyed. At this place the wife of Arel was taken, with a great spoil in gold, silver, jewels, silks, and other valuables, and thirteen considerable vessels. On his return to Cochin, as his successor was not yet arrived, Sampayo went back to Cananor, whence he dispatched his nephew Simon de Melo against *Marabia* and Mount *Dely*, both of which places were taken, plundered, and destroyed, with many piratical paraos. About this time, the king of Cambaya fitted out a fleet of eighty barks, under the command of a valiant Moor named *Alexiath*, who did much injury to the subjects of Nizam-al-mulk, and to the Portuguese trade at Chaul, in consequence of which aid was demanded from Sampayo by both. Sampayo accordingly set sail with forty vessels of different kinds, in which were 1000 Portuguese soldiers, besides a considerable force of armed natives. In this expedition Hector de Sylveira commanded the small vessels that rowed [1], while Sampayo took charge of the sailing vessels. On arriving at Chaul, Sampayo sent eighty Portuguese to the assistance of Nizam-al-Mulk, under the command of Juan de Avelar, and then sailed for Diu, as he understood the eighty barks of Cambaya were gone thither. Off Bombay that fleet belonging to Cambaya of which he was in search was descried, on which part of the ships were detached to secure the entrance of the river Bandora, to prevent the enemy from escaping, while Sylveira with his brigantines or row-boats bore down upon Alexiath. After a furious cannonade, the Portuguese gallantly boarded the enemy, and Alexiath fled with seven only of his barks, all the rest being taken. Of the 73 vessels captured on this occasion, 33 were found serviceable and were retained, all the rest being set on fire. In this glorious exploit, a vast number of prisoners, much

1 Such is the expression in the translation of the Portuguese Asia by Stevens. They were probably Malabar vessels, which in the early writers are named paraos, tonys, and caturs, and might perhaps be called row-boats.—E

much artillery, and abundance of ammunition were taken, and the Portuguese did not lose one man.

Juan de Avelar, who had been detached with eighty Portuguese to the assistance of Nizam-al-Mulk against the king of Cambaya, acquired great honour in that service by his gallantry. Assisted by 1000 of the native subjects of Nizam-al-Mulk, he scaled a fort belonging to the king of Cambaya, till then thought impregnable, being the first who entered; and having slain all the defendants, he delivered it up to the Nizam.

It was now about the beginning of the year 1529. Lope Vaz de Sampayo was much elated by the last-mentioned success against the fleet of Cambaya, and believed that in the present state of dismay Diu would surrender on the first summons: He was therefore eager to have gone against that place, but as all his captains except Sylveira were of a contrary opinion, he was obliged to lay aside that intention and to return to Goa, leaving the valiant Hector with twenty-two row-boats to cruise against the pirates in the north. In the south, or on the Malabar coast, Antonio de Miranda was employed in similar service, where he destroyed twelve paraos. Being joined by six brigantines and a galley, with 100 chosen men, commanded by Christopher de Melo, the united squadron took a very large ship laden with pepper in the river *Chale*, though defended by numerous artillery and 800 men. Near *Monte Hermosa*, they defeated 50 sail of vessels belonging to Calicut, taking three paraos with a considerable number of cannon and many men.

Hector de Sylveira, who had been left on the coast of Cambaya, did much damage to the enemy. Going up the river *Nagotana* of *Bazain*, he landed and burnt six towns belonging to the king of Cambaya. The commander of *Nagotana* took the field against him with five hundred horse and a large force of infantry, endeavouring to intercept Sylveira on his way to reimbark. An engagement took place, in which the enemy were repulsed with some loss, and Sylveira was enabled to embark. Going afterwards to *Bazain*, on a river of the same name, he found that place well fortified and defended by a considerable number of cannon. He entered the river however during the night, and next morning stormed the fortifications of Bazain, killing many of the defendents. After this success, he was unexpectedly attacked by Alexiath at the head of 3500 men; but he bravely repelled and defeated that vastly

ly superior force with great slaughter, after which he plundered and burnt the city of Bazain. Terrified by these exploits, the lord of the great city of Tana, not far distant, submitted to become tributary to Portugal, and Sylveira retired to Chaul.

While these things were doing on the coast of Hindostan, Simon de Sousa Galvam, on his way to the Moluccas in a galley with seventy men was driven by a storm to take shelter in the port of Acheen. Several vessels flocked immediately about him, on pretence of giving assistance, but the natives were no sooner on board than they fell upon the seventy Portuguese, with all kinds of weapons. Recovering from their first surprise, the Portuguese bravely drove the enemy from their ship, although not more than twenty were left that could stand to their arms. The king of Acheen gave orders to his admiral to attack the Portuguese galley next morning; when, after a desperate resistance, most of the Portuguese were slain and Galvam among them; only those being spared who were so severely wounded as to be unable to resist. Don George de Menezes, who commanded at the Moluccas, sent a party to Tidore against the Spaniards; but on the rout of that party, Menezes collected a considerable allied force, consisting of the people of Ternate, the *Sangages*, and the subjects of Cachil Daroez king of *Bacham*. With these and a small number of Portuguese, Menezes landed in Tidore, where he defeated the Spaniards and troops of Tidore, obliging the former to retire into their fort after losing six men, two of whom were slain and four taken. Menezes then assaulted and took the city of Tidore, which he plundered and burnt; after which he invested the Spanish fort, and summoned Ferdinando de la Torre the Spanish commander to surrender. Being unable to resist, the Spanish captain agreed to evacuate Tidore, retiring to the city of Comafo, and engaging to commit no hostilities upon the Portuguese or their allies, and not to trade to any of the islands producing cloves. After this the king of Tidore was made tributary to the Portuguese, and Menezes returned victorious to Ternate.

During his absence, *Bohaat* king of Tidore had died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by *Cachil Daroez*, and was succeeded by his brother *Cachil Daialo*. The new king being suspicious of *Cachil Vaiaco*, fled to the fort; but afraid that Menezes might give him up to his enemy, threw himself from a window. All Ternate now mutinied against Menezes; and as he imagined that *Cachil Vaideca*, a noble of

of Tidore, had caused the death of a Chinese sow belonging to him, he imprisoned that nobleman, after which he set him free, having first anointed his face with bacon, which among that people is reckoned a most heinous affront. Not contented with this violence, he sent to rob the houses of the *Moors* of their provisions, and became suddenly most outrageous and tyrannical. The *Moors* stood upon their defence, and treated some of the Portuguese as they now deserved. Menezes seized the chief magistrate of the town of *Tabona* and two other persons of note. These two he set at liberty after cutting off their hands; but he let loose two fierce dogs against the magistrate, which tore him in pieces. Becoming odious to all by these cruelties, *Cachil Daroez* stirred up the natives to expel the Portuguese; but being made prisoner, Menezes caused him to be beheaded. Terrified by this tyranny, the inhabitants of Ternate fled to other places, the city becoming entirely deserted. Don George de Menezes was afterwards sent a prisoner to India for these enormities, whence he was sent to Portugal, where he was condemned to banishment. Any reward was too small for his former services, and this punishment was too slight for his present offences.

Nuno de Cuna, appointed governor-general of India, arrived in May 1529 at Ormuz. Setting out too late from Lisbon in the year before with eleven ships, he had a tedious voyage. One of his ships was lost near Cape Verd, when 150 men perished. After passing the line, the fleet was dispersed in a violent storm. Nuno put in at the port of St Jago in Madagascar, where he found a naked Portuguese soldier, who had belonged to one of two ships commanded by Lacerda and Abreu, which were cast away in 1527 at this place. The people fortified themselves there, in hopes that some ships passing that way might take them up. After waiting a year, one ship passed but could not come to their assistance; and being no longer able to subsist at that place, they marched up the country in two bodies to seek their fortunes, leaving this man behind sick. In consequence of intelligence of these events sent home to Portugal by Nuno, Duarte and Diego de Fonseca were sent out in search of these men. Duarte perished in Madagascar; and Diego found only four Portuguese and one Frenchman, who had belonged to three French ships that were cast away on that island. These men said that many of their companions were still

still alive in the interior, but they could not be got at. From these it was thought had sprung a people that were found in Madagascar about eighty years afterwards. This people alleged that a Portuguese captain, having suffered shipwreck on the coast, had conquered a district of the island over which he became sovereign; and all his men taking wives from among the natives, had left numerous issue, who had erred much in matters of faith. *Great indeed must have been their errors, to have been discovered by the atheistical Hollanders!* Doubtless these people did not descend from that shipwreck only, but might have sprung likewise from the first discoverers, *who were never heard of*, and among others from three ships that sailed from Cochin in 1530 along with Francisco de Albuquerque.

While Nuno was at Madagascar, his own ship perished in a storm. The men were saved in the other two ships, but much goods and arms were lost. Sailing thence to Zanzibar, he landed 200 of his men who were sick, under the care of Alexius de Sousa Chichorro, with orders to go to Melinda when the people were recovered. Being unable to continue his voyage to India, on account of the trade wind being adverse, he determined upon taking revenge upon the king of Mombaza, who infested those of Melinda and Zanzibar from hatred to the Portuguese. If successful, he proposed to have raised *Munho Mahomet* to the throne, who was son to him who had received De Gama on his first voyage with so much kindness. Mahomet however objected to this honour, saying, "That he was not deserving of the crown, being born of a Kafr slave: But if Nuno wished to reward the friendship of his father, he might confer the crown on his brother *Cide Bubac*, a younger son of his father by a legitimate wife, and who was therefore of the royal blood of the kings of Quiloa. Nuno set off on this expedition with 800 men, accompanied by Mahomet and Bubac, each of whom had sixty followers. On the way he was joined by the sheikh of *Otonda*, a neighbouring town, who offered to accompany him with a well-appointed vessel. This prince had silver chains on his legs, which he wore as a memorial of having been wrongfully imprisoned by the king of Mombaza, and had sworn never to take them off till revenged, having been so used merely because he had shewn friendship to the Portuguese.

Having been apprized of the intended attack, the king of Mombaza had provided for his defence, by planting cannons on

on a fort or bulwark at the mouth of the river, and brought 600 expert archers into the city. Though opposed by a heavy cannonade from the bulwark, Nuno forced his way up the river and anchored in the evening close to the city, whence the archers shot continual flights of arrows into the ships, and were answered by the Portuguese cannon. Next morning early the troops were landed under Pedro Vaz, brother to Nuno, who carried all before him, and planted the Portuguese colours, after killing many of the Moors and driving the rest from the city, without losing a single Portuguese soldier. To secure and repeople the city, Nuno sent for a nephew of the king of Melinda, who came with 500 men, many of whom were of some rank; and these were followed by the prince of Montangue with 200 more. Many likewise of the former inhabitants came in and submitted, so that the island began to reassume an appearance of prosperity. The expelled king, sensible of the desperate situation of affairs, sent one of his principal men to propose an accommodation, offering to pay a ransom to preserve his city from destruction, and to become tributary. An agreement was accordingly entered into to this effect, and the king began to make the stipulated payments; but finding sickness to prevail among the Portuguese of whom two hundred soon died, and many more were incapacitated from service, he began to fall off from the completion of the agreement, and as the prince of Melinda durst not undertake to defend the place without a considerable force of Portuguese, Nuno destroyed the city by fire and returned to Melinda, carrying with him those he had formerly left sick at Zanzibar. Leaving Melinda, he left 80 of his men there sick, to be carried to India on their recovery by Tristan Homem: who afterwards defended Melinda with these men against the king of Mombaza, who endeavoured to revenge himself there for the injury he had sustained from the Portuguese.

It has been formerly mentioned that Nuno de Cuna arrived at Ormuz in May 1529, into which he made a formal and pompous entry, to the great admiration of the natives. He immediately issued a proclamation at that place and its dependencies, "That all who had cause of complaint against the Portuguese should appear before him for redress." Many complainers accordingly came forwards, and the offenders were obliged to make restitution, to the great astonishment and satisfaction of the Moors, who had not been accustomed

to see justice executed on their behalf. He found that *Reis Xarafo*, great *guazil* [2] or rather arch tyrant over the king and people of Ormuz, though restored to that situation by Sampayo, was by no means clear of the great crimes he had been formerly accused of, particularly of rapine and murder. On a representation of this to the king of Portugal, Manuel de Macedo had orders to bring him prisoner to Lisbon, and accordingly had him arrested by the assistance of Nuno, who waited upon the king of Ormuz to justify this procedure. The king readily acquiesced, and presented the governor with a rich present of jewels and cloth of gold, together with a fine horse richly caparisoned in the Persian manner. As the reigning king was implicated in the murder of his predecessor Mahomet, Nuno imposed upon him a fine of 40,000 Xerephines, in addition to the tribute of 60,000 which he had to pay yearly; that crime being used as a pretence to overburthen him with a tribute equal to a third part of the yearly revenue of Ormuz [3]. Xarafo, or Ashraf, was sent to Portugal with examinations respecting the crimes laid to his charge; but he carried such riches along with him, that he was not only able to purchase a remission of punishment, but was actually reinstated in his former employment. While Nuno still remained at Ormuz, Tavarez de Sousa came there, who had been with forty men to assist the king of *Basrah* against the lord of *Gizaira* [4]; having been the first Portuguese who went up the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. Basrah or Bazora, in about the lat. of 30° N. is about 30 leagues from the mouth of the great river Euphrates, and received its name in commemoration of the more ancient city of Basrah, eight leagues higher up, the ruins of which are said by eye-witnesses to be twice as extensive as the city of Grand Cairo. The island of Gizaira, or Jazirat, is formed by the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates, being about 40 leagues in circumference, and is said

2 In Astley, I. 80, this person is named Reis or *Raez Ashraf*, *Wazir* or Visier of Ormuz. The strange title in the text, *great guazil*, is probably a translation of *Alguazil mayor*, giving a Portuguese or rather a Spanish denomination to an Arab officer.—E.

3 On a former occasion, the Xerephine was stated as equal in value to 3s. 9d. Hence the total revenue of Ormuz was only about L.33,750 yearly: The tribute to Portugal L.11,250; and the fine L.7500. It is true that the value of money was then much greater than now, and these sums for comparison with our present money of account may perhaps be fairly rated at L.337,500, L.112,500 and L.75,000 respectively, or *ten* times their numerical amount in 1529.—E.

4 Called Jazirat by the Editor of Astleys Collection.

said to contain 40,000 archers. The river Tigris rises among the *Curds* in the greater Armenia, and the springs of the Euphrates are in Turkomania. The king of Basrah received Sousa with much state, and appeared greatly satisfied at his assistance. Sousa accompanied him on his expedition against the lord of Jazirat, the infantry of Basrah amounting to 5000 men, 600 of whom carried firelocks, were conveyed up the river in 200 *dalacs* or large boats, accompanied by seven vessels full of Turks with a considerable number of cannon. The king went along with his infantry by water, while his nephew marched by land at the head of 3000 horse. The king established his camp on the right or Arabian side of the river, opposite to the encampment of the lord of Jazirat, who was posted on the island with 12,000 men. By order of the king of Basrah, Sousa wrote to the lord of Jazirat, saying that he was sent by the Portuguese commander of Ormuz, either to make peace between the contending parties on reasonable terms, or in case of refusal to take part with the king of Basrah. The king of Jazirat made answer, that as this was the first request of the captain of Ormuz, and as Sousa was the first Portuguese who had come into these parts, he agreed to comply with the terms demanded, which were merely the restoration of certain forts belonging to the king of Basrah which he had taken possession of. Persons were accordingly appointed on both sides to treat for an accommodation, which was satisfactorily concluded. But the king of Basrah now refused to perform what he had promised to Sousa for his aid; which was to deliver up the seven Turkish vessels, and not to admit any more of that nation into his dominions, because enemies of the Portuguese. Enraged at this breach of compact, Sousa after embarking with his men, took one of the large barks belonging to Basrah, after which he landed with thirty-six of his men and burnt a town of 300 houses on the Arabian side of the river, and a smaller one on the Persian side.

In reward to Sousa for his gallantry, Nuno gave him the command in the Persian Gulf, and sent him to Bahrayn at the request of the king of Ormuz, to reduce Reis Barbadim who had revolted. But as Sousa had not a sufficient force for this purpose, Simon de Cuna was sent there with eight vessels and 400 men, besides a native force in the barks of the country. Joining Sousa, the fort of Bahrayn was battered for three days; but powder running short, they had to

send

send to Ormuz for a supply, and in the mean time the Portuguese sickened so fast, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate that above an hundred of them died, and even the Persian soldiers belonging to Ormuz, though accustomed to the climate, were in very little better condition, insomuch that they had to give up the siege and return to Ormuz, where Simon de Sousa died.

In the mean time Nuno de Cuna, leaving Ormuz, arrived at Goa in the latter end of October 1529, where he found four ships just arrived from Lisbon after a prosperous voyage with a reinforcement of 1500 men all in perfect health, not having lost a man by the way except one captain. Nuno made a solemn entry into the city, where he found a powerful fleet of 140 vessels, which had all been provided by the former governor, Lope Vaz de Sampayo. The most considerable of these were six galleons, eight royal gallies, six caravels, and fourteen galliots, all well provided with cannon and military stores; for though Sampayo had usurped the government, he had conducted it better than many of those who had received regular appointments. Finding it necessary to proceed to Cochin, to dispatch the homeward trade, he stopped at Cananor, where Sampayo then was, who came on board and resigned the government with the usual solemnities. Sampayo was inclined to have landed again at Cananor, but Nuno ordered him to go along with him to Cochin, and published a proclamation that all who had been wronged by Sampayo might repair to the new governor, who would do them justice. Sampayo complained of this as a libel against him, as those who had complaints to make needed not to be invited by sound of trumpet. On arriving at Cochin, Nuno ordered Sampayo to be imprisoned and an inventory to be taken of all his effects, all of which were directed to be deposited in safe custody and sent to Lisbon, to be there delivered as the king might direct. On being taken into custody, Sampayo desired the officer to say to Nuno, "I imprisoned others, you imprison me, and there will come one who will imprison you." To this message Nuno answered, "Doubtless I may be imprisoned; but the difference between us will be, that Sampayo deserves it, and I shall not." Neither was Sampayo wrong, as Nuno had certainly been taken into custody in Portugal on his return if he had not died by the way. Sampayo was treated with much and improper severity: the worst ship in the fleet being appointed

for

for him, with only two servants, and barely as much of his own wealth as sufficed for the expence of his voyage.

On his arrival at the Tercera islands an officer was in waiting to put Sampayo in irons, with which he landed at Lisbon and was carried to a dungeon in the castle, in which was confined at the same time Reis Xarafo the visier of Ormuz. After two years confinement, the chief crime alleged against him being his unjust proceedings in regard to Pedro de Mascarenas, the duke of Braganza took pity on the misfortunes of this brave gentleman, and prevailed on the king to give him a hearing in council. Accordingly, the king being seated in council surrounded by the judges, Sampayo was brought before him, having his face covered by a long and thick white beard, and with such tokens of misery which he had endured in almost three years imprisonment, counting from his arrest in India, that even Mascarenas or any other of his enemies might have thought themselves sufficiently revenged. Being put to the bar, after receiving the kings permission, he made a copious and comprehensive speech with an undaunted countenance, in his justification. After enumerating the services of his ancestors and immediate progenitors to the crown, he particularized his own from his early youth to the period of his imprisonment, and commented upon the injuries which had been since done to him. He exposed the malice of his accusers, and justified his own proceedings. By many apt examples of others who had been guilty even of greater crimes than those of which he was accused, and who had been pardoned in consideration of their services, he drew a parallel between himself and these persons, and concluded by throwing himself entirely on the justice and mercy of his majesty; from one or other of which he trusted to receive a discharge, and hoped to have more cause of thankfulness for the future, than he had of complaint till then of the hard usage he had been subjected to.

Having listened to him attentively, the king examined him in regard to each separate article of his impeachment, forty-three in all, to every one of which he gave apt answers. The principal article alleged against him related to Pedro Mascarenas, all the others being such as would never have been thought of except to fill up the measure of accusation. Being carried back to the castle, he sent in his defence in writing, as is usual in such cases. In the end, he was sentenced to forfeit all his allowances as governor; to pay Mas-

carenas

carenas a compensation of 10,000 ducats; and to be banished into Africa. He contrived however to get into Spain, where he disnaturalized himself, as had been done by the famous Magellan; and wrote a letter from Badajos to the king, in which he affirmed that his sentence was unjust, and declared his resolution to try, by changing his country, to better his fortune and restore his honour. In consequence of this he was restored to his country.

We must now return to the affairs of India, where Diego Sylveira reduced the people of Calicut to such straits that the zamorin was constrained to sue to Nuno de Cuna for peace. This was granted on certain terms, part of which the zamorin was willing to accept, but rejected the rest; on which Sylveira reduced the city to extreme distress, by intercepting all provisions. Some relief was received however from Cananor, and Simon de Sousa being driven in his brigantine on shore, was blown up while bravely defending himself against the Moors.

Malek Saca [5] being expelled from Diu, found it expedient for compassing his ends with the king of Cambaya, to employ similar artifices with Nuno de Cuna as had been formerly practised with Hector de Sylveira, by offering to deliver up the city to him. Accordingly he wrote to Nuno, that although he could not now deliver up Diu, he would assist him to reduce it; and as it was convenient that a meeting should take place between the governor and Malek Saca, Nuno sent him a safe conduct, and ships to transport him and his retinue, commanded by Gaspar Paez, who had formerly been known to Malek Saca at Diu. On this occasion Malek Saca granted every condition required, not meaning to perform any, and made use of this sham alliance to get himself restored to the favour of the king of Cambaya, putting off Paez with various artifices, under pretence that the safe conduct was not securely expressed, and that there were too few ships. In revenge of this deceit, Paez was only able to burn nine small barks belonging to Malek Saca. Being much enraged at the duplicity of Malek, Nuno began to make preparations for the reduction of Diu. In the mean time, he visited and conciliated the rajah of Cochin, who had been much displeased with the conduct of Lope Vaz Sampayo

5 He is stated on a former occasion to have been the son of Malek Azz.—E.

Sampayo and Alfonso Mexia. He went next to Goa, whence he visited the king at *Chale*, and satisfied him in all things. About the middle of February 1530 he came to Cananor, the king of which place he gratified by conforming to the ceremonials of his court; and being offered a present of jewels, he accepted them lest he should affront that prince, but delivered them over to the officers of the revenue, as belonging to the king of Portugal.

At this time a rich merchant of Mangalore did great injury to the Portuguese, as he favoured the zamorin of Calicut though living in the dominions of the king of Narsinga who was in friendship with the Portuguese. Diego de Sylveira was ordered to punish that man, and went accordingly against him with a force of 450 men and sixteen vessels. He accordingly entered the river of Mangalore, where he was opposed by a great number of ships belonging to the Moorish merchant, which were put to flight after a short contest. Sylveira then landed with 240 men and entered the town without opposition, after which he took the fort whence the merchant endeavoured to escape, but was slain by a musquet-ball. A vast booty fell into the hands of the Portuguese, but Sylveira ordered it all to be burnt, lest he might endanger his ships by overloading them. As winter was coming on Sylveira dismissed half of his fleet, yet afterwards had occasion for them all, as he soon after encountered *Pati Marcar*, a commander belonging to Calicut, who was going to Mangalore with sixty paraos. The weather prevented him from fighting at that time; but Sylveira waited the return of the Calicut fleet, to which he gave battle off Mount Dely, and sunk six paraos, after which he returned to Cochin.

In the same year 1530, Antonio de Sylveira commanded on the coast of Cambaya with fifty-one sail of vessels, three of which were gallies and two galliots, in which were 900 Portuguese soldiers. With this force he went up the river Taptee where he burnt Surat and Reyner, the chiefest towns in that part of India. Surat on one side of the river contained 10,000 families, mostly Banians [6] and handicrafts of no courage; while Reyner on the other side of the river had six thousand houses inhabited by a warlike race, and was well fortified. On sounding, the river was found too shallow for

6 Called *Bancanes* in the text of De Faria; perhaps an error of the press for Banianes or Banzanes.—E.

for the larger vessels, which were left off the bar under the command of Francisco de Vasconcelles; while with the smaller, Sylveira went up the river about four miles to Surat. He there found 300 horse and nearly 10,000 foot drawn up to oppose his landing, all well armed with bows and firelocks; but after one discharge this vast multitude fled in dismay without waiting an attack. The city of Surat was then entered without farther resistance, and being plundered of every thing worth carrying off was set on fire with some ships that were in its arsenal. The city of Reyner stood a little higher up on the other side, and was inhabited by the *Nayteas Moors*, a race of more courage and policy than the Banians; yet they fled almost at the first fire, leaving all their property to the Portuguese, who had all been enriched if they had been able to carry away the whole plunder. Having removed all that their ships could carry, the town was set on fire, together with twenty ships and many small vessels. In both actions Emanuel de Sousa was conspicuously valiant, being the first to land with much danger, especially in the latter, where he was opposed by a numerous artillery. On returning to the mouth of the river, Sylveira found that Vasconcelles had taken six vessels bound with provisions for Diu. After this, Antonio de Sylveira destroyed the towns of Daman and Agazem on the coast, at the latter of which places 300 vessels belonging to the enemy were burnt.

On the 21st of January 1530, Hector de Sylveira sailed from Goa for the Red Sea with ten ships and 600 men. Spreading his fleet across the mouth of that sea, that no enemy might escape, several rich ships were captured. Appearing afterwards before *Aden*, Hector induced the sheikh of that place to submit to the crown of Portugal, and to an yearly tribute of 12,000 Xerephines. The sheikh of *Zael*, who had only a short time before accompanied *Mustapha*, a Turkish captain, with 20,000 men to make war upon Aden, submitted to similar terms.

Having completed his preparations for the expedition against Diu, Nuno de Cuna sailed early in the year 1531 with a great fleet and army for that place. In a general review at the Island of Bombay, the fleet consisted of above 400 sail of all kinds of vessels, many of which were large, more indifferent, and most of them small; some being only *sutlers*, fitted out by the natives for private gain. On board this fleet

were

were 3600 soldiers and 1450 seamen all Portuguese, besides above 2000 Canara and Malabar soldiers, 8000 slaves, and about 5000 native seamen. Landing at Daman, a fort belonging to the king of Cambaya, which was immediately evacuated by the Moors, advice was brought that the Arabs, Turks, and others, to the number of 2000 men, had fortified themselves in the Island of *Beth*, seven leagues from Diu. This place was so strong by art and nature, environed with rocks and fortifications, that Nuno gave no credit to the accounts respecting it till convinced by inspection. Coming before Beth on the 7th of February, he summoned the garrison to surrender; but many of them shaved their heads, as devoting themselves to death or victory, which they call making themselves *amoucos*[7]. The commandant of the barbarians gave a brutal example of determined and savage resolution, by throwing his wife, son, and goods into a fire made on purpose, in which they were all consumed; that if the Portuguese succeeded in the enterprise, they might only gain a heap of ashes. His example was followed by others. Being resolved to carry this place, Nuno made dispositions for an assault, dividing his force into six bodies, which were ordered to attack in six different places at the same time. After a desperate conflict the place was taken, in which 1800 of the enemy were slain, and sixty cannons taken.

Departing from Beth, Nuno appeared with his powerful armament before Diu. This city is built upon rocks, and is entirely encompassed by rocks and water. The entrance into the river or haven was shut up by massy chains suspended upon vessels, behind which eighty vessels were drawn up full of archers and musqueteers to defend the passage. The garrison consisted of 10,000 men, with a prodigious number of cannon. On the 16th of February, the signal was given for the attack, but after fighting the whole day without gaining any advantage, and having suffered some loss, it was determined in a council of war to desist from the enterprise as impracticable. It was agreed by all, that if so much time had not been fruitlessly employed in the capture of Beth, Diu must have fallen; as it had been reinforced only three days before the arrival of the Portuguese by a Turk named Mustapha, who was the principal cause of its brave and effectual

7 Corruptly called by the British in India *running a muck*.—E.

tual resistance. Nuno returned with the principal part of his fleet and army to Goa, where he arrived on the 15th of March, leaving Antonio de Saldanna with 60 vessels in the Bay of Cambaya to annoy the enemy.

After the departure of the Portuguese fleet, Mustapha presented himself before *Badur* king of Cambaya, who received him honourably, giving him the command of *Baroach* in the Bay of Cambaya, with the title of Rumi-khan. He was called *Rumi*, as having been born in Greece; as the Moors of India, being ignorant of the divisions of the European provinces, call the whole of Thrace, Greece, Sclavonia, and the adjacent countries by the general name of *Rum*, and the inhabitants *Rumi;* though that term ought only to be applied to Thrace, the modern *Romania.* The *Turks* and *Rumes* are different nations; the former being originally from Turkistan, and the natives of Greece and Thrace consider themselves as of more honourable descent than the Turks [8]. The title of *Khan* now bestowed on Mustapha is a dignity among the Tartars equivalent to that of *Duke* in Europe, and is bestowed in the east on persons of distinguished merit.

Antonio de Saldanna, who was left in command of the sea of Cambaya, with 60 vessels and 1500 men, took and burnt the town of *Madrefavat* [9], five leagues from Diu towards Beth. He then went against Gogo, twenty-four leagues farther, formerly a strong and populous place of great trade. There were fifteen of the largest paraos belonging to Calicut at that time in the port laden with spice, which took shelter in a creek, and were followed by Saldanna with 800 men in the smaller vessels. Finding it necessary to land, he was opposed by 300 horse and 800 foot that came to defend the Malabars; but after a sharp rencounter, in which 200 of the enemy were slain, they were constrained to abandon the vessels, which were all burnt; after which Saldanna destroyed the town of Gogo and eight ships that were in the port He afterwards destroyed the towns of Belsa, Tarapor, Maii, Kelme, and Agasim, and lastly Surat, which was beginning to revive from its former destruction. Having thus ravaged the coast of Cambaya,

8 On a former occasion, the name of *Rumi* has been mentioned as universally given in India to the Turks as coming in place of the Romans. De Faria therefore was mistaken in deriving it from the province of Romania or Thrace.—E.

9 Perhaps that now called Jaffrabad.—E.

baya, he returned to Goa. About this time a brother of the king of Cambaya, who was rightful heir to that crown, came into the hands of Nuno; who expected through his means to obtain what had been so long desired, the possession of Diu, and the command of the trade of Cambaya.

About this time the Portuguese cruisers had taken twenty-seven ships belonging to the zamorin, all richly laden. Being perplexed by the great losses he was continually sustaining through the Portuguese superiority at sea, the sovereign of Calicut made overtures towards an accommodation; and in a treaty of peace gave permission to the governor-general to build a fort in the island of *Chale*, in a river that falls into the sea about three leagues from Calicut, which is navigable by boats all the way to the foot of the *Gaut* mountains. *Urinama*, a heathen, was at this time rajah of *Chale*, and both he and the neighbouring rajah of Tanore, who were subjects to the zamorin, were anxious to throw off their subjection to that prince, and to enter into alliance with the Portuguese, in hopes of becoming rich by participating in their trade. Immediately upon procuring the consent of the zamorin to construct the fort, Nuno set out from Goa with 150 sail of vessels, in which were 3000 Portuguese troops and 1000 native *Lascarines*. So much diligence was used in carrying on the work, even the gentlemen participating in the labour, that in twenty-six days it was in a defensible situation, being surrounded by a rampart nine feet thick and of sufficient height, strengthened by towers and bastions or bulwarks at proper places. Within the fort a church was built, together with a house for the commander, barracks for the soldiers, and store-houses for trade. Diego de Pereira, who had negotiated the treaty with the zamorin, was left in command of this new fortress, with a garrison of 250 men; and Manuel de Sousa had orders to secure its safety by sea, with a squadron of twenty-two vessels. The zamorin soon repented of having allowed this fort to be built in his dominions, and used ineffectual endeavours to induce the rajah of Chale, Caramanlii, and Tanore to break with the Portuguese, even going to war against them, but to no purpose.

About the end of February 1532, Emanuel de Vasconcelles was sent to the Red Sea with two galliots and several brigantines to cruise against the Turks. Off Xael he captured several Turkish vessels, among which was a large ship, named

 Cufturca,

Cufturca, which was sent to Muscat. The king of Xael, fearful of danger, made his peace with Vasconcelles. Soon afterwards Antonio de Saldanna arrived with ten ships to take the command in the Red Sea, who was dissatisfied with the terms entered into with the sheikh of Xael, on which that prince sent all the valuables belonging to the town, together with the women and children into the interior, that he might provide for defence; but being obliged to quit the Red Sea on account of the weather, Saldanna sailed first to Muscat and thence to Diu, where he took several vessels belonging to the enemy, among which was one in which he got above 60,000 Venetian chequins. About the same time Diego de Sylveira plundered and burnt Puttun, a city twelve leagues from Diu, and destroyed four ships that were in the harbour. He acted in a similar manner at Pate and Mangalore and other places, and returned to Goa with above 4000 slaves and an infinite booty.

All this encouraged Nuno de Cuna to continue hostilities against Diu and the king of Cambaya, in hopes of constraining him to allow of the construction of a fort in that city. *Malek Tocam*[10], lord of Diu, was then fortifying the city of Basseen, and as that place might prove injurious to the designs of Nuno against Cambaya, he determined to destroy it. For this purpose he fitted out a fleet of 150 vessels in which he embarked with 3000 Portuguese soldiers and 200 native Canarins. Tocam on hearing of this expedition, left a garrison of 12,000 men in Basseen and retired to Diu. Despising the danger of attacking such superior numbers, Nuno landed his troops and took Basseen by assault, in which action 600 of the enemy were slain, and only eight or nine on the side of the Portuguese. Having ravaged the surrounding country and razed the fortifications of Basseen, Emanuel de Albuquerque was sent with twelve vessels and 300 men to destroy the fort of Daman, which he was unable to accomplish. He burnt however all the towns upon the coast from *Basseen* to *Tarapor*, and reduced *Tanua*, *Bandora*, *Maii*, and *Bombay* to become tributary. About this time orders were sent from Portugal that all the commanders of forts in India should make oath of obedience to the governor-general, whence it

10 The lord of Diu only a little before was named Malek *Saca;* but De Faria gives no intimation of any revolution, except by change of name. Yet from the sequel it is evident this person was the son of Malek Azz.—E.

appears that till then they were in a great measure independent.

About this time Malek Tocam, lord of Diu, desired Nuno to send a proper person to him with whom he might treat of an important affair, he being at that time apprehensive that the king of Cambaya meant to deprive him of his government. Vasco de Cuna was accordingly sent on this embassy, with instructions to procure the surrender of Diu, but was unsuccessful. At the same time Tristan de Ga pressed the king of Cambaya to allow of building a fort at Diu, and Badur expressed a desire of conferring with the governor-general on the subject, though his real design was to kill him rather than grant permission to build a fort. Nuno went accordingly to Diu with a fleet of 100 sail and 2000 Portuguese troops; but the king who was then at Diu delayed the interview on various pretences, and desired Nuno to send some of his principal captains to wait upon him. They went accordingly richly dressed and were splendidly received. While in discourse with the king, Emanuel de Macedo took the liberty, yet in a respectful manner, to say "That he wondered much his majesty should deprive Malek Tocam of the government of the city, who had not only served him faithfully, but was the son of one who had performed many signal services and had long enjoyed his favour, and that he should bestow the command on *Mustapha Rumi Khan*, whose principal merit was disloyalty to the *Grand Turk*, his natural prince. He added, that if Mustapha denied this, he challenged him to combat, either hand to hand, or in any other manner he might think fit. *Rumi Khan* was present, but made no answer, till the king looking angrily at him, he said his silence proceeded from contempt. Macedo repeated the challenge, and the Turk, no longer able to shun it with a good grace, agreed to fight him at sea. But this challenge took no effect, as the parties could not agree upon the terms of combat. Being unable to come to any agreement with the king of Cambaya, Nuno de Cuna entered into a league with *Humayun*[11] padishah, or emperor of the Moguls, and returned to Goa, dispatching several of his captains with squadrons to different places.

At this time, *Cunale Marcar*, a bold pirate, scoured the seas about Calicut with eight vessels well equipped and full of men. One night off Cape Comorin he surprised a Portuguese brigantine

11 In De Faria called *Omaum Patxath*, king of the Moguls.—E.

gantine at anchor, in which were twenty-one Portuguese, all so fast asleep that they were bound before they waked. He caused their heads to be bruised to pieces, to punish them for daring to sleep while he was at sea, *a merry cruelty.* From thence *Cunale* went to Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel, where there were forty Portuguese, who defended themselves to no purpose, as the degar or governor of that place agreed with Cunale to rob them. Khojah Marcar, though a relation of Cunale, used his endeavours to deliver the Portuguese from this danger, by instilling mutual jealousy into the Degar and Cunale, who however took some Portuguese vessels then in the river at Negapatnam, and shot eight of their men. Antonio de Silva was sent against him from Cochin with 200 musqueteers in fifteen small vessels, on which Cunale took refuge in a bay on the coast called *Canamera*, where he fortified himself. But Antonio forced him to make his escape in the habit of a beggar to Calicut, leaving his vessels and cannon, with which Antonio returned to Cochin.

In 1534 Martin Alfonso de Sousa, Portuguese admiral in India, took the fort of Daman; and Badur king of Cambaya, fearing still greater losses, and finding his trade completely interrupted, made peace with Nuno, on the following conditions. The fort of Basseen with all its dependencies was ceded to the crown of Portugal: All ships bound from the kingdom of Cambaya for the Red Sea, were to come in the first place to Basseen, and to touch there on their return, paying certain duties to the crown of Portugal: No ships belonging to Cambaya were to trade to any other parts without licence from the Portuguese government: No ships of war were to be built in any of the ports belonging to Cambaya: The king of Cambaya was on no account to give any assistance to the *Rumes* or Turks. There were other articles in favour of the king of Cambaya, to render the harshness of these more palatable; and even these were afterwards moderated when he gave permission for building a fort at Diu.

The kingdom of Guzerat, commonly called Cambaya from the name of its metropolis, extends from Cape *Jaquet* or *Jigat* in the west, to the river *Nagotana* near *Chaul*, within which limits there is a large and deep bay or gulf having the same name with the capital, in which bay the sea ebbs and flows with wonderful rapidity, insomuch that any ship that is caught in this tremendous *bore* certainly perishes. To avoid this danger, there

there is always a man stationed on an eminence, who gives notice with a horn when he sees the approach of this torrent. The distance between Cape *Jigat* and the river of Nagotana is above 200 leagues. On the west Guzerat borders on the *Resbuti* or *Rajputs*, a people dwelling in a mountainous country[12]. On the north it joins with the kingdom of *Chitor*[13]: On the east with that of *Pale*[14]. The coast is covered by numerous towns and cities. It is watered by two famous rivers, the *Taptii* and *Tapetii*[15], and by many creeks that form several islands. Guzerat is all plain, so that they generally travel in waggons, as in Flanders, but lighter made, which are easily drawn by oxen, smaller than those of Spain. The country breeds cattle in great abundance, and plenty of provisions of all sorts. The natives are of four different kinds. The first called *Baneanes Baganzariis*, feed after our manner: The second called simply *Baneanes*[16], who eat of nothing that hath life. Their priests are called *Vertias*, who are clothed in white, and never change their apparel till it falls in pieces. These live altogether on charity; and, like the children of Israel in the desert, they never keep any thing for the next day. They place their greatest hope of salvation in abstaining from killing any creature whatever, and even use no light at night, lest any moth should fly into the flame; and always carry a broom to sweep the ground they tread on, that they may not trample any worm or insect to death. The third race consists of the *Resbuti* or *Rajputs*, who are good soldiers, and to whom formerly the kingdom belonged. These people acknowledge *one God in three persons, and worship the blessed Virgin*, a doctrine which they have preserved ever since the time

12 These mountains are in the middle of Guzerat, which they pervade in a range of considerable length from N. E. to S. W.—E.

13 More properly *Agimere*, in which is the town or city of *Cheitore*, whence the name in the text.—E.

14 Malwa, one of the kingdoms or *Soubahs* of Hindostan is to the east of Guzerat. The meaning of the name in the text is not obvious.—E.

15 The Taptee is evidently one of these, but it is hard to say what river is meant by the other. Next to the Taptee on the north, the great river Nerbuddah flows into the Gulf of Cambay, dividing the two great Subahs of Malwa and Candeish. The Mahie divides Guzerat from Malwa; and the Mehindry and Puddar pervade Guzerat; which is bounded on the west by the Cagger, dividing it from the great sandy desert of *Sinde* or Jesselmere, and from Cutch.—E.

16 *Banians*: It would much exceed the bounds of a note to enter upon any explanation here of the Hindoo casts, which will be fully illustrated in the sequel of this work.—E.

time of the apostles[17]. The fourth and last class of inhabitants are the Mahometans called *Lauteas*, consisting both of strangers who have conquered the country, and natives who have embraced that religion. The inhabitants of Guzerat are very ingenious mechanics in works of silk, gold, ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, crystal, ebony, and other articles. They follow the rules of Pythagoras, killing no creature; but rather buy all, though even venemous, from those who take them, on purpose to set them free. They have even a set of men whose only employment is to go about the towns and fields looking out for sick beasts, which are tended with great care in hospitals built on purpose. Yet in spite of all this charity to the brute creation, they are devoid of human kindness, and will not reach out their hand to help a fellow creature in the utmost need.

In the year of God 1292, or according to the Mahometan account the 700, a pagan king named *Galacarna* ruled in peace in Guzerat; but involved the country in war to deprive his brother of the kingdom of *hampanel* or *Champaneer*, which had been left him by their father. Galacarna employed two generals in this war, one of whom named *Madana* had to wife one of the most beautiful women of the country, of the race of *Padaminii*, who, besides their beauty, are said to have so sweet a scent from their skin that they are esteemed beyond all other women. It is said there are scarcely any of these women in Guzerat, but many in Orissa. There is no mischief without a woman even with an ill savour, how much more then for one of a good scent! King Galacarna fell in love with the wife of Madana, and used every means to gain her but to no purpose. But she being chaste, which was doubtless the sweet smell, gave notice to her husband and brother of the dishonourable conduct of the king; on which they called in *Shah Nasr Oddin* king of Delhi, who invaded the kingdom of Guzerat and slew Galacarna in battle; after which he left his general Habed Shah to reduce the kingdom to subjection, having in the first place rewarded the two brothers for their services,

17 It is most wonderful, that in the grossest, most ridiculous, and most obscene of all idolatrous polytheism, the Portuguese should have fancied any resemblance to the pure religion of Christ! even under its idolatrous debasement of image worship, and the invocation of legions of saints. The monstrous superstitions of the bramins will be discussed in a future division of this work.—E.

services, and made the kings of *Mandou* and *Cheitore* tributary[18]. Shah Nasr Oddin was soon afterwards killed by his nephew, and the kingdom of Delhi was so much weakened by civil war, that Habed-shah revolted and set himself up as king of Guzerat.

In 1330, *Hamet* a Mahometan Tartar, who resided in the city of Cambay, by the assistance of a number of Arabs, Persians, and *Rumes* or Turks, usurped a great part of Guzerat, then possessed by *Deosing-rao.* Ali Khan succeeded Hamet, and left forty sons, three of whom became kings. The eldest *Peru-shah* succeeded in the kingdom of Guzerat. The second *Azeide-khan* got the kingdom of *Mandou* or Malwa by his wife; and the third named Ali-khan acquired the kingdom of *Agimere* in the same manner. Peru-shah followed the example of his father and grandfather in securing his kingdom against foreign enemies, and built the city of Diu in memory of a victory over a *Chinese* fleet. Sultan Mahomet his son succeeded, and reigned at the time when Vasco de Gama discovered India. He left the kingdom to his son *Modafer*, as most worthy; but in consequence of a civil war, Modafer was slain, and his youngest brother *Mahomet Khan* was raised to the throne. An elder brother *Latisa Khan* aspired to the kingdom, but without success; and after a succession of civil wars it fell to *Badur*, or *Behauder Khan*, who was king of Guzerat at this period. The former king *Modafer* divided the possessions belonging to Malek Azz who was lord of Diu among his three sons, which destination gave great displeasure to his own sons who coveted these territories. But *Badur* was chiefly dissatisfied, and even poisoned his father *Modafer Khan*. After this parricide, he fled to the king of Chitore, where he killed a person even in the presence of the king at an entertainment, and fled to Delhi. He there professed himself a *Calendar* or religious person, to shun the punishment due to his crimes. These Calendars go about loaded with iron chains and live abstemiously; yet with all their outward shew of religious austerity, they practice all manner of lewdness and wickedness in secret. They enter into no town, but blow a horn on the out-skirts, that people may bring them alms. Sometimes they go about in bands of two

18 Probably Malwa and Agimere are here meant.—E.

two thousand or more, laying the country under contributions.

After remaining some time among the Calendars, Badur got notice of the distractions prevailing in Guzerat, and went there with his chains in search of the crown, and acquired the favour of the people so strongly by his pretended religious austerity, that he was proclaimed king. To secure his ill-gotten power, he caused Madrem-al-Mulk to be flayed alive for having raised his youngest brother Latisa Khan to the throne, and put to death all his brothers. Being desirous to take off *Malek Saca* lord of Diu, Saca fled, and was succeeded by his brother *Malek Tocam.* In the year 1527, one Stephen Diaz Brigas, a Portuguese who had fled his country for some crime, came to India as captain of a French ship with forty Frenchmen, and putting into Diu was there made prisoner with all his men, who were cruelly put to death by order of Badur.

While at Champaneer in 1527, ambassadors came from *Baber*, padishah or emperor of Delhi, demanding homage and tribute for Guzerat, as part of his dominions. At first Badur was disposed to have slain these unwelcome messengers; but he dismissed them, saying that he would carry the answer in person. He accordingly drew together an army of 100,000 men and 400 elephants, with a great train of artillery. But he was prevented from carrying his designs into execution, in consequence of a great town called *Doitabad* being taken by Nizam-al-Mulk; and though he recovered it, he met with great loss of men, chiefly by the weather, it being winter, some of his men being slain by a shower of stones as large as oranges[19]. Certain men came to Badur, from the kingdom of the *Colii*[20], who demanded tribute; but he flayed them alive. In 1529, Badur marched with 70,000 horse and 200,000 foot into the dominions of Nizam-al-Mulk, where he did much damage. In the same year Baber padishah of the Moguls of Delhi, marched with an army for the reduction of Guzerat;

19 The story in the text is difficultly intelligible. I am apt to believe that the great army belonged to Baber, the Great Mogul, designed for the reduction of Guzerat, but turned aside for the recovery of *Dowlatabad* in the Deccan, and that the shower of stones of the text is to be understood of hail.—E.

20 Who these were does not appear.—E.

Guzerat; but met with so much loss in a battle with the king of *Cheitore* in Agimere that he was forced to retire to Delhi.

Badur invaded the kingdom of *Mandou*[21], and killed the king by treachery. He then imprisoned all the kings sons, and distributed the wives and daughters of the deceased king among his officers. *Salahedin*, one of the principal officers of that kingdom fled to *Raosinga*, a place almost impregnable by nature and art, but was inveigled into the power of Badur and forced to turn Mahometan. Badur then besieged the mountain fort of Raosinga, and commanded the women belonging to Salahedin to come out; but they sent word that they would not do so unless along with Salahedin, who was accordingly sent into the fort for that purpose. His women, about 500 in number, exclaimed against his becoming a Mahometan, saying they would rather be all burnt alive than delivered to the enemy. Whereupon Salahedin, with 120 men who guarded his *zenana*, slew them all upon a pile of wood, where they were burnt with all his riches. After this Badur went against Chitore with an army of 100,000 horse, an innumerable infantry, and 600 cannon, and besieged Chitore for two months, at the end of which it surrendered. By this conquest Badur was in possession of three considerable kingdoms.

At this time Tristan de Ga, as formerly mentioned, was at the court of Badur on an embassy from Nuno de Cuna to treat of peace, but which negociation was delayed by sundry accidents, and in particular by the death of the Great Mogul, of whom Badur was in great fear. Through covetousness Badur discontinued the pay of many of those leaders who had served him with great fidelity in his late conquests, on which account 4000 men of note deserted from him to the Mogul. One of his officers named Mujate Khan endeavoured to convince him of the dangerous effects this conduct might have upon his affairs; in reward for which Badur sent him on some frivolous pretence to Diu, and at the same time sent secret orders to Melek Tocam to put him to death; but Tocam disdained to execute the tyrannical order, and advised the faithful Mujate Khan to save himself by flight. Instead of following this advice, Mujate returned to Badur and prostrated himself at his feet, delivering up his scymeter with these

21 Probably Malwa.—E.

these words, "If I have deserved death from you, I here present you the traitor and the instrument of his punishment. Kill me, therefore, that I may have the honour of dying by your hand: Yet the faithful services of my grandfather, father, and self, have merited a better reward." Badur, struck with his fidelity and attachment, received him again to favour; but turned his rage against Melek Tocam for revealing the secret orders with which he had been entrusted, and sent Mustapha Rume Khan to Diu to put him to death. Malek Tocam got notice of this at a country house in which he occasionally resided, whence he fled from Rume Khan. After this Badur came to Diu which he reduced, having arrived there at the same time with Nuno de Cuna, when the interview between the governor and him was proposed; but which Badur only intended as a feint to ward off the danger which he apprehended from the padishah of the Moguls; meaning, if he could patch up an agreement with that sovereign, to break with the Portuguese. But the Mogul recalled his ambassadors and commenced war upon Bader, of which hereafter.

Those whom we name Moguls call themselves *Zagetai*, in the same manner as the Spaniards call themselves Goths. Zagetai is the name of the province which they inhabited in Great Tartary near Turkestan, and the nobles do not permit themselves to be called Moguls. According to the Persians, the Moguls are descended of Magog the grandson of Noah, from whom they received the worship of the *one* only God. Wandering through many provinces, this nation established themselves in *Mogalia* or *Mongalia*, otherwise *Mogostan*, called Paropamissus by Ptolemy. At this time they extend farther, and border upon the kingdom of *Horacam* or *Chorassan*, called *Aria* or *Here* by that ancient geographer. From the extreme north, the Moguls extend to the river *Geum* or *Jihon*, which runs through *Bohara* or *Bucharia*, the ancient *Bactria*, so named from its capital, the celebrated seat of learning from the time of *Zoroaster*, and where *Avicenna* acquired the knowledge which made him so famous. *Bucharia* or *Bactria* borders upon *Quiximir* or *Cashmire* and Mount *Caucasus*, which divides India from the provinces of Tartary in the north. This kingdom of the Moguls now reaches to the mountainous regions of *Parveti* and *Bagous* which they call *Angou*[22]. As in this dominion there are great mountains, so

22 De Faria becomes here unintelligible, unless he here means the range of

so there are likewise very large and fruitful plains, watered by five rivers which compose the Indus. These are the *Bet*, *Satinague*, *Chanao*, *Rave*, and *Rea*[23]. The cities of this country are numerous and the men courageous.

The Moguls are of the Mahometan religion, using the Turkish and Persian languages. They are of fair complexions, and well made, but have small eyes like the Tartars and Chinese. Their nobility wear rich and gay clothes, fashioned like those of the Persians, and have long beards. Their military dress is very costly, their arms being splendidly gilt and highly polished, and they are singularly expert in the use of the bow. In battle they are brave and well disciplined and use artillery. Their padishah is treated with wonderful majesty, seldom making his appearance in public, and has a guard of 2000 horse, which is changed quarterly. Both Moguls and Patans endeavoured to conquer India; but by treachery and the event of war, the Patans and the kingdom of Delhi were reduced by the Moguls at the time when Baber, the great-grandson of the great Tamerlane was their padishah.

At the period to which we have now proceeded in our history of the Portuguese in India, *Omaum* or *Humayun*, the son of Baber, was padishah of the Moguls, and declared war against Badur king of Guzerat; who immediately sent an army of 20,000 horse and a vast multitude of foot to ravage the frontiers of the enemy. Ingratitude never escapes unpunished, as was exemplified on this occasion. *Crementii* queen of *Chitore*, who had formerly saved the life of Badur, and who in return had deprived her of the kingdom of Chitore, was required by him to send her son with all the men he could raise to assist him in the war against Humayun. The queen required he would restore her other son, whom he kept as an hostage

of mountains which bound Hindostan, particularly on the north-west, including Cashmir and Cabul; which seems probable as immediately followed in the text by the *Punjab*, or country on the *five rivers* composing the Indus.—E.

23 These rivers are so strangely perverted in their orthography as hardly to be recognisable, and some of them not at all. The true *Punjab* or five rivers is entirely on the east of the Indus, Sinde or Nilab. Its five rivers are the Behut or Hydaspes, Chunab or Acesinas, Rauvee or Hydraotes, Setlege or Hesudrus, and a tributary stream of the last named the Hyphasis by the ancients. These two last are the Beyah and Setlege of the moderns. The Kameh and Comul run into the Indus to the west of the Punjab.—E.

hostage, that she might not be deprived of both, and in the mean time raised all the forces she was able. Not aware of her intentions, Badur sent her son to Chitore, on which she immediately put herself under the protection of Humayun. Badur immediately drew together an army of 100,000 horse, 415,000 foot, 1000 cannon, 600 armed elephants, and 6000 carriages, with which he besieged Chitore, and battered its walls with great fury. While engaged in this siege, he received information that the army he had sent to ravage the country of the Moguls had been defeated with the loss of 20,000 men. He at length got possession of Chitore by policy more than force, after losing 15,000 men during the siege; but the queen made her escape with all her family and wealth. He repaired the fortifications of Chitore, in which he left *Minao Husseyn* with a garrison of 12,000 men. He then marched to meet the army of the Moguls, which was advancing through *Mandou* or *Malwa* in order to relieve Chitore. On learning that Chitore had fallen, and that Badur was intrenched with his army at Dozor, Humayun marched to that place and took up a position with so much judgment that the army of Badur was reduced to extremity for provisions. Being unable to extricate his army from this state of difficulty, Badur fled with all speed to *Mandou*, or *Mundu* near the Nerbuddah on the southern frontier of Malwa, accompanied by Mustapha Rumi Khan and a few Portuguese. His prodigious army was utterly destroyed or dispersed, and his camp plundered by the Moguls; he even escaping with difficulty from the pursuit of 10,000 Mogul horse.

Badur fortified himself in *Mundu*, giving the command of his remaining force to Rumi Khan, who soon deserted to Humayun. The family and wealth of Rumi Khan were at this time in the fortress of *Champaneer*, and both Badur and Rumi Khan strove which of them should first be able to secure that place, in which Badur had deposited one of his three treasures, which only in copper money was worth 30 millions [24], besides pearls, precious stones, and other valuables. Badur got possession of Champaneer, whence he immediately sent all the treasure, and the family of Rumi Khan, under a strong escort to Diu; while he wasted the country and destroyed all the artillery, that it might not fall into the hands

24 No intimation is given by De Faria of the denomination of money here alluded to.---E.

hands of Humayun, and even did the same at *Cambaya* his own capital. Seeing his women and riches in the hands of Badur, Rumi Khan obtained five hundred horse from his new master, with which he pursued Badur so expeditiously that he entered one of the gates of *Cambaya* as Badur was going out at the other. Finding himself so closely pursued, Badur left the women and riches by the way, in hopes of stopping the pursuit, which had the desired effect, as Rumi Khan immediately returned with them to Champaneer, and Badur got safe to Diu, leaving his entire kingdom to Humayun.

In this state of adversity, Badur at length consented to the erection of a fort at Diu by the Portuguese. He had formerly given up Basseen to them, to secure their friendship during his contest with Humayun, and was now in hopes by their assistance to recover his dominions. Still however his pride prompted him to temporize, and he sent an ambassador to request assistance from the Turks to recover his territories. Hearing that Humayun had taken Champaneer he gave himself up to despair and resolved upon going to Mecca, to wait the answer of the grand Turk; but his mother and friends dissuaded him, advising him to allow the Portuguese to erect the fort at Diu, as by their aid his affairs might be restored. He immediately sent notice to that effect to Martin Alfonso de Sousa, then at Chaul, who communicated the event to Nuno de Cuna, and went immediately to Diu at the request of Badur, arriving on the 21st of September 1536. A league offensive and defensive was immediately entered into between Badur and the Portuguese, in which the former treaty was confirmed, except that the emporium of trade was to be transferred from Basseen to Diu: The fort was to be built where and in what manner should be judged best by the governor-general; and in the mean time a bulwark or castle upon the sea, commanding the entrance of the port was to be delivered up. There were many other articles, and among these that the Portuguese were not to meddle with the kings revenues at Diu and other places. The governor general on receiving notice of this treaty, came immediately to Diu, where he was honourably received by Badur.

A Jew and an Armenian were immediately sent off to carry intelligence of this event to Portugal[25]. At this time there was

25 Though not so expressed in the text, these messengers were probably sent over land.—E.

was a person named Diego Botello residing at Diu who was in disgrace with the king of Portugal, on account of it being reported that he intended to go over to the French in hopes of high promotion, as he was very conversant in the affairs of India. Knowing how earnestly King *Joam* had desired the establishment of a fort at Diu, he resolved upon endeavouring to be the first messenger of this news. For this purpose, having procured a copy of the treaty and a draught of the intended fort, he embarked in a small vessel, only sixteen feet and a half long, nine feet broad, and four feet and a half deep, manned by his own slaves, with three Portuguese and two others, giving out that he was going to Cambaya. But when out at sea, he informed his companions that he meant in this frail bark to traverse the prodigious extent of ocean between India and Portugal, and prevailed upon those along with him to concur in his design. Being reduced to unspeakable miseries, the slaves, who were the only mariners on board, entered into a conspiracy to kill him, and even killed one of his servants, but were all slain. Being now without seaman or pilot, he held on his course and arrived at Lisbon to the astonishment of every one. Botello was restored to the royal favour for this wonderful action, but received no other reward, and the bark was immediately destroyed, that it might not be known so small a vessel was capable of performing so great a voyage.

Nuno de Cuna lost no time in erecting the fort at Diu, the command of which was given to Emanuel de Sousa with 900 Portuguese troops, the ramparts being furnished with sixty pieces of great cannon. Badur soon found the benefit of his alliance with the Portuguese, as Nizam-al-Mulk at the instigation of Nuno made peace with and aided him against Humayun; and a Portuguese force under Vasco Perez recovered for him a considerable place towards the Indus named *Varivene*[26]. Garcia de Sa and Antonio Galvam defended Basseen against the Moguls, who were constrained to retreat from that place; and Mirza Mahmoud, nephew to Badur, recovered many places on the frontiers from the Moguls. Being thus prosperous, solely by the assistance of the Portuguese, 500 of whom served in his army under the command of Martin Alfonso de Sousa, Badur repented of having allowed them to build a fort at Diu, and even began to build a wall or fortification between the fort and the

25 Perhaps Warwama on the Gulf of Cutch.—E.

the city, under pretence of separating the Portuguese from the natives, to prevent differences by too free communication. But after several strong remonstrances this was desisted from.

In the year 1537, Badur became still more intent upon removing the Portuguese from Diu, for which purpose he again sent to procure assistance from the Turks, and in the mean time used his utmost endeavours to take the fort and to destroy Nuno de Cuna, whom he invited to Diu with that view. Though apprized of the treacherous designs of Badur, De Cuna omitted to avail himself of an opportunity of securing him while on a visit on board his ship, deferring it to a future opportunity in a proposed conference in the fort. While Badur was going on shore in his *katur* or barge, Emanuel de Sousa the commandant of the fort of Diu followed him in a barge and went on board the royal katur to give the invitation from the governor-general. At this time another Portuguese barge coming up hastily, Badur became suspicious of some evil intention, and ordered his officers to kill De Sousa. One Diega de Mosquita who had aided Badur in the late war and had acquired a perfect knowledge of the language, understood what was said by Badur, whom he immediately attacked and wounded, but De Sousa was slain by his attendants. Upon this a bloody affray took place between the Portuguese and the attendants on Badur, in which seven of the latter were slain. Several other boats belonging to both parties came up, and Badur attempted to escape in his barge to the city, but was stopped by a cannon-shot which killed three of his rowers; on which he endeavoured to escape by swimming, but being in danger of drowning he called out, discovering who he was. Tristan de Payva reached out an oar for him to take hold of, that he might get on board the boat; but a soldier struck him on the face with a halberd, and then others, till he was slain. His body sunk, and neither it nor the body of De Sousa could afterwards be found for interment.

Most of the citizens of Diu were witness to this scene from the walls, and when the intelligence of the kings death reached the city, the inhabitants began to abandon it in such haste and confusion that many were trampled to death in the throng, being afraid that the Portuguese would plunder them. The governor-general soon restored confidence by a public proclamation, and the inhabitants returned quietly to their houses.

He even entered the town unarmed, to reassure the inhabitants and to restrain the avarice of his people, so that no disorder was committed. De Sousa being slain, as before mentioned, De Cuna gave the command of the fortress of Diu to his brother-in-law Antonio de Sylveira Menezes, and his gallant conduct afterwards shewed that he was worthy of the station. The queen-mother had retired to *Navanaguer*[27], and Nuno sent a message of condolence for the death of her son, endeavouring to demonstrate that it had been occasioned by his own fault; but she refused to receive or listen to the message. The treasure found in the palace of Diu in gold and silver was of small value, not exceeding 200,000 *pardaos*[28], but the quantity of ammunition was exceedingly great. The number of brass cannon was prodigious, those of iron not being deemed worthy of account. Among the brass ordnance were three *basilisks* of prodigious size, one of which was sent by De Cuna as a curiosity to Lisbon, which was placed in the castle of St Julian at the mouth of the Tagus, where it is known by the name of the *Gun of Diu*. Among the papers belonging to Badur and his treasurer *Abd' el Cader*, letters were found from *Saf* Khan, communicating the progress he had made in his negociations for bringing the Turks upon the Portuguese, and copies of others from the sheikhs of *Aden* and *Xael* to the same purpose. Having collected these and other testimonies of the treachery of the late king, Nuno caused *Khojah Zofar*, a man of great reputation among the citizens both Mahometans and Gentiles, to convene a meeting of the principal people, merchants, and *cazis*, or teachers of the Mahometan law, to whom these letters and testimonials were produced, in justification of the conduct of the Portuguese, and in proof of the treacherous intentions of the late king. All the Moors and Pagans acknowledged themselves satisfied by these documents, and accordingly gave certificates to that effect in the Arabic and Persian languages, which were signed by Khojah Zofar and all the leading people among the Mahometans and Hindoos, which were communicated to the kings of the Deccan, Narsinga, and Ormuz, and to all the sheikhs along the coast of Arabia as far as Aden.

For the greater security and satisfaction of the people, Nuno gave orders that the Mahometans should enjoy the free exercise

27 Probably Noanagur on the east side of the Gulf of Cutch.—E.

28 At 3s. 9d. each, worth L. 37,500 sterling.—E.

exercise of their religion, and that the laws and regulations established by Badur for the government of the city and its dependencies should continue to be executed, even continuing all the salaries and pensions granted by the late king. Among these was a Moor of Bengal who, by *authentic* information was 320 years old [29]. This man had two sons, one ninety and the other only twelve years of age. He appeared to be only about sixty, and it was said that his beard and teeth had fallen and been renewed four or five times. He was rather under the middle size, and neither fat nor lean. He pretended that before he was an hundred years old, while herding cattle on the banks of a river, there appeared a man to him clothed in a gray habit and girt with a cord, having wounds on his hands and feet, who requested to be carried by him across the river on his shoulders; which having done, this person said that as a reward for his charity, he should retain all his faculties till he saw him again. Going accordingly into one of the Portuguese churches in India, this old man exclaimed on seeing the image of St Francis, This is he whom I carried across the river so many years ago.

Mir Mahomet Zaman, a descendant of the ancient kings of Guzerat, on learning the death of Badur, went to condole with the queen-mother at *Novanaguer;* but she, fearing he came to rob her, refused to see him and even endeavoured to remove to another place. Offended at her suspicions, Mahomet Zaman lay in wait for her with 2000 horse, and robbed her of all her riches, amounting to above two millions of gold. He then raised above 5000 horse, with which he seized Novanaguer, and had himself proclaimed king of Guzerat. He then sent a messenger to Nuno de Cuna, giving an account of the posture of his affairs and of his title to the crown, desiring his assistance, in requital for which he offered to cede to the Portuguese all the coast from Mangalore to Beth [30], including the towns of Daman and Basseen with the royal country-house of Novanaguer, and other advantages. Nuno accepted these offers, caused him to be proclaimed king in the mosque of Diu, and urged him to raise forces and disperse the other

29 Perhaps an error of the press for 120.—E.

30 This account of the matter is inexplicable. Mangalore is on the coast of Malabar far to the south of Guzerat, Beth is not to be found in any map of India in these parts, and Novanaguer or Noanagur is at the other extremity of Guzerat on the Gulf of Cutch.—E.

other pretenders. Fearing that this advice was only given to deceive, Zaman procrastinated and took no effectual steps to secure the crown to which he aspired, of which misconduct he soon experienced the evil consequences; as the principal people of Guzerat set Mahomet Khan, a nephew of the deceased Badur on the Musnud, and made preparations to subdue Zaman. As Nuno was under the necessity of leaving Diu early in 1538 to attend to the other affairs of his extensive government, the Guzerat nobles in the interest of Mahomet raised sixty thousand men, with which they marched against Zaman; and having corrupted most of his officers, he was obliged to flee to Delhi, where he was honourably received by the padishah of the Moguls, from whom he received the kingdom of Bengal. The successful party in Guzerat called Antonio de Sylveira who commanded in Diu to account for the death of Badur, and being satisfied on that head proposed a treaty of peace; but as they peremptorily refused to accede to the condition conceded by Zaman, the negociations were broken off.

The most inveterate enemies of the Portuguese in India were the Moors upon the coast between Chaul and Cape Comorin, a space of about 200 leagues, who had flocked thither in great numbers allured by the vast and profitable trade in that part of India. About this time there lived in Cochin a rich and powerful Moor named Pate Marcar, who being irritated against the Portuguese for taking some of his vessels went to reside in Calicut to have an opportunity of being revenged upon them by the assistance of the zamorin, who furnished him with above 50 ships, 2000 men, and 400 pieces of cannon. With these he went to the assistance of Madune Pandar who had revolted against his brother the king of Ceylon who was the ally of the Portuguese. At Coulam Marcar attacked a large Portuguese ship which was loading pepper, but was beat off after killing the captain. In another port farther south he took a ship belonging to the Portuguese and killed all her crew. Beyond Cape Comorin he destroyed a town inhabited by native Christians. On hearing of these depredations, Martin Alfonso went in 19 row-boats from Cochin in pursuit of Marcar, whom he found in a creek where he offered him battle; but as Marcar declined this, and Alfonso did not think his force sufficient to attack him in that situation, he returned to Cochin for a reinforcement. Setting out again with 23 row-boats and 400 men, Alfonso found

found Marcar careening his vessels at a port or creek beyond Cape Comorin named *Beadala*, where he gave the Moors a total defeat though they had gathered a force of 7000 men to resist him. Alfonso took 23 barks, 400 cannon, 1500 firelocks, and many prisoners, and set free a considerable number of Portuguese slaves, having lost 30 men in the action, chiefly through the mistake of a signal. After this great victory, Alfonso went over to Columbo in Ceylon, the king of which place was besieged by his rebellious brother Madune Pandar, who at first believed the Portuguese fleet to be that of Marcar coming to his assistance; but hearing of the destruction of his ally, he raised the siege and made peace.

It is proper that we should give some account of the rich and fertile kingdom of Bengal on the bay of that name, which receives the waters of the famous river Ganges by two principal mouths and many subordinate creeks. This river has its source in the mountains of Great Tartary, whence it runs southwards near 600 leagues, dividing India into two parts *intra et extra Gangem*, or on this side and the other side of the Ganges. On the great eastern mouth of the Ganges stands the city of *Chatigam* or *Chittagong*, and on the western mouth the city of *Satigam* [31]. On the east of the Ganges, which runs through the middle of Bengal, *Caor*, *Comatii*, *Sirote*, *Codovascam*, *Cou*, and *Tipora* were subject to that kingdom, but the two last uniting together had thrown off the yoke. On the west of the river, the country of *Cospetir*, whose plain is overflowed annually by the Ganges as the land of Egypt by the Nile, had been conquered by the Patans. According to the Pagans, God hath granted to the kingdom of Bengal an infinite multitude of infantry, to Orixa abundance of elephants, to Bisnagar a people well skilled in using the sword and buckler, to Delhi a prodigious number of towns, and to *Cou* innumerable horses. The kingdom of Bengal, reaching between the latitudes of 22° and 26° 30′ N. is well watered and exceedingly fertile, producing abundance of fruit, with sugar and long pepper, great quantities of cotton, which the inhabitants manufacture with much skill, and has great abundance of cattle and poultry. The natives are heathens of a pusillanimous character, yet false and treacherous; for it is universally the case that cowardice and treachery go together.

31 It is impossible even to guess what place is meant in the text by Satigam, unless it may have some reference to the river Sagar.—E.

ther. The king is universal heir to all his subjects. The capital city, named *Gowro*, on the banks of the Ganges, is three leagues in length. It contains 1,200,000 families, and is well fortified. The streets are long, wide, and straight, with rows of trees to shelter the people from the sun, and are sometimes so thronged with passengers that many are trodden to death.

About fifty years before the discovery of India by the Portuguese, an Arabian merchant who dwelt in Gowro became very rich rich and powerful, and having defeated the king of Orixa in a great battle grew so much in favour with the king of Bengal that he was made captain of his guards. But, ungrateful to his benefactor, he killed the king and usurped the kingdom, leaving it as an inheritance to the Moors who have since possessed this rich and fertile kingdom. The succession to this kingdom proceeds upon no rule of hereditary descent; but is often acquired by slaves who kill their masters, and whosoever acquires the government, were it only for three days, is looked upon as established by Providence and Divine right. Hence during a period of forty years this kingdom had been ruled by 13 successive princes. At the time when Martin Alfonso Melo de Jusarte was prisoner in Bengal, Mahomet Shah was king and held his court in Gowro with such state that there were 10,000 women in his Zenana, yet was he in continual apprehension of being deposed. Martin and the other Portuguese prisoners did signal service to Mahomet in his wars with the Patans; and Martin and his followers obtained their liberty through the means of one *Khojah Sabadim*, a rich Moor, who engaged to procure liberty for the Portuguese to build a fort at Chittagong, if Nuno de Cuna would carry him to Ormuz. Nuno being eager to acquire an establishment in Bengal, granted all that was asked, and sent Martin Alfonso with 200 men in five vessels to Bengal, and to secure the friendship of the king sent him a magnificent present. Thirteen men who carried the present to Gowro, and thirty others who accompanied Martin Alfonso to an entertainment at Chittagong were made prisoners. On learning this event, Nuno sent Antonio de Silva with 350 men in nine vessels, to treat for the liberation of Martin Alfonso and prisoners, by the assistance of Khojah Sabadim, to whose suggestions the former unfortunate expedition was owing; and to secure the fidelity of Sabadim, a ship belonging to him with a rich cargo was detained in

pledge.

pledge. From Chittagong, Silva sent a messenger to Gowro with a letter and a present; but as the answer was long in coming, Silva judged that the king had detained his messenger along with the rest, on which he rashly destroyed Chittagong and some other places; for which proceeding the king confined the prisoners more rigidly than before. But his necessities obliged him soon after to change his severity into kindness.

Xerchan, or *Shir Khan*, a general of note among the Moguls, being in disgrace with the padishah or Great Mogul, fled from Delhi to Bengal accompanied by his brother Hedele Khan, and both of them rose to eminent rank in the service of Mahomet. Being now at the head of a large army, Shir Khan resolved to avenge upon Mahomet the murder of the former infant king of Bengal; for which purpose he revolted with his army to Humayun the Mogul padishah, and turned his arms against Mahomet. In his distress, Mahomet consulted with Martin Alfonso how best to oppose the arms of Shir Khan. By his advice, some vessels commanded by Portuguese were stationed in the Ganges at a pass near the fort of *Gori* where the Ganges enters Bengal. These effectually barred the passage of Shir Khan in that direction; but having discovered another ford, he advanced to Gowro, which he invested with 40,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 1500 elephants. Shir Khan likewise brought a fleet of 300 boats down the river, to a place where Mahomet had 800 boats to oppose the enemy. At this place Duarte de Brito did signal service in the sight of King Mahomet, and among other things, accompanied by eight other Portuguese, he took an elephant that was swimming across the river. The city of Gowro being reduced to distress by the besiegers, Mahomet bought a peace, and Shir Khan drew off with his army. Being now as he thought in safety, Mahomet allowed Martin Alfonso to depart with the other Portuguese, only retaining five as hostages for the assistance he had been promised by Nuno.

Shir Khan returned soon afterwards to Gowro, which he took by assault, obliging the king, who was wounded in the assault, to abandon the city. Mahomet died of his wounds on his way to ask assistance from Humayun. Shir Khan drew off from Gowro, where he acquired treasure to the amount of 60 millions in gold. Humayun brought the dead body of King Mahomet to Gowro, where he appointed his

own

own brother-in-law Mir Mahomet Zaman to the vacant kingdom, who had been lately driven from Guzerat. But on the return of Humayun towards Delhi, Shir Khan returned to Gowro and drove out Mahomet Zaman. Humayun then marched against Shir Khan with 100,000 horse and 150,000 foot, with above 200,000 followers. The two armies met on the banks of the Ganges near the city of Kanoje when Shir Khan gained so complete a victory that Humayun made his escape with only 25 attendants, and never stopt till he arrived at Lahore. Shir Khan treated the women belonging to Humayun with great respect, and restored them to the padishah. Finding himself too weak for the conquest of Bengal, Humayun determined upon endeavouring to reduce Guzerat; but abandoned in his distress by his own Omrahs, he went into Persia, where the Sophi supplied him with an army of 12,000 horse, to which he was enabled to add 10,000 volunteers. With these allies, added to the troops that continued to adhere to him, he invested Candahar, where his brother Astarii Mirza had proclaimed himself king of Mogostan. The city was taken and given up to the Persians. In the mean time Shir Khan made himself formidable in Bengal, having an army of 400,000 horse. He took the city of Calijor belonging to the Rajputs, meaning to plunder a vast treasure contained in the temple at that place; but pointing a cannon to kill an elephant belonging to the temple, the piece burst and killed himself.

The present formerly mentioned, which was sent by the king of Guzerat to the Grand Turk to obtain his assistance, was delivered at Constantinople, where at the same time arrived news of the kings death. But the great value of the present demonstrated the vast riches of India, and made the Turkish emperor desirous of acquiring a footing in that country, whence he thought the Portuguese might be easily expelled, and their possessions reduced under his dominion. In this enterprise he was greatly encouraged by a Portuguese renegado at Constantinople, who asserted that the Turkish power might easily supplant that of the Portuguese in India. For this purpose, the Turkish emperor ordered a fleet to be fitted out at Suez, the command of which was given to the eunuch Solyman Pacha, governor of Cairo. Solyman was a Greek janizary born in the Morea, of an ugly countenance, short of stature, and had so large a belly that he was more like a beast than a man, not being able to rise up without the aid of four

four men. At this time he was eighty years of age, and he obtained this command more by dint of his wealth than merit, as he offered to be at the entire charge of the expedition. To enable him to perform this, he put many rich men to death and seized their wealth. Among others he strangled Mir Daud, king or *bey* of the Thebaid, and seized his treasure. It might be said therefore that this fleet was equipped rather by the dead than the living. It consisted of 70 sail, most of them being large gallies, well stored with cannon, ammunition, and provisions; on board of which he embarked 7000 soldiers, part Turkish janizaries and part Mamelukes; besides a great number of choice sailors and galley-slaves, many of the latter being taken from the Venetian gallies then at Alexandria, which were seized in consequence of a war breaking out between the Turks and the republic of Venice.

Solyman, who was both a tyrant and a coward, set out from Suez on the 22d of June 1538, ordering four hundred of the soldiers to assist at the oars, and as they resisted this order as contrary to their privileges, he put two hundred of them to death. At Jiddah he endeavoured to take the sheikh, but knowing his tyrannical character, he escaped into the interior. At *Zabid*, after receiving a rich present, he put the sheikh to death. He did the same thing at Aden; and arrived at Diu about the beginning of September 1538, losing six of his vessels by the way.

When Badar king of Guzerat was killed, one *Khojah Zofar* swam on shore and was well received by the Portuguese, being the only one of the kings retinue who was saved on that occasion. For some time he seemed grateful for his safety; but at length fled without any apparent reason to the new king of Guzerat, to whom he offered his services, and even endeavoured to prevail upon him to expel the Portuguese from his dominions, asserting that this might be easily done with the assistance of the Turks. By his instigation, the king of Guzerat raised an army at Champaneer of 5000 horse and 10,000 foot, to which Khojah Zofar added 3000 horse and 4000 foot in his own pay. Getting notice of these preparations, Antonio de Sylveira who commanded in Diu, used every precaution to provide against a long and dangerous siege. Khojah Zofar began the war by attacking the town of the *Rumes* [32] near Diu. Francisco Pacheco defended himself

32 This must have been some town or village inhabited by Turks.—E.

himself bravely in a redoubt at the place, with only fourteen Portuguese, till relieved by Sylveira, and Zofar was forced to draw off his troops, being himself wounded. Immediately afterwards Ali Khan, general of the Guzerat army, joined Zofar with all the army, and Sylveira thought proper to evacuate all the posts beyond Diu, that he might be able to maintain the city and fort; but some vessels and guns were lost in the execution of these orders. In consequence of these losses, and because there were many concealed enemies in the city who only waited an opportunity of doing all the evil in their power to the Portuguese, Sylveira deemed it expedient to evacuate the city, giving his sole attention to the defence of the fort. Ali Khan and Zofar immediately took possession of the city, and began to fire upon the fort with their cannon. Lope de Sousa, who guarded the wood and water belonging to the garrison, had several rencounters, in which he slew many of the enemy without any loss on his side, except being himself severely wounded.

Hearing that the Turkish fleet was approaching, Sylveira sent immediate notice of it to Nuno de Cuna, who prepared with great diligence to go in person to relieve Diu. Michael Vaz was sent to sea by Sylveira to look out for the enemy, and falling in with their fleet came so near on purpose to examine their force that several of their shot reached his vessel. He got off however, and carried the news to the governor of Goa. The Turkish fleet came at length to anchor in the port of Diu, where it was formidable not only to the small Portuguese garrison in the fort, but to the Moors even who had long expected their arrival. Next day Solyman landed 600 well armed janizaries, who immediately entered the city and behaved with much insolence. Drawing near the fort, they killed six Portuguese; but 300 musqueteers attacked them from the fort and drove them away with the loss of fifty men. In consequence of a storm, Solyman was obliged to remove his fleet to *Madrefavat*, as a safer harbour, where he remained twenty days, during which time Sylveira was diligently occupied in strengthening the fortifications of the castle, planting his artillery on the ramparts, and assigning every one his proper post for the ensuing siege. At the same time, the Turks assisted by Zofar commenced operations against the fort, by constructing batteries, and endeavouring to ruin the defences of a bulwark at the entrance of the harbour, which they battered with their cannon. With this view

likewise,

likewise, they built a wooden castle on a large bark, which they filled with combustibles, meaning to send it against the bulwark to set it on fire. But Francisco de Gouvea, who commanded the small naval force then at Diu, went against this floating castle under night, and contrived to destroy it by fire. At this time likewise some relief was sent to the fort by Nuno de Cuna, and the garrison was much elated by the assurance of his intention of coming speedily in person to raise the siege.

Returning from Madrefavat, Solyman commenced a heavy fire from his ships against the sea bulwark in which Francisco de Gouvea commanded, but was so well answered both from that work and the tower of St Thomas, that one of his gallies was sunk and most of her men drowned. The greatest harm suffered at this time by the Portuguese was from the bursting of some of their own cannon, by which several men were killed. Two brothers only were slain by the fire of the Turks. Zofar now so furiously battered the bulwark in which Pacheco commanded, that it became altogether indefensible, on which seven hundred janizaries assaulted it and set up their colours on its ruined walls; but the Portuguese rallied and dislodged them, killing an hundred and fifty of the enemy. The assault of this bulwark was continued a whole day, and at night the enemy were forced to retreat with much loss. Next day Pacheco deeming it impossible to resist, surrendered upon promise of life and liberty to himself and his men. Solyman did not perform the latter stipulation, but he granted their lives for the present and clothed them in Turkish habits. By one of these prisoners, Solyman sent a summons to Sylveira to surrender, but the proposal was treated with contempt. Solyman now planted his artillery against the fort, having among other cannon nine pieces of vast size which carried balls of ninety pounds weight. His artillery in all exceeded 130 pieces of different sizes, and his batteries were continually guarded by 2000 Turks. This formidable train began to play against the castle on the 4th of October 1538, and continued without cessation for twenty days, doing great injury to the defences of the fort, which could hardly do any injury in return to the besiegers, neither could the garrison repair sufficiently the most dangerous breaches, though they used every possible exertion for that purpose. On the sixth day after the commencement of this violent cannonade, perceiving that the bulwark commanded by Gaspar de Sousa was much damaged, the Turks endeavoured to carry it by assault, but were repulsed

pulsed with much slaughter, two only of the defenders being slain. Every day there were assaults by the besiegers or sallies by the garrison. In one of these Gonzalo Falcam lost his head; and Juan de Fonseca being disabled by a severe wound of his right arm continued to wield his lance with his left as if he had received no hurt. A youth of only nineteen years old, named Joam Gallego, pursued a Moor into the sea and slew him, and afterwards walked back deliberately to the fort through showers of balls and bullets. Many singular acts of valour were performed during this memorable siege.

At length many brave officers and men of the besiegers were slain, powder began to wax short and provisions shorter. The relief expected from Non Garcia Noronha, now come out as viceroy of India, was long in making its appearance. The remaining garrison was much weakened by a swelling in their gums, accompanied by their teeth becoming so loose that they were unable to eat what little food remained in the stores. Yet the brave garrison continued to fight in defence of their post, as if even misery and famine were unable to conquer them. Even the women in the fort exerted themselves like heroines. Donna Isabella de Vega, the wife of Manuel de Vasconcelles, had been urged by her husband to go to her father Francisco Ferram at Goa, lest the fort might be taken and she might fall into the hands of the Turks; but she refused to leave him. During the distress of the garrison, as many of the men were obliged to work in repairing the works, this bold-spirited lady called together all the women who were in the fort, and exhorted them to undertake this labour, as by that means all the men would be enabled to stand to their arms. The women consented to this proposal, and continued for the remainder of the siege to perform this duty. She was even outdone by Ann Fernandez, the wife of a physician, who used to visit the most dangerous posts by night, and even appeared at the assault to encourage the soldiers. Her son happening to be slain in one of the attacks, she immediately drew away his body, and returned to the place of danger, and when the fight ended she went and buried her son.

Perceiving that the Turks were undermining the bulwark which he commanded, Gasper de Sousa made a sally with seventy men to prevent that work and made a great slaughter of the enemy. When retreating he missed two of his men and returned to rescue them; but being surrounded by the enemy they cut the tendons of his hams, after which he fought upon

upon his knees till he was overpowered and slain. The mine was countermined; but the continual labour to which the besieged were subjected became insupportable, and they were utterly unable to repair the many breaches in their works. At this conjuncture, four vessels arrived from the viceroy Don Garcia, and landed only a reinforcement of twenty men. Solyman was much concerned at this relief though small, and was astonished the fort should hold out against so many assaults, more especially as Zofar had assured him he might carry it in two. At the beginning of the siege the garrison consisted of six hundred men, many of whom were slain and several of the cannon belonging to the fort had burst; yet Solyman began to lose confidence, and looked anxiously to the sea, fearful of the Portuguese fleet which he had learnt was coming against him. This induced him to press the siege more vigorously, especially against the sea bulwark where Antonio de Sousa commanded, which was furiously attacked by fifty barks, two of which were sunk by the Portuguese cannon. The Turks made several attempts to scale this bulwark, in all of which they were repulsed with great slaughter, yet returned repeatedly to the charge with similar bad fortune. Sousa sent off his wounded men from the rampart to have their wounds dressed. Among these was a person named Fernando Ponteado, who waiting his turn heard the noise of a fresh assault, and forgetting the dressing ran immediately to his post where he received a fresh wound. Going back to get dressed, a third assault recalled him before the surgeon had time to attend to his wants, and he was a third time wounded, and at length returned to get all his three wounds dressed at once.

By this time, out of the original garrison of 600 men, only 250 remained that were able to stand to their arms. Solyman was almost in despair of success, yet resolved to make a desperate effort to carry the place. In hopes of putting Sylveira off his guard, and to take the place by surprise, he sent twelve of his gallies to sea, as if he meant to raise the siege; but Sylveira was not to be lulled into security, and continued to exert the utmost vigilance to provide against every danger. One night some noise was heard at the foot of the sea-wall of the castle, where it appeared that the enemy were applying great numbers of scaling ladders. Every effort was made to oppose them during the darkness of the night, and when morning broke, the place was seen beset all round by at least 14,000 men. The cannon of the fort was immediately directed against the

 assailants,

assailants, and the garrison mounted the walls in every part, but chiefly near the governors house where the defences were weakest, but where Sylveira had placed such people as he could most rely upon. Being repulsed from thence with great slaughter, the enemy made an attempt on an adjoining bulwark, where Gouvea commanded, and poured in prodigious showers of bullets and arrows. Fourteen gallies came up against this bulwark, which they battered with their cannon; but Gouvea obliged them to draw off, having sunk two of the gallies and killed many of their crews. At length 200 Turks forced their way into the bulwark and planted their colours on its rampart. Scarcely thirty Portuguese remained to oppose them, yet they charged the enemy with great fury, who were so thick that every shot told, and they were driven out with much loss. Fresh men succeeded and regained the bulwark, on which they planted four standards. Many of the Portuguese who were wounded and burnt by the fireworks of the enemy ran and dipped themselves in jars of salt water, where seeking ease they perished in dreadful torment.

Sylveira went continually from place to place, encouraging all to do their duty manfully and supplying reinforcements where most needed. The enemy had much the better in the second assault on the bulwark commanded by Gouvea, on which several gentlemen rushed upon them. At this time, one Joam Rodrigues, a strong man of great bravery, ran forward with a barrel of powder on his shoulder, calling out to clear the way, as he carried his own death and that of many. He threw the barrel among the enemy, which exploded and blew up above an hundred of them, yet Rodriques came off unhurt, and performed other memoriable deeds, so that he merited the highest honours and rewards of those that were gained in this siege. By other fireworks the four ensigns who set up the colours were burnt to death, and two others who went to succeed them were slain. Being again driven from the bulwark, the enemy made a third assault: But their commander being slain, who was son-in-law to Khojah Zofar, his men were dismayed and took to flight. These reiterated assaults lasted four hours, during which a small number of exhausted Portuguese had to withstand vast numbers of fresh enemies. At length, having 500 men slain and 1000 wounded, the enemy retired; while on the side of the Portuguese fourteen were killed, and 200 were disabled from wounds. Only forty remained who were able to wield their arms, insomuch that no hope remained of being able to withstand a fresh

attack.

attack. The walls were shattered and ruined in every part: No powder remained: In fact nothing remained but the invincible courage of Sylveira, who still encouraged the remnant of his brave garrison to persist in their defence. Not knowing the desperate state to which the fort was reduced, and dismayed by the bad success of all his efforts, Solyman raised the siege and set sail with all his fleet on the 5th of November.

When Sylveira saw the Turkish fleet weigh anchor and depart he thought it was merely a feint preparatory for another assault, for which reason he posted the forty men who still remained of his garrison, determined to resist to the last man. He even made some of the wounded men be brought to the walls, on purpose to make a shew of a greater number than he really had. Many even who were so badly wounded as to be unable to rise, made themselves be carried in their beds to the walls, saying that it was best to die in an honourable place. Several even of the women armed themselves and appeared on the walls. The whole night was spent in anxiously waiting for the enemy; but the morning gave comfort to the afflicted garrison, as Solyman was seen in full sail, and had no thoughts of returning. Fear did much on this occasion, yet Zofar did more towards inducing Solyman to go away. Zofar was weary of the insupportable pride of the Turks, and had even received orders from the king of Guzerat, in case it appeared that the Turks meant to keep the city and fort of Diu, rather to endeavour that it might remain in the hands of the Portuguese. Zofar accordingly framed a letter which fell into the hands of Solyman, saying that the viceroy of India would be at Diu next day with a vast fleet; on reading which letter Solyman thought proper to hasten his departure. On the same night, Zofar set fire to the town of Diu and marched away. Thus ended the first siege of Diu, which added new lustre to the Portuguese fame, all due to the invincible courage of the renowned Antonio de Sylveira, and those valiant gentlemen who fought under his command, whose fame will last from generation to generation.

Solyman, on his voyage back to Suez, touched at several ports in Arabia, where he took such Portuguese as happened to be there, to the number of 140, whose heads he cut off, salting their ears and noses to send to the Grand Turk as memorials of his services against the Christians. Among these was Francisco Pacheco, who had not the courage to die in his bulwark, and had surrendered with some men at Diu, as

formerly related. On his return to Turkey, Solyman was not well received, and was reduced to the necessity of killing himself, a fit end for such a tyrant.

This famous siege was far advanced when Don Garcia de Noronha arrived as viceroy in India, to whom Nuno de Cuna immediately resigned the government. His arrival with a great reinforcement might well have enabled him immediately to relieve the deplorable situation of Diu, yet on the contrary contributed to augment its danger. For, if he had not come, Nuna had certainly relieved Diu much sooner and prevented so many miseries, and the death of so many brave men, as he had prepared a fleet of eighty sail, and was ready to have gone to Diu when Don Garcia arrived. Still fresh advices were brought of the extremity to which the besieged were reduced, yet still Don Garcia wasted time in considering of proper means for their relief, without putting any into execution, and refusing to take the advice of De Cuna for his proceedings. By these means the siege was raised before he could determine on the mode of relief, for which purpose he had gathered 160 sail of vessels of all sorts and sizes. Don Garcia did not want courage, of which he had given sufficient demonstrations while under Alfonso de Albuquerque: But he chose rather to commit an error through his own obstinacy, than rightly to follow the advice of Nuno de Cuna. It soon appeared indeed, that he was not at all disposed to take any advice from De Cuna, whom he treated so disrespectfully at Goa, that he forced him to retire to Cochin to arrange his affairs previous to his return to Portugal. When at Cochin, he even refused him a convenient ship which he had chosen for his accommodation; although he had authority from the king to continue to act as governor while he remained in India, and liberty to choose any vessel he thought proper, but Don Garcia forced him to hire a merchant vessel for himself and family. If the viceroy treated De Cuna ill in India, no less evil designs were entertained against him in Portugal; and doubtless the knowledge Don Garcia had of the evil intentions of the ministers of state, was the cause of the hard usage he gave him in India. Nuno de Cuna fell sick and died on the voyage. He protested at his death that he had nothing belonging to the king except five gold medals found among the treasure of the late king Badur, which he had selected for their beauty and meant to have presented to the king in person. Being asked by a chaplain what he would have done with his body after his death; he said, That since it

it had pleased God he was to die at sea, he desired that the sea might be his grave. Nuno de Cuna, who was an excellent governor of India, died at fifty-two years of age. He was of large stature and well proportioned, but wanted an eye. Though of stately manners, he was extremely courteous, not subject to passion, easily reconciled, a strict observer of justice, loved to do good to all around him, free from covetousness, prudent in council, and affable in discourse. He governed for ten years, all but two months, and died in the beginning of the year 1539.

Don Garcia de Noronha assumed the government of India as viceroy in November 1538, having arrived from Lisbon with 3000 soldiers, many of whom were men of note. Although this great armament had been principally intended for opposing the Turks who besieged the castle of Diu, yet the viceroy permitted them to continue their operations before that place, and merely sent hopes of relief to the oppressed garrison. At length however he sent a second reinforcement under Antonio de Menezes in 24 small vessels. Though this armament came late, yet Menezes contended in some measure with the great Sylveira for the honour of having occasioned the retreat of the Turks, as he valued himself much in having witnessed their flight. The viceroy had indeed made ready to sail for Diu with a fleet of 160 sail of vessels of different kinds, having 5000 soldiers and 1000 pieces of cannon, when advice came that the Turks had abandoned the siege. On this intelligence he dismissed all the trading ships from his fleet, still retaining 90 sail, with which he set out for Diu, but proceeded so slowly as if some evil omen had threatened his ruin at that place, since he not only avoided it while environed with danger, but seemed afraid to visit it in peace. Hearing that it was still infested by Lur-Khan and Khojah Zofar, he sent Martin Alfonso de Melo against them with his galley, together with the vessels that had been there before under Antonio de Menezes. Melo was too weak to be able to do any thing against the enemy, and had to seek protection under the guns of the fort.

At length the viceroy sailed for Diu on the first of January 1539; but the fleet was dispersed by a storm to different ports, two gallies and some other vessels being lost. He arrived however at Diu with 50 sail; and having given all due praise to Antonio de Sylveira for his valiant defence, he repaired the fort and confided it to the charge of Diego Lopez

de

de Sousa, who had been nominated to the command by the king. A treaty of peace was set on foot with the king of Guzerat, which was concluded, but very little to the advantage of the Portuguese, which was attributed by common fame to the covetousness of the viceroy.

During this year 1539, the viceroy sent Ferdinand de Morales with a great galleon laden on the kings account to trade at Pegu. Morales was induced by the king of Pegu to assist him against the king of Birmah, who had invaded the kingdom of Pegu with so prodigious a power that the two armies amounted to *two millions of men* and 10,000 elephants. Morales went in a galliot having the command of the Pegu fleet, and made great havock among the ships of the enemy. The king of Birmah came on by land like a torrent, carrying every thing before him, and his fleet was so numerous that it covered the whole river, though as large as the Ganges. Morales met this vast fleet with that which he commanded, at the point of *Ginamarreca*; where, though infinitely inferior, he fought a desperate and bloody battle. But overpowered by the multitude of the Birmans, the Peguers deserted Morales, who was left alone in his galliot amid a throng of enemies, against whom he performed wonders and long maintained the battle, doing astonishing execution; but at last oppressed by irresistible multitudes, he and all his followers were slain: Yet the memory of his heroism was long preserved among these people.

The cause of this war and of the revolt of the king of Birmah, who was tributary to Pegu, was as follows. Above 30,000 Birmans laboured in the works of the king of Pegu, as that was one condition of their vassalage. The king of Pegu used often to visit these labourers attended only by his women, who were curious to see the foreigners and the great works that were carrying on. The Birmans seized an opportunity on one of these visits to murder the king, after which they plundered the women of every thing they had of value, and fled to their own country. As many of the subjects of *Dacha Rupi*, who succeeded to the kingdom of Pegu, rebelled against him, *Para Mandara* king of the Birmans seized this favourable opportunity to recover his independence and to enlarge the bounds of his dominions. He accordingly reduced with astonishing rapidity the kingdoms of the *Lanjaoes*, *Laos*, *Jangomas*, and others, who like his own dominions were tributary to Pegu. By these means he possessed himself

himself of the whole ancient kingdom of *Ava*, which extends to the length of two months of ordinary travelling, and contains 62 cities. To the north-east of this, at the distance of a months journey is *the kingdom of the Turks*, containing as many cities, which the king of Pegu had conquered from the king of *Cathay*. The kingdom of *Bimir* is west from Ava, and is of similar extent, having 27 populous cities. North of this is *Lanjam*, of equal size, with 38 cities and abounding in gold and silver. On the east is the kingdom of *Mamfrom*, equally large, but having only 8 cities. East again from this is *Cochin-China*; on the south is *Siam*, which was afterwards conquered by the king of Birmah; and east of Siam is the great kingdom of *Cambodia*. All the inhabitants of these kingdoms are Pagans, and the most superstitious of all the east: Yet they believe in one only God, but in time of need have recourse to many idols, some of which are dedicated to the most secret acts and necessities of nature, even in the very form in which they are acted. They hold the immortality of the soul, are zealous in giving alms, and hold their priests in great veneration. These are very numerous, and live according to rules like those of the Catholics in monasteries, subsisting from day to day upon what is given them, without laying any thing up for the next. These priests and monks eat neither flesh nor fish, as they kill no creature whatever. They observe *Lent* and *Easter* after the manner of the Christians; whence some have inferred that they are some remnant of the disciples of St Thomas, though mixed with many errors. They wear yellow cassocks and cloaks, with hats of oiled paper. The whole natives of these countries are white, and their women very beautiful; but their bodies are all over wrought with blue figures down to the knees made with hot irons. In their manners they are very uncivilized and even brutal.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

PARTICULAR RELATION OF THE EXPEDITION OF SOLYMAN PACHA FROM SUEZ TO INDIA AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE AT DIU, WRITTEN BY A VENETIAN OFFICER WHO WAS PRESSED INTO THE TURKISH SERVICE ON THAT OCCASION [1].

INTRODUCTION.

FOLLOWING the PORTUGUESE ASIA of *Manuel de Faria y Sousa*, we have given an account of the Portuguese transactions in India in the preceding chapter, from the year 1505 to 1539. We might have extended this article to a much greater length from the same source, as De Faria continues his history to the year 1640; but his work after the year 1539is generally filled with an infinite multiplicity of uninteresting events, petty wars, arrivals and dispatch of trading ships, and such minute matters, unconnected and tending to no useful information. We now take up an original document of much interest, and most directly connected with the object of our collection, as an actual journal of a voyage. In a separate future division of our arrangement, we propose to give an abridged extract from De Faria of every thing his work contains worthy of notice, as tending to discovery, but leaving out all uninteresting details.

"There are two published copies of the voyage which constitutes the essence of our present chapter. The earliest of these was published by *Aldus* at Venice in 1540, along with other tracts of a similar nature, under the name of *A Voyage from Alexandria to India* [2]. The other was given by *Ramusio* in the first Volume of his Collection, under the title of *A Voyage written by a Venetian officer* [3] of the *Gallies, who was carried prisoner from Alexandria to Diu in India, &c.* These copies differ in several respects besides the title. That by Ramusio

1 Astleys Collection of Voyages and Travels, I. 88.

2 The title of the book published by Aldus in which this voyage is contained, is Viaggi alla Tana, Persia, India, &c.—Astley, I. 88. a.

3 The word designating the rank of this officer in Ramusio is *Comito*, signifying Boatswain, or the officer who superintended the galley-slaves.—Ast. I. 88. b.

Ramusio is altered in several places both in the substance and diction, which in many parts of that edited by Aldus is obscure. Yet that edition is of use to correct some errors of the press in Ramusio. Our translation is from the text of Aldus, but we have marked the variations in that of Ramusio, and have likewise divided the journal into sections, as done by Ramusio.

" Though not made by the Portuguese, this voyage certainly claims to be inserted in this place, as having a near connection with their affairs; besides which, it serves to complete the information contained in the article next succeeding; as the present voyage was made along the eastern side of the Red Sea, while the other was along its western side: So that the two together give a tolerable account of the whole of that sea; and they are in fact the more valuable, as being the only minute journals or relations extant of voyages performed along the whole length of the Arabian Gulf; except that by Mr Daniel in 1700, which is very superficial. Yet geographers, with the exception of M. de Lisle, and one or two since, seem to have made no use of these helps. It is however very surprising that neither of these two journals take the smallest notice of that great bay or arm at the head of the Red Sea, anciently called the *Elanitic*, a little to the east of *Tor* or *Al Tur*, which passing by the foot of Mount Sinai, penetrates a great way into Arabia. This has been described by the Arabian geographers, and confirmed by two eminent travellers of our own country, Dr Shaw and Dr Pococke, both of whom have delineated it in their maps [4].

" The present voyage shews the way of sailing in these eastern seas by the Turks, with whom we may join the Arabs and Indians; and it mentions several particulars respecting the siege of Diu, and particularly respecting the conduct of the Pacha, which could not be so well known to the Portuguese; serving to rectify some things and elucidate others. It must be observed that the soundings or depths of water, though expressed in fathoms, which are reckoned at *six* feet in the British marine service, are here to be understood as paces of *five* feet each. The *time* is expressed according to the Italian mode of reckoning; which begins the day at sunset,

4 The topography of the Red Sea has been much improved by Bruce, in his Travels in Abyssinia, and since him by Lord Valentia in his Travels in India.—E.

set, and counts the hours successively round from *one* to *twenty-four*; instead of dividing the entire day into twice twelve hours, as is customary with the English and other European nations." [5]—*Astl.*

Section I.

The Venetian Merchants and Mariners at Alexandria are pressed into the Turkish service, and sent to Suez. Description of that place. Two thousand men desert from the Gallies. Tor. Island of Soridan. Port of Kor.

This voyage was performed by compulsion, having been forced to accompany the eunuch Solyman Pacha, who was sent by Solyman Shah emperor of the Turks on an expedition against the Portuguese in India. At the time when the war broke out in 1537, between the republic of Venice and the Turks, a fleet of trading gallies happened to be at Alexandria in Egypt, commanded by Antonio Barbarigo, and remained there without opportunity of trading or taking in goods till the 7th of September; on that day Almaro Barbaro the Venetian consul, the captain Antonio Barbarigo, and all the merchants and seamen, with every thing belonging to them, were seized and lodged in the *tower of Lances*. After this, all of them that belonged to the sea, and the author of this voyage among the rest, were taken from the tower and sent by fifty at a time to Cairo; whence Solyman Pacha, having selected the gunners, rowers, carpenters, caulkers, and officers, sent them by companies to Suez to assist in fitting out the fleet in that port against his own arrival.

Suez stands in a desert place, where grows no herb of any kind. At this place the ships are built which are designed for India. All the timber of which they are built, with the iron work, and every kind of tackle, are brought from Satalia and Constantinople to Alexandria; whence they are carried on the Nile in jerbs or barks to Cairo, and thence on the backs of camels to Suez, where Pharaoh was drowned.

5 The Editor of Astleys Collection does not seem aware that in the British marine, the day begins at noon, instead of the civil day which begins at midnight.—E.

On the road from Cairo to Suez, which is eighty miles, there is not a single habitation, and no water or any thing whatever for eating is to be found, so that the caravans before setting out must supply themselves with water from the Nile. In former times, Suez was a great city well supplied with cisterns for holding water, and had a *Kalij* or canal cut all the way from the Nile, by which these cisterns were annually filled at the overflow of the river, which served them with water all the rest of the year. Being afterwards destroyed by the Mahometans, the canal was filled up, and all the water that is drank at Suez is brought upon camels from certain ponds or wells six miles distant; which water, though very brackish, they are obliged to drink; every fifty men being allowed as much water as a camel can carry. All the timber, iron, rigging, ammunition, and provisions for the fleet were brought from Cairo. Suez stands on a bay of the Red Sea, and has a small fort with mud walls, thirty paces square, which is guarded by twenty Turks. The fleet destined for India consisted of seventy-six sail; of which six were *Maons*, seventeen gallies, twenty-seven *foists*, two galleons, four ships, and the rest small craft.

On the 9th of March 1538, about 2000 men landed from the gallies with their arms and marched off for the mountains, meaning to desert; but when about six miles from the shore they were met by a Sanjiak, accompanied by 27 horse [1], designed for the garrison of Suez. The deserters were immediately surrounded by the horse, who killed about 200 of them, and all the rest were stripped and carried on board the gallies, where they were chained to the oars. On the 15th of June Solyman Pacha arrived at Suez, where he pitched his tents and rested eight days. In the mean time the fleet was got in readiness, and the soldiers received their pay, being five gold ducats to each and ten *maydins*, or 215 maydins in all. Part of the men belonging to the large Venetian galley, in which the author of this journal served, were distributed on board the fleet; seventy in one half galley, seventy in another, and eighteen in the galley of the *Kiahya*, who likewise had along with him the Venetian consul. The rest of these

1 This is surely some mistake, it being next to impossible that so few men should surround and overpower so great a number of armed soldiers. —Astl. I. 89. d.

these men were distributed in two galleons which carried the powder, saltpetre, brimstone, ball, meal, biscuit, and other necessaries for the fleet. The Pacha likewise sent his treasure on board the gallies, which was contained in forty-two chests, covered with ox hides and oil-cloth. On the 20th, he issued orders for every one to embark in two days. On the 22d the Pacha embarked, and dropt down four miles below Suez to the point of Pharaoh, where he anchored in four fathoms water on a good bottom. This place is seven miles from the pits of Moses. Seven men died here.

On the 27th of June the whole fleet left Suez with the wind at N. W. and before night cast anchor at a place called *Korondol*, 60 miles from Suez; at which place Moses divided the sea by stretching out his rod, and Pharaoh was drowned with all his host. At this place, which may be considered the commencement of the Red Sea, we had 12 fathoms water, and lay at anchor all night. Leaving Korondol on the 28th, we sailed 33 leagues to the S. E. and cast anchor two hour before night at a place called *Tor*, where there are many Frans ciscan friars who supplied the fleet with water. This place is a days journey and a half from Mount *Sinai*, where is the church and monastery of St Catharine, in which the body of that saint is reposited. We remained five days at Tor, in five fathoms water. We departed from Tor on the 3d of July, and came behind a dry sand bank about a mile from the shore and 40 miles from Tor, where we cast anchor in 12 fathoms water at a place named *Kharas*, where we remained two days to inspect the two ships which carried the stores. Leaving Kharas on the 5th, we came to an island named *Soridan* 40 miles from the coast, the whole days course from sunrise to sunset being 100 miles. Continuing our voyage all night to the S. E. we found ourselves at sunrise of the 6th to windward of a mountain on the right hand shore, named *Marzoan*, 100 miles beyond Soridan. Proceeding forward on the 6th, and still sailing S. E. we advanced 100 miles by sunrise, and saw land on the right towards *Kabisa* [2]. We sailed 90 miles on the 7th S. E. by E. Proceeding on the 8th at the rate of 8 miles an hour, we sailed 100 miles by sunrise; and in the

2 In Ramusio this is called the land of the *Abissini*. So that instead of Kabisa or Kabisia, we should read in the text Habash or Habashia, commonly called Abassia, Abissina, or Abyssinia.—Astl. I. 90. a.

night, the wind being south-westerly, we advanced 20 miles to the S. E. On the 9th the winds were variable and rather calm. To the S. E. we found a shoal under water 50 miles from land. Our course during the day was only 10 miles to the N. W. and in the ensuing night 20 miles S. by W. On the 10th we sailed 70 miles S. E. and came to a port named *Kor* in eight fathoms water, in a very desert country.

SECTION II.

Arrival at Jiddah, the Port of Mecca. The islands of Alfas, Kamaran, and Tuiche. The Straits of Bab-al-Mandub.

LEAVING Kor on the 11th of July, we sailed along shore till noon 30 miles, when we came to a city named *Zidem* [1], which is the emporium or landing place of all the spices from Calicut and other parts of India. This place is a stage and a half from Mecca; and though there are several shoals both above and under water, the port is good, and the town has abundance of provisions: but no water is to be met with, except from a few cisterns which are filled with rain water. This place abounds in merchandize, and the country round produces dates, ginger of Mecca[2], and other sorts. In a mosque on the outside of the town is a tomb, which according to the Mahometans is the burial-place of Eve. The inhabitants go almost naked, and are meagre and swarthy. The sea produces abundance of fish. The natives tie three or four pieces of timber together about six feet long, on one of which slight rafts a man rows himself with a board, and ventures out to sea eight or nine miles to fish in all weathers. At this place the fleet remained four days and took in a supply of water.

At our departure on the 15th of July, five small vessels were

1 Otherwise Jiddah or Joddah, the port of Mecca. In his map of Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, De L'Isle makes Zidem, which he also names *Gidde*, doubtless a corruption of Jiddah, a distinct place a little to the south from Jiddah. This must be a mistake; as Jiddah has for many ages been the port of Mecca, as Zidem is said to be in the text. This is farther confirmed by the mention of *Eves tomb* in the text, which Pitts saw at Jiddah. Thevenot says her tomb is at *Gidde*, which De L'Isle supposed to have been a different place from Gidda, Joddah, or Jiddah, whence arose his mistake.—Astl. I. 90. b.

2 Perhaps we ought to read *Balsam* of Mecca.—E.

were missing by chance, which we learnt from a man who had escaped from a foist. This day we sailed 80 miles S. W. by S. The 16th our course was S. E. with very little wind, making only 30 miles till night; and before sunrise 50 miles farther. The 17th we sailed S. E. till night 100 miles; and from thence till sunrise 16 miles, S. E. by S. On the 18th we steered S. E. 140 [3] miles during the day, which was dusky; and in the night 50 miles S. E. by E. The 19th sailing E. by S. with a brisk wind till nine in the morning, we came among certain islands called *Atfas*, almost entirely desert, and only inhabited by people who come from other islands to fish and seek for pearls, which they get by diving to the bottom of the sea in four fathom water. They drink rain water, which is preserved in cisterns and ponds. We remained here all night, having ran 100 miles. On the 20th we came to an island 20 miles from the land named *Khamaran*, where we got provisions and good water. In this island there was a ruinous castle, altogether unoccupied, and about fifty houses built of boughs of trees, besides a few other huts scattered over the island. The inhabitants were barefooted and quite naked, of a small size, and having no head-dresses but their hair, and merely conceal their parts of shame by means of a clout. They are all mariners, having a few barks and small craft, the planks of which are sewed together by rope, and are entirely destitute of iron work, with sails curiously made of mats, constructed of the barks of the palm or date tree, and folding together like a fan. The cordage and cables are made of the same materials. They trade to the main land in these barks, and bring from thence abundance of dates, jujebs, and a sort of white buck-wheat. They make a good quantity of *Mecca ginger*, and procure plenty of frankinsence from Bista [4]. They reduce their buck-wheat to meal on a piece of marble, about the size of the stone on which colours are ground by painters, on which another stone about half an ell long and like a rolling pin or roller is made to work so as to bruise the corn. Immediately after this it is made into a paste and baked into thin cakes. This is their bread, which must be made fresh every day, otherwise it becomes so dry and hard that there is no eating it. Both fish

3 In Ramusio only 40 miles.—Astl. I. 90. d.

4 This is called the land of the Abissins in the edition of Ramusio.—Astl. I. 91. a.

fish and flesh are to be had here in sufficient abundance. From the islands of *Akhefas* or *Atfas* to this island of *Khamaran* the distance is 40 miles.

The Pacha landed at this place, making all the gallies turn into the harbour along with him; and sent from thence two foists with messengers, one to the king or sheikh of *Zibit* or *Zabid*, and the other to the sheikh of Aden, ordering them to provide water and provisions for the fleet, to enable him to proceed in his expedition to India against the Portuguese. The messenger to Zabid was likewise ordered to tell the sheikh of that place, which is a days journey inland, that he must come to the shore, bringing with him the tribute due to the grand signior, and to pay his obeisance to the Pacha. The fleet remained ten days at the island of Khamaran, where it was furnished with water. Leaving Khamaran on the 30th of July with a scanty wind, we sailed S. by E. 50 miles, and came at one in the morning to the island of *Tuiccé*. Here the foist sent to the sheikh of Zabid brought a present to the Pacha, consisting of swords in the shape of scymeters made at *Zimina*, the handles and scabbards being of silver; also some poinards of similar workmanship, the handles of which were adorned with turquois stones, rubies, and pearls. But the sheikh sent word that he would pay the tribute when the Pacha returned from conquering the Portuguese, acknowledging at the same time that he was the slave of the sultan. This day we advanced fifty miles, and fifty more during the night, our course being S. by E. On the 1st of August, we proceeded ten miles with the wind at S. W. to a shoal named *Alontrakin* [5], near the mouth of the straits, having *Kabisia* or *Habash* on the right hand. Here we had two fathoms water, and staid one night.

SECTION

[5] In Ramusio this shoal is called Babel, being the two first words or syllables of Bab-el-Mandub, corruptly called *Babel Mandel*. Bab-el-Mandub signifies *the gate of weeping*, being the name of the entry to the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf; so called because reckoned exceedingly dangerous by the ancient Arabs, insomuch that they used to put on mourning for their relations who passed them, as persons given over for lost.—Ast. I. 91. d.

SECTION III.

Arrival at Aden, where the Sheikh and four others are hanged. Sequel of the Voyage to Diu.

ON the 2d of August, leaving the shoal of Alontrakin, we sailed 10 miles E. by S. and got through the straits; whence proceeding till sunrise next morning we went 80 miles farther. On the 3d sailing 80 miles E. by N. we arrived at the city of *Adem* or Aden. This city is strongly fortified, standing close to the sea, and surrounded by lofty mountains, on the top of which are several little forts or castles. It is encompassed also on every side with *ravelins*[1], except an opening of 300 paces wide leading from the shore to the country; and has strong gates and towers and well-built walls. Besides all these, there is a fort built on a shoal before the city, having a tower on one side to defend the port, which is to the south, and has two fathoms water. To the north there is a large port with good anchorage, being safe in all winds. Though there is plenty of good water here, the soil is dry and produces nothing. The water is all from rain, and is preserved in cisterns and pits 100 fathoms deep; and is so hot when first drawn up that it cannot be used till it stands to cool. This city is provided with provisions, wood, and every other necessary from other places, and has abundance of Jews[2].

Immediately on the arrival of the fleet, the Pacha was waited upon by four principal persons of the city, who brought refreshments. He received them courteously, and talked with them a while in private; after which he gave each of them two vests of figured velvet, and sent them back with letters of safe conduct for the sheikh, signifying that he might come freely on board and fear nothing. The sheikh sent back word that he would not come in person, but would readily supply whatever

1 Perhaps redoubts or detached towers are here meant; or the word here translated ravelins may signify shoals, reefs, or sand-banks, encompassing the harbour.—E.

2 This circumstance is not in the least improbable; yet it is possible that the author of this journal may have mistaken *Banians* for Jews, as we know that all the trade in the ports of Arabia and the Red Sea is now conducted by Banian factors.—E.

whatever was wanted. On the 5th of August, the Pacha ordered the janizaries to land with their arms, and all the gallies to man and arm their boats. He then sent his Kiahya to summon the sheikh to come before him, and do homage to the sultan. The sheikh answered, "I swear by your head that I am the humble slave of the sultan;" and came immediately to the gallies attended by many of his principal officers. The Kiahya presented him with a handkerchief round his neck to the Pacha, who embraced and entertained him with much courtesy. After a long conference, the Pacha caused two vests of figured velvet to be brought, which he put with his own hands on the sheikh, and made all the lords of his retinue be clothed in a similar manner. They conferred together afterwards for a long time, and the sheikh was dismissed with leave to return to the city. What happened afterwards it is not proper for me to relate [3]; suffice it to say, that Solyman suddenly gave orders to a sanjack with 500 janizaries to take possession of the city, the inhabitants of which, like those of *Kharabaia* [4], are swarthy, lean, and of small stature. Aden is a place of considerable trade, particularly with India, at which there arrive every year three or four ships laden with various kind of spices, which are afterwards sent to Cairo. In these parts grow *ginger of Mecca*, but no other sort.

On the 8th of August, the fleet removed to the north port of Aden, where it remained eleven days, taking in a supply of water. On the 19th we departed, being 74 sail in all, reckoning gallies, foists, ships, and lesser vessels; the Pacha leaving three foists behind to guard the port. This day our course was 40 miles E. by N. On the 20th we went 50 miles east with a fair wind at west; and during the night we went other 20 miles E. by N. The 21st we ran 30 miles east in a calm, and by sunrise 30 more. The 22d it was quite calm till noon, when a gentle breeze arose which carried us 20 miles east before night, and 50 more during the night in the same direction. During the 23d, we steered 60 miles E. by N. and 40 miles in the night N. E. The 24th 40 miles N. E. and other 40 miles in the night in the same direction. The 25th

3 In the edition of Ramusio, the author is made to relate the story openly, in the following manner: "That same instant after dismissing the sheikh, the Pacha caused him to be hanged by the neck at the yard-arm, together with four of his principal officers or favourites."—Ast. I. 92. a.

4 By Ramusio this word is given *Arabia*.—Ast. I. 92. b.

25th 90 miles N. E. by E. and 100 miles in the night the same course. The 26th 90 miles N. E. and 80 in the night. The 27th 90 miles, and in the night 100, both N. E. The 28th 90 miles during the day, and 90 more during the night, still N. E. The 29th still keeping the same course, 90 miles in the day, and 90 more at night. On the 30th, we sailed 80 miles E. by N. during the day, and 90 miles N. E. by E. during the night. Still holding N. E. by E. on the 31st we sailed 70 miles by day and 80 by night. Proceeding in the same course on the 1st September we went 70 miles in the day and 50 in the night. Holding on the same course on the 2d we ran 30 miles; by noon we were in 35 fathoms water, and at night in 20 fathoms, being within 100 miles of Diu, but 400 miles from the nearest land on the north. While between 100 and 150 miles from the land, we saw several snakes in the sea, the water often having a green colour, which are sure signs of approaching the land on this coast.

On the 3d the fleet proceeded with calm weather along the shore, and at nine in the morning the Pacha was informed by a boat from the land that there were 600 Portuguese in the castle of Diu, and six armed gallies in the port. The Pacha made the bearers of this intelligence a present of six *kaftans* or vests, and dismissed them. A Jew was afterwards taken on shore by some of the Turkish sailors, and confirmed this account. This day our course along shore was 30 miles, and we made 30 more during the night. On the 4th of September at sunrise, we proceeded 30 miles, and cast anchor within three miles of Diu. Before anchoring, a Portuguese foist was seen coming out of the harbour, which was chased by a half galley all day, but made her escape in the night.

Section IV.

The Castle of Diu is besieged by the Moors. The Turks plunder the City, and the Indian Generals withdraw in resentment. The Pacha lands. A man 300 *years old. Women burn themselves. The Fleet removes.*

The same day on which we anchored near Diu, one Khojah Zaffer came on board in a galley. This man was a native of Otranto in Italy, but had turned Turk and was captain of a

a galley in the former fleet sent to India by the sultan. When that fleet was defeated and destroyed, Zaffer entered into the service of the king of Diu or Kambachia, who gave him lands and made him chief governor of his kingdom. Zaffer had also insinuated himself into the confidence of the Portuguese; but when he learnt that the Turkish fleet was coming, he and the vizier or viceroy of the kingdom came with 8000 Indians, took the city of Diu from the Portuguese, and besieged them in the castle which was now closely begirt by their troops, not a day passing without a skirmish Zaffer was accompanied on this visit to the Pacha by the prime vizier of Cambaya, and both were received with much honour. They informed the Pacha that there were 500 soldiers and 300 others in the castle, which they had besieged for 26 days, and had no doubt of being able to reduce it with their Indian troops, if the Pacha would furnish them with artillery and ammunition. The Pacha presented each of them with two vests; but while they remained on board, the Turkish troops landed with their arms and plundered the city of Diu, doing infinite injury to the Indian inhabitants, and not even sparing the palace of the viceroy, whence they took three fine horses, together with some treasure and furniture, carrying away every thing they could lay hands upon. They likewise advanced towards the castle, and skirmished with the Portuguese garrison. When the viceroy returned and was made acquainted with the outrages committed by the Turks, he gave immediate orders to his officers to have every thing in readiness, and retired from Diu with 6000 men, going immediately to the king who was about two days journey up the country. That same night a foist came from the city to our fleet with a supply of fresh bread, nuts, flesh, boiled rice, and other things, sent in the name of the king of Cambaya, all of which were taken into the Pachas galley. On the 5th of September, the Pacha sent the Moorish captain and his Kiahya to join those on shore; and all the gallies sent their boats filled with janizaries to assist the native troops who were encamped round the castle, these being now reduced to not more than 2000 men, as all the rest had departed along with the viceroy and Khojah Zaffer. On the 7th, the fleet removed to a very good port, thirty miles from Diu, called *Muda Burack* [1], where we got abundance of water.

On

1 This place is afterwards called Mudafar-aba, and perhaps ought to be written Madaffer-abad.—Ast. I. 93. c.

On the 8th the Pacha went on shore at Diu, where the besiegers had begun to batter the castle, having placed some cannons for that purpose on four *maons*. He sent also three pieces of artillery on shore, which were planted *on*[2] a tower standing by the water side about a cannon-shot from the great fortress, being the place where the Indian officers used to receive the customs. It had thick walls and was defended by four brass guns and a hundred men, but had no ditch. On the 9th, a ship and galley which were laden with biscuit, powder, and other stores for the siege, struck on a sand bank while entering the harbour. The goods and the galley were saved, but the ship was totally lost.

A half galley belonging to our fleet arrived at Diu on the 19th in bad condition. She had fallen behind the fleet, and had been driven to a port belonging to a people of the Pagans called *Samori*[3], where she sent a boat on shore with some janizaries, who were all cut to pieces. After which the natives in our barge and some of their own barks, attacked the galley and slew other sixty men of her crew, so that she had much ado to escape. The Pacha sent for the pilot of this galley, and caused him to be hanged for his bad management.

On the 25th an Indian who had turned Christian and belonged to the garrison in the castle, was made prisoner in a sally, and being brought before the Pacha, but refusing to answer any questions, was condemned to be cut in two. On the same day an old man presented himself before the Pacha, who said that he was upwards of 300 years old, which was confirmed by the people of the country, who asserted that there were several very old men in that neighbourhood. The natives of this country are very lean and live sparingly. They eat no beef, but use their oxen for riding upon. Their oxen are small and handsome, very tractable, and have an easy pace. Instead of a bridle, they use a cord passed through a hole in the nostrils of the ox. Their horns are long and straight, and they are used as beasts of burden, like mules in Italy. These animals are held in much veneration, especially the cows, and they even make great rejoicings on the birth of a calf, on which account these people are reckoned idolaters. When any of the men of this country happens to

2 Perhaps we ought here to read *against* the tower by the water-side.—E.

3 Probably meaning the dominions of the zamorin of Calicut.—E.

to die, the widow makes a great feast for the relations; after which they go in procession with music and dancing to a place where a great fire is prepared, into which the corpse is thrown, carrying along with them many large pots full of scalding hot grease. The widow then dances round the fire, singing the praises of her husband, after which she distributes her entire dress and ornaments among her relations, till she has nothing left but a small apron. Immediately after this, having thrown a pot of the scalding grease into the fire, she leaps into the midst of the flames, and the assistants throw in all the other pots of grease to increase the flames, so that she is dead in an instant. All women who would be esteemed virtuous observe this custom, and such as do not are accounted wicked, nor will any one marry them. The country of Guzerat is rich and fertile, producing excellent ginger of all sorts, and cocoa nuts. Of these last the natives make oil, vinegar, flour, cordage, and mats. The cocoa-nut tree resembles the date palm in every thing except the fruit and leaves, those of the palm being broader.

On the 28th the fleet removed from the port of *Mudaferaba*, which has from 2 to 4 fathoms water; and having sailed six hours on the 29th, cast anchor about 15 miles from Diu. Having remained at anchor all night, the fleet made sail on the 30th with a north wind from shore, and came behind the castle of Diu, where all the gallies discharged their artillery in succession, after which they cast anchor about three miles from the castle.

Section V.

A Bulwark Surrenders to the Turks, who make Galley-slaves of the Portuguese Garrison; with several other incidents of the siege.

On the 1st of October, a messenger came from the lesser castle offering to capitulate, being no longer able to hold out. The Turks had planted three pieces of cannon against that fort which carried balls of iron of 150 pounds weight, and pierced the tower through and through, so that the stones flew about and had slain twenty men out of an hundred in the garrison. Yet these men had slain many of the Turks with their musquets and four pieces of cannon, the fire having con-

 tinued

tinued incessantly for eighteen or twenty days. On delivering his message, the person sent from the fort received a rich vest, and had a safe conduct written in the most ample form for himself and all the garrison. When the messenger returned to the tower, he persuaded the captain and two other persons to wait upon the Pacha, who gave the captain a vest and confirmed the safe conduct, only under the express condition that they should not go into the castle. The captain, whose name was *Juan Francisco Paduano*[1], returning to the tower which was called *Gogole*, brought off his men to the number of eighty, all of whom the Pacha ordered to be disarmed and confined in a house under a strong guard.

On the 3d of October, the Pacha ordered the four *slave* gunners of the large gallies on shore, and gave them in charge to batter the principal castle. He likewise ordered all the Portuguese who had surrendered to be distributed among the gallies and chained to the oar, captain and all. The same day, three Portuguese gallies entered the harbour of Diu without opposition, for the Pacha did not send a single vessel to hinder them. The 8th a ship arrived with provisions and was wrecked in the road. On board were fifteen men belonging to the large gallies, together with the admiral, and sixty sailors with many galley-slaves. The 13th, the fleet removed from the west to the east side of Diu, where they anchored two miles from the castle; but during this change of position, the cannon of the fortress sunk one galley and broke the main-yard of another. On the 15th, the Pacha removed from the *maon* where he resided hitherto into his half galley, but ordered a *white* sail to be taken from another galley, his own being distinguished by colours. The reason of this was that he expected the Portuguese fleet, and did not wish they should know what ship he was in. Being also afraid of the shot he caused a great ring of cables and such things to be formed on the poop, sufficient to repel cannon-shot, for he was fearful and cowardly. He likewise ordered all the Christians to be put in irons. On the 17th, being the eve of St Luke, he caused the head of one of the people belonging to the Venetian gallies to be cut off, merely for saying, *the signory of Venice is not dead.*

On the 22d the Pacha gave out in orders to the gunners on shore, about 400 in number, some of whom were slain daily,

1 It ought to be *Pacheco*.—E.

daily, that whoever shot down the great standard of the castle should have a reward of 1000 maydins and receive his freedom. This was chiefly occasioned by a desire of revenge, as his own standard had been given to the Portuguese by a *Sanjak.* Upon this, one of these Christian gunners at the third shot broke down the standard, which stood on the top of a great tower, on which the Turks made great rejoicings and published the news with much exultation throughout the fleet. The gunner was rewarded with a silken vest.

The artillery belonging to the Turks was planted against the castle all in one line, but in six separate batteries. In the first was an iron *culverine* carrying a ball of 150 pounds, and a *paderero* of 200 pounds. At a small distance was an iron *passe-volant* of 16 pounds, which discharged cartridge shot. In another place was a *paderero* of 300 pounds, and a *culverine* of 150; and in this second post was a *passe-volant* like the former, both belonging to the great gallies. In another place was an iron *saker* of 12 pounds, a small *cannon* of 16 pounds, a *falcon* of 6 pounds, and a mortar throwing a ball of 400 pounds. In another post was a culverine of 100 pounds. By this prodigious train of artillery, the Turks had battered down one tower, so that they could easily mount the breach, the tower not being very high, and the ditch not having been dug to a sufficient depth: But as fast as the Turks ruined the defences of this tower, the besieged repaired the breach as well as they could with earth and rubbish. It must also be observed that this fortress had no flanks; and being built upon a rock, they had made no *casemates*, only erecting embrasures on the top of the wall, which were all ruined and shaken. The main safety of the besieged consisted in their bravery. Every day fifteen or twenty of them used to sally forth like so many furious lions, killing all they met, which struck such terror into the Turkish soldiers that they fled in confusion as soon as they saw the Portuguese.

On the 25th of October, the Turks caused a great number of cotton sacks to be got ready, covered with skins and bound with ropes, all of which were thrown into the ditch, which they completly filled, reaching as high as the wall. This being noticed by the besieged early in the morning, before the Turks put themselves in order for the assault, sixty of the Portuguese made a sally from the castle, forty of whom fought the enemy with great gallantry, while the other twenty remained in the ditch, each of whom carried a small leather bag

bag full of powder and a lighted match. These men cut open the cotton bales, into each of which they put a handful of powder, which they fired, so that in a short time several of the bags were set on fire; and the whole continued burning for two days. Those who sallied out upon the enemy maintained the fight for more than three hours, during which time they killed 190 Turks and wounded as many more, losing only two of their own number.

Section VI.

Farther particulars of the siege, to the retreat of the Turks, and the commencement of their Voyage back to Suez.

On the 27th of October five Portuguese *foists* arrived at Diu, which took a Turkish vessel of the same kind, and landed succours for the besieged, but were unable to get into the harbour, as some of the cannon formerly mentioned commanded its entrance, by ranging past the end of the castle. The 29th the Pacha ordered out forty boats filled with Turks, having some small cannon in each, in order to assault a small fort or bulwark on the water side in the harbour at some distance from the castle, the whole defences of which had been ruined by the Turkish artillery, and in which there were only five or six men, who were relieved daily from the castle by water, the distance being less than a falcon shot. On the approach of the Turkish boats, the men in this small fort or bulwark lay down that they might not be seen. On coming to the place, the Turks ran the bows of their boats on shore, where every thing lay in ruins to the very edge of the water, and instantly leapt on shore. The small but gallant party of defenders immediately met them with two *fire-horns*, and the cannon from the castle played against the assailants so furiously, that the Turks soon fled. Several of their boats were sunk, many of the men were drowned, and the garrison of the castle took a considerable number of prisoners, coming out in one of their barks and killing or taking them while in confusion on the water. All those who were taken were hanged next day on the battlements of the castle.

The whole Turkish forces were drawn out in order of battle on the 30th, and advanced to that side of the castle next the harbour to make a general assault, for which purpose they carried a great number of scaling-ladders. Another party of

the Turks mounted the breach on the land side of the castle, which they could do at pleasure as the place was entirely opened by the fire of the batteries. But after remaining there three hours without sufficient courage to enter the place, the besieged leapt upon the breach and pushed the Turks into the ditch, killing four hundred of them. On the 31st the *Moorish* captain [1] went with eleven gallies to attack the little castle, but was forced to desist by the cannon from the great castle, which sunk some of his vessels.

On the 2d of November, the *Sanjak* with the janizaries and all the rest of the Turks embarked, leaving all their artillery behind, which they had not time to carry off. This was occasioned by receiving news that the Portuguese fleet was advancing in order of battle. The 5th, twenty sail of Portuguese vessels appeared in sight, and came to anchor twenty miles distance from the Turkish fleet. In the morning only three of these ships were seen at a distance, at which time the Turks put off from the land: But at sunrise many ships were seen, which shot off a great number of guns, though nothing could be perceived but the flash of the powder. Upon this the Pacha gave orders for each of his gallies to fire three guns; after which, the trumpets were sounded, all the ships hoisting their foresails and plying their oars. This was done at one o'clock at night, and at four the whole fleet departed with hardly any wind, and by day-break had run 30 miles, shaping their course S. S. W.

The 7th, we sailed forty miles in the same direction, the weather being still calm. The 8th, we proceeded 30 miles W. during the day, and 20 in the night. The 9th, we went 20 miles W. and this day the Christians had their irons taken off. The 10th, we made no way, the weather being a dead calm. The 11th, the wind blew from the W. S. W. We stood to N. W. advancing 30 miles in the day and night. The 12th, the wind being N. W. by N. we entered the gulf of Ormuz [2], and then sailed W. S. W. advancing all that day

1 This person has been several times mentioned under this title, as a principal officer under Solyman Pacha, but we have no indications by which to conjecture who he was.—E.

2 That part of the gulf may be here understood which is on the outside of the Straits of Ormuz, or the bay between Cape Ras-al-gat, or the coast of Muscat, and the Persian shore: Yet, from the after part of the voyage this could hardly be the case, and we ought perhaps to read in this part of the text the *Arabian Sea*, or that part of the Indian ocean which stretches across the mouths of the Indus, from the western coast of Guzerat towards the coast of Arabia.—E.

day and night only 30 miles. The 13th, we proceeded W. 70 miles by day and 90 during the night. The 14th, 100 miles during the day and as much in the night. The 15th, 80 by day and 80 by night. The 16th, 80 by day and 70 in the night. The 17th, 90 in the day and 80 in the night. The 18th, 100 in the day and 70 in the night. The 19th, 70 by day and 80 by night; all this time the course being due west. The 20th, we sailed W. by S. 90 miles, and saw land to windward, and proceeded 100 miles in the night. The 21st, we sailed W. by S. 80 miles by day and 50 in the night. The 22d, continuing the same course, we went only 10 miles during the day, and 20 in the night. The 23d it fell a calm, and we proceeded along the coast of Arabia, 30 miles in the day and 20 in the night. On the 24th, the calm continued and we had adverse currents, yet proceeded along the coast of Arabia 30 miles, and came to the islands of *Curia Muria* [3], which are very desert and thinly inhabited. We staid here one day and took in a supply of water. The fleet departed from these islands on the 26th, sailing along the coast of Arabia towards the Red Sea, 30 miles in the day and 30 at night.

SECTION VII.

Continuation of the Voyage back to Suez, from the Portuguese factory at Aser, to Khamaran and Kubit Sharif.

AT the second hour of the night on the 27th of November, the fleet cast anchor in six fathoms water off a town on the coast of Arabia named *Aser* [1], a barren desert place, where both men and cattle are forced to live on fish. At this place was found forty Portuguese with a consul or factor, who resided here for trade, besides other merchants who come frequently with spice and other things. But their chief trade was

3 In the text of the Aldus this place is called by mistake the town of Khamaran, which is a very different place within the Red Sea, but in Ramusio it is rightly named Curia Muria. These islands, are in lat. 17° 30′ on the oceanic coast of Yemen or Yaman, and are likewise named the islands of Chartan and Martan.—E.

1 About the distance rather vaguely indicated in the text, is a place called *Dhofar* on the coast of Yemen, and perhaps the text ought to have been *D'Afer*.—E.

was in horses, which are here excellent; being to be had at about 100 ducats each, and sell in India for 1000 ducats. As soon as the sheikh of this place understood that Solyman Pacha was coming there with his fleet, he caused all the Portuguese at the factory to be seized, and presented them to the Pacha, who made them all be chained to the oars. We here found a ship which had staid there by the way, being unable to proceed to India. We remained here three days, and the Pacha seized all the biscuit which could be procured for the use of the fleet. It may be proper to notice, that in every place at which the fleet touched in this return voyage, the Turks gave out that they had conquered the whole country of India, and had cut all the Christians to pieces. The 1st December, the fleet departed, holding a course W. S. W. along the coast of Arabia, and sailing 40 miles cast anchor before night at a place called *Mikaiya*, and took in water. The 2d, continuing along the coast of Arabia, we proceeded W. S. W. 30 miles in the day, and 10 in the night. The 3d, 40 miles by day and 50 in the night. The 4th, 70 in the day and 30 in the night. The 5th, we went 60 miles farther, and by nine o'clock in the night cast anchor off the town of *Adem* or *Aden*.

On the 6th, the Pacha sent in the morning for a renegado Turk, formerly a Christian and a person of some note, and without assigning any cause ordered his head to be cut off. The reason was they all murmured, and the Pacha feared this man might accuse him of negligence or cowardice, and was therefore determined to be beforehand with him. This man had formerly been in the service of the sheikh of Aden, and was afterwards a captain at Diu, when the former king Badur was slain by the Portuguese. The widow of Badur being possessed of a great treasure and desirous of retiring to Mecca, was persuaded by this man to embark with him in a galleon, with which he treacherously sailed to Egypt, whence he carried the treasure to Constantinople and presented it to the sultan; who, because of his conversance in the affairs of India, made him commander of a galley, and ordered him to return to India with the fleet under Solyman Pacha: And as the expedition succeeded so ill it now cost him his life. Being desirous to secure Aden, the Pacha caused 100 pieces of cannon of different sizes to be landed from the fleet, among which were two *passe-volants* that had been taken out of the Venetian gallies at Alexandria. He likewise landed an ample

supply

supply of powder and ball, and left a Sanjak with 500 Turks and five *foists*[2]. Thinking himself now out of danger from the pursuit of the Portuguese fleet, the Pacha removed from the half galley and returned to the *maon*. On the 19th, every thing being arranged at Aden, the fleet took in water, which occupied them during three days; and on the 23d we sailed from Aden with a good wind, steering W. by S. and between the evening and morning proceeded 100 miles. The 24th at the 5th hour of the day, the fleet entered the straits of the Red Sea, and lay all night at anchor. On the 25th, being Christmas, we departed three hours before day, and sailing to the N. W. with a scant wind, we ran 50 miles and came to a castle called *Mokha*. The same day, an old Turk who was governor of the castle came to wait upon Solyman, who received him with great honour and gave him a caftan. In return, the governor sent every kind of refreshment that the place could supply to the Pacha; and came a few days afterwards on board with all his riches, which were very great, besides many slaves of both sexes.

From Mokha the Pacha sent a messenger to the sheikh or king of Zabid, who was a Turk named *Nokoda Hamet*, commanding him to come immediately to the sea-side and pay his obeisance to the sultan. The sheikh sent back for answer, that he was ready to pay the tribute due to the sultan, and would willingly accept a Sanjak or banner if sent to him; but that he did not know the Pacha and would not come to the sea-side. The Pacha was much displeased at this, yet sent his Kiahya and some janizaries to Zabid, which is three days journey inland, to carry a standard to the sheikh. In return the sheikh made him a rich present, in which was a splendid scymeter and dagger, with some beautiful pearls of six carats forming a string above a foot in length, besides one fine pearl of eighteen carats: for a great deal of fine oriental pearls are found in this coast of Arabia. He likewise gave each of the Turks two rich vests or caftans, and a young black slave. The Kiahya made him many compliments, and entreated him to wait upon the Pacha; but the sheikh would on no account consent. Finding that he could not prevail upon him, the Kiahya said, "Since you will not go to the Pacha,

2 These *foists*, so often mentioned in this chapter, were probably *grabs* or *jerbs*, a large species of barks employed in their navagations by the Arabs of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.—E.

Pacha, he will come to you:" And so took his leave and returned to Mokha.

We remained twenty-nine days at Mokha, which we left at sunrise on the 23d of January 1539 with a brisk gale, and sailed W. by N. till noon; when the wind altered and we proceeded N. W. going in all 100 miles that day. The 24th we continued to the N. W. under easy sail with a fair wind 30 miles during the day; and by the sixth hour of the night, we cast anchor at the island of *Khamaran*, 20 miles farther. The Pacha landed on the 29th, and gave pay to all the janizaries who were willing to fight, but nothing was given to the slaves and mariners. The 2d of February, the weather being calm, we left Khamaran by the help of our oars, and came about six o'clock to a place on the coast called *Kubit Sarif*[3], 20 miles from Khamaran.

SECTION VIII.

Transactions of the Pacha at Zabid, and continuation of the Voyage from Kubit Sarif.

On the 3d of February, the day after our arrival at Kubit Sarif, a Turk in the service of the sheikh of *Zabid*[1] revolted with fifty horse and came to the Pacha, who received him kindly and gave him presents. This man encamped with his followers on the shore, and we noticed that in this country they had their horses in armour, to defend them against darts and arrows which are their chief weapons. The Pacha landed on the fourth, ordering his men to be got ready with provisions and ammunition, in order to march for Zabid, and directed some light pieces of artillery to be put on carriages to accompany him. The Pacha set out on his march on the 19th, three hours before day on horseback, and was joined on the road by another Turk with fifty horse, who had deserted from

3 In the edition of Aldus, this place is here named *Khebiccairf*; but afterwards Kubit Sarif as in the text. In Ramusio it is named *Kobbat Sharif*, signifying the noble dome, which is probably the right name.—Astl. I. 98. a.

1 This name is differently written Zibit, Zebit, and Zebeyd. It is a town of the Tehamah on the western coast of Arabia, in lat 15° 20', about 30 miles from the Red Sea, inland from the large bay formed by the isle of Khamaran.—E.

from the sheikh. Him the Pacha made free, and continued his march. He encamped on the 20th on the outside of the city of Zabid, and sent a message to order the sheikh to wait upon him. Seeing himself betrayed by many of his own people, and distrusting the fidelity of the rest, the sheikh came forth with a cord about his neck, as the slave of the grand signior, and presented himself before the Pacha, who immediately commanded his head to be cut off. On this the people of the city, to the number of three hundred men, fled to the mountains, among whom were three chiefs with all their riches, which were very considerable, yet knew not where to go. The Pacha sent to tell those who had escaped, that they ought to return and join him, promising to enroll them among his troops and to give them good pay. Accordingly there came back 200 *black Abissins*[2], who had been soldiers in the service of the sheikh. These were valiant desperate fellows almost naked, who did not value their lives, and were almost as swift as horses. For arms, some carried clubs of the cornel tree headed with iron, others had pointed stakes which they used like darts, others again had short swords, a span shorter than those used by the Christians, and every one had a dagger at his girdle, bent like those used by the Moors and Arabs. The Pacha asked every one his name, which he caused to be written down, and with higher pay than they had received before. He then dismissed them, with orders to return next morning without arms to receive their pay, when they were all to be admitted to kiss his hand, on which occasion they would have no use for their arms. The Abissins accordingly presented themselves at the time appointed, and being ordered to lay down their arms, they went to wait upon the Pacha who was sitting near his tent on the plain, surrounded by his Turks under arms. They were no sooner within the circle, than a previously concerted signal was given, and they were all instantly cut to pieces.

After this bloody scene, the Pacha placed a Sanjak with 1000 soldiers in Zabid to retain it under subjection. The city is well built, and the country round is pleasant and fertile, abounding in running water, delightful gardens, and abundance

2 Probably negroes, imported from the coast of Abyssinia, Massua and Arkiko, the gates or entry into that country being on the opposite coast of the Red Sea.—E.

dance of productions that are not to be found in any other part of Arabia; particularly Zibibs like those of Damascus, which have no stones, and other excellent fruits, such as dates. Flesh is to be had in plenty, and corn is not scarce.

On the 8th of March 1539, the Pacha returned to the coast, whence he ordered ammunition to be sent to Zabid to secure his acquisition, and appointed four *foists* to remain as a guard for that part of the coast. The 10th the Pacha ordered the Portuguese prisoners, to the number of 146 in all, reckoning some Indian converts, to be brought bound on shore; and having distributed them among his troops, all their heads were cut off by his command. The head of the chief [3] was flayed, and the skin was salted and filled with straw. The noses and ears of all the rest were cut off, and put into bags, to be sent to the sultan. On the 13th the Kiahya departed in company with another galley for *Zadem* [4], whence he was to go to Constantinople by way of Mecca, with an account of the expedition to India, carrying with him the heads, noses, and ears, besides magnificent presents for the sultan, to make it appear that the Pacha had performed great exploits and mighty services.

On the 15th of March we departed from Kubit Sarif, and cast anchor at sunset at a place called *Kor*, five miles from the land and 100 miles from Kubit Sarif. We departed from the island of Kor on the 16th an hour before day with a fair wind and pleasant breeze, and sailing along the coast of Arabia came to anchor at sunset in 8 fathoms water at *Zerzer*, 70 miles from Kor, a place subject to Mecca. At this place the three persons who had fled from Zabid with their riches were brought to the Pacha, who caused their heads to be cut off, and seized their treasure, which filled six large sacks, each of which was a sufficient load for any single man.

The 17th we sailed along the coast with a pleasant gale, which became contrary an hour before sunset, when we cast anchor

3 Pacheco most probably, formerly mentioned, who surrendered in a cowardly manner at Diu.—E.

4 Formerly called Zidem, but it ought to be Jiddah, Joddah, or Juddah, as differently pronounced: Yet Barthema, Corsali, Barbosa, and other travellers of those times call it Zidem or Ziden; doubtless by corruption. Thus likewise *Yamboa*, *Yembo*, or *Al Yambo*, the sea port of Medinah, is named *Elioban* by Barbosa, transposing the letters instead of *El Jambo*.—Astl. I. 99. a.

anchor in 8 fathom water, at a place called *Adiudi*, 50 miles from Zerzer. We departed from thence on the 18th two hours before day, and coasted along the land till noon, when we anchored in a good port named *Mugora*, in 4 fathoms water, 50 miles from Adiudi, where we got wood and water. An hour before day on the 19th, we departed by means of our oars, the wind being contrary; but at sunrise the wind became fair, and we sailed 50 miles along shore to a place called *Darboni*, where we came to anchor in 7 fathoms water. Being calm, we coasted along by rowing till noon, when a breeze sprang up, and then using our sails, we came to anchor in 10 fathoms water by sunset at a place called *Yasuf*, belonging to Mecca. On the 21st we proceeded 60 miles, and anchored in 40 fathoms, at a place called *Khofadan*, in the dominions of Mecca. The 22d the navigation being much encumbered with sand banks, so thick together and intricate that it was hardly possible to sail in the day, the Pacha ordered six gallies to lead the way, and we came to a shelf or shoal called *Turakh*. The 23d we coasted along, still among shoals, the channel being so narrow that only one galley could pass at a time; and cast anchor at a place named *Salta* in 4 fathoms, having ran fifty miles. Sailing 30 miles farther along the coast on the 24th, we anchored at noon in the port of *Mazabraiti* in 6 fathoms, near a place called *Ariadan* inhabited by peasants who are subject to Mecca. On the 25th we weighed anchor early, and endeavoured to proceed along the coast; but the wind getting up at sunrise and proving contrary, we had to stand out to sea till noon, when we again made for the land, off which we cast anchor early in the evening.

Section IX.

Continuation of the Voyage to Suez, along the Arabian Shore of the Red Sea.

We remained at anchor during the whole of the 26th and proceeded two hours before day of the 27th, in very pleasant weather, and at eight o'clock, having sailed 30 miles, we anchored in 4 fathoms at a place called *Yusuma*. The 28th we coasted along the land till noon with a fair wind, and then entered among certain banks two miles from the shore, where

we

we could not let go our anchors for fear of losing them, being off a place named *Mukare*, 30 miles from Yusuma. The 29th, still coasting along, we came among other shoals called *Balir*, thirty-five miles farther on. The 30th continuing along shore till evening, we anchored in 12 fathoms at a place called *Mukhi*, having proceeded 35 miles. Departing on the 31st with a calm two hours before day, the wind springing up at sunrise, and in the evening we came to *Ziden* or *Jiddah* the sea-port of Mecca. The Pacha landed on the 1st of April, and pitched his tents on the outside of the town, where he rested four days. On the 7th he rode away for Mecca, on pilgrimage, leaving orders for the fleet to proceed to Suez [1]. On the 8th the fleet was driven two miles out to sea by a contrary wind, and was obliged to come to anchor among the shoals. Remaining here till the 11th, we made sail with a fair wind, and at the *twentieth* hour came into the port of *Contror Abehin*, where one of our gallies was sunk in attempting to double a point of land. At this place a carpenter belonging to the Venetian gallies of Alexandria, named Mark, turned Mahometan and remained behind. Having staid here two days, we proceeded again with a fair wind along shore, and cast anchor in 12 fathoms at a place called *Amomuskhi*, 70 miles farther. Setting sail on the 15th two hours before day, the *Moorish captains* galley got aground on a bank, but was towed off by the boats belonging to the other ships, without having received any damage. We then coasted along the land 30 miles, to a place called *Raban* or *Robon*, where we cast anchor in 13 fathoms. From the 16th to the 20th both inclusive, we left this place every day, and were always forced to return by contrary winds. The 21st we departed with an off shore wind; but at the sixth hour of the day were again driven towards the coast by a contrary wind, and obliged to put in among certain banks where we remained all night.

The 22d we coasted along by favour of a land breeze; but the wind coming contrary were obliged to anchor at a place called *Farsi*, having only advanced 16 miles. The 23d we continued along the coast till noon, when the wind changed full in our teeth, and we had to come to anchor at a place named

1 It does not appear that the Pacha ever rejoined his fleet. It has been already mentioned from De Faria, that on his return to Turkey he was reduced to the necessity of killing himself. "Cruel and tyrannical men like him, says De Faria, should always be their own executioners."—E.

named *Sathan*, having sailed 25 miles that day. The 24th we proceeded along the coast till noon, when the wind became again contrary, and we were driven to the coast, and came to *Lorma*, 30 miles beyond Sathan. We rowed along shore against the wind on the 25th, and came at evening to *Yamboa* [2]. This place affords provisions, particularly fish and dates. Their water is kept in cisterns, and has to be brought on camels from a place a days journey distant, as there are no wells or springs. A days journey [3] inland from this place is a large town named *Medinah*, or *Medinat al Nubi*, where is the sepulchre of Mahomet, though commonly said to be at Mecca [4]. We remained at Yamboa six days, and set sail at four o'clock on the 1st of May; but after proceeding only 10 miles the wind became contrary, and we had to anchor among some shoals, where we staid two days. During the 3d and 4th, we had to stand off and on, beating up against a contrary wind; and so continued for *six* days, advancing only eight miles in all that time. The 10th and 11th, the wind being still contrary, we made only 10 miles, and anchored in a different place. Proceeding along the coast on the 13th, we came up with a galleon which left *Zabid* before the rest of the fleet. The pilots name was *Mikali*, and some of those on board belonged to the Venetian gallies of Alexandria.

The 14th, we sailed 10 miles [5] along the coast, and cast anchor in 7 fathoms at a place named *Sikhabo*. The 15th we sailed 70 miles N. W. and came to anchor in the open sea. The 16th, we sailed along the coast 30 miles, and anchored at a place named *Buducktor* or *Bubuktor*. The 17th sailing 30 miles along the coast, we anchored in 20 fathoms in the open

2 Called *Jombu* in the edition of Aldus, and *Jambut* by Ramusio. This is Yembo, Yambo, or Yamboa, the Italians using the *J* instead of the *Y*. Yamboa is the port of *Medina*, *Medinah*, or *Medinat al Nubi*, signifying *the city*, or the city of the prophet.—Astl. I. 100. c.

3 Medina is at least 90 miles inland from Yamboa, which cannot be less than *three* ordinary days journeys.—E.

4 This error has been long since corrected, yet many travellers still persist in placing the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca.—Astl. I. 100. d.—Christian travellers are debarred from visiting the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. At Mecca the grand object of pilgrimage is the *Caaba* or holy house, containing *a black stone*, the remains of the ancient Pagan superstition of the Arabians: Perhaps the same with the *Lingam* or *Priapus* of the Hindoos. —E.

5 In Ramusio this distance is made 60 miles.—Astl. I. 100. e.

open sea, near an island called *Yenamani.* Going 20 miles along shore on the 18th, we anchored for the night off *Khifafe.* We proceeded 50 miles along shore on the 19th, and anchored at *Molin.* The 20th, we anchored at sea 25 miles farther. Proceeding 48 miles [6] on the 21st along shore, we anchored in the evening out at sea. The 22d, after sailing 10 miles, we anchored again at sea. Being in a very bad anchorage, we proceeded again on the 24th with a tolerably good wind. The half galley left an anchor and three cables at this last anchorage, and one galley ran aground but was got off. After advancing only 10 miles, we came to anchor in 8 fathoms with good ground, and remained two days. Proceeding 35 miles along the coast on the 26th, we came to anchor in a road-stead.

SECTION X.

Conclusion of the Voyage to Suez, and return of the Venetians to Cairo.

ON the 27th of May we proceeded on our voyage, sailing W. N. W. At noon we were abreast of *Tor* or *Al Tor*, and continued our course for two hours after night-fall, when the wind came foul, on which we lay too till day-light, when the *Moorish captain* set sail again, and the other gallies weighed anchor and hoisted their foresails. After running 100 miles we came to shoal water where we cast anchor in 6 fathoms, and remained five days waiting for a fair wind. Leaving the bank on the 3d of June, and holding on our course, we cast anchor sometimes on the western coast [1] and sometimes on the eastern, having contrary winds, and on the 15th we arrived at *Korondol*, where Pharaoh and his host were drowned, and where are the baths of Moses as they are called. We took in water at this place, where we staid two days. The 16th, the fleet sailed from Korondol, and continuing its course for two days together, we arrived at Suez on the 17th of May 1539, whence we had set out on the 27th of June in the former year.

On

6 Only 40 miles, in the copy published by Ramusio.—Astl. I. 100. f.

1 In the original called the *Abyssinian* coast, but certainly that of Egypt.—E.

On the day of our arrival, we began to draw the barks on shore. The 2d of June we began to haul up the large galley, and next the half galley of the Pacha, all the rest being unrigged and drawn up successively. On this occasion the whole labour rested on the Christians, who acted as porters and worked all the tackle for unloading, cleaning and unrigging all the vessels: In short the entire fatigue lay upon their shoulders. On the 16th, the *Lemin* [2] came and paid off all the seamen, Christians as well as Turks, giving 180 maidans to each. The 19th of August, the *Emin*, accompanied by seven boats, went to Tor to pay off the gallies which remained behind, taking with him all the best and strongest of the Christian mariners to navigate these gallies to Suez, as they were in a manner disarmed, many of their crews having died and others run off. At Tor all were paid off, and the Christians were distributed among the gallies, which they brought up to Suez on the 20th of October, and were all drawn up by the Christians, who worked hard both day and night On the 26th, all the gallies being hauled up, the cables, rigging, tackle, iron work, planks, small cannon, and all the other stores were carried into the castle of Suez.

The Red Sea, from Suez to its mouth extends 1800 miles in length; the coast running all the way from N. W. to S. E [3]. This gulf is 200 miles broad, and in some places more. In its whole length it is full of banks, shoals, and shelves, towards the land on both sides, so that it cannot be navigated by night, except in the middle. These obstructions are so intricately disposed that the channels can only be discovered by the eye, nor can the proper course be taken except by means of an experienced pilot standing constantly on the *prow*, and calling out *starboard* or *larboard* [4] according to circumstances. Owing to this, the return voyage does not admit of being described so

2 In Ramusio the *Emin,* who is an officer of the treasury, or the paymaster.—Astley, I. 101. a.—Probably *Al Emin,* and originally written in Italian *L'Emin.*—E.

3 From Suez to the Straits of *Bab-al-Mandub,* the direct distance is about 1590 statute English miles, or 1200 geographical miles, 60 to the degree. From the Straits to *Cape Guardafu* is about 433 English miles farther, or 375 geographical: Making in all 1823 of the former and 1575 of the latter. The direction is S. S. E.—E.

4 In the original Italian, *Orza* and *Poggia,* being the names of the ropes at the yard-arms which are hauled when these words are pronounced.—Astl. I. 101. b.

so accurately as the outward bound. There are two distinct kinds of pilots for this sea; the one being acquainted with the middle of the gulf, which is the passage outwards; and the others, called *Rubani*, are for ships returning from the ocean, and navigating within the shoals. These are such excellent swimmers, that in many places where they cannot cast anchor on account of foul ground, they will swim under water and fix the gallies within the shoals, and will often even fasten the prows under water, according to the nature of the place [5].

On the 28th of November 1539, the Christians belonging to the Venetian gallies left Suez, and arrived at Cairo on the 1st of December, where they were lodged in the same house that they had formerly occupied. Each of them was allowed half a *maidan* daily for subsistence, which is equal to about twopence of Venice. They here suffered great affliction and fatigue, as whatever laborious work was to be performed was devolved upon them. Clearing out the water-cisterns, levelling hills, putting gardens in order, new buildings, and such like, all fell to their share. On the 25th of March 1540, many of the Christians went from Cairo with a guard of Turks to a hill or mount two miles from the Nile, which seemed to have been a burying-place like the *Campo Santo*, where every year, on the Friday before *our Lady of August* [6], a vast number of people assemble to see dead bodies rise out of the ground. This resurrection begins on Thursday evening, and lasts till Saturday at six o'clock, during which time great numbers rise; but after that no more appear. When they do rise, some are rolled about with linen bandages in the manner in which the ancients swathed their dead. It must not be imagined that these dead bodies move, and still less that they walk about. But, one instant you may observe and touch the arm or the leg of one, or some other part, and going away for a moment, you will find at your return the part you had formerly seen and touched still more exposed, or farther out of the ground than at first; and this will happen as often as you make the experiment. On that day, many tents are pitched about this mount, and thither many persons repair, sick as well as healthy; and near this place there is a pond in which

5 The expression in the text is not very obvious, but seems to indicate that these *Rubani* are such excellent divers as to be able to fasten ropes or hausers to the rocks below water.—E.

6 The 15th of August, the Assumption of the Virgin.—E.

which the people bathe on the Friday night, in order to get cured of their infirmities. *For my own part, I did not see these miracles.*

CHAPTER III.

THE VOYAGE OF DON STEFANO DE GAMA FROM GOA TO SUEZ, IN 1540, WITH THE INTENTION OF BURNING THE TURKISH GALLIES AT THAT PORT. WRITTEN BY DON JUAN DE CASTRO, THEN A CAPTAIN IN THE FLEET; AFTERWARDS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PORTUGUESE INDIA [1].

INTRODUCTION.

DON JUAN or JOAM DE CASTRO, the author of the following journal, was a Portuguese nobleman born in 1500; being the son of Don Alvaro de Castro, governor of the Chancery, and Donna Leonora de Noronha, daughter of Don Joam de Almeyda, Count of Abrantes. In his youth, Don Juan de Castro served with reputation at Tangier, and on his return home had a commandery of 500 ducats of yearly revenue conferred upon him, which was all he was ever worth, though a man of high birth and rare merit. He afterwards served under the Emperor Charles V. in his expedition against Tunis, and refused his share of a pecuniary reward from that prince to the Portuguese officers on the expedition, saying that he served the king of Portugal, and accepted rewards only from his own sovereign. After this he commanded a fleet on the coast of Barbary, and was sent to join the fleet of Spain for the relief of Ceuta. On hearing that the Moors were approaching, the Spaniards wished to draw off, on pretence of consulting upon the manner of giving battle, but Don Juan refused to quit his post; and the Moors retired, not knowing that the fleets had separated, so that he had all the honour of relieving Ceuta.

When Don Garcia de Noronha went viceroy to India, Don John was captain of one of the ships in his fleet; and when about

1 Astley, I. 107. Purchas, II. 1122.

about to embark, the king sent him a commission by which he was appointed governor of Ormuz, and a gift of 1000 ducats to bear his charges till he obtained possession. He accepted the latter, because he was poor; but refused the government, saying that he had not yet deserved it. After the expedition to Suez [2], contained in the present chapter, he returned into Portugal, and lived for some time in retirement in a country house near Cintra, giving himself up entirely to study. He was recalled from this retreat by the advice of the infant Don *Luys*, and sent out governor-general to India in 1545; where he died with the title of viceroy in 1548, when 48 years of age. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak farther of this great man, who made himself illustrious in the *second* siege of Diu by the forces of the king of Guzerat. In his life, written by *Jacinto Freire de Andrada*, there is a particular account of this siege, with a map to illustrate its operations. The author also treats of the Discoveries, Government, Commerce, and affairs of the Portuguese in India. This book was translated into English, and published in folio at London in 1664.

Such was the illustrious author of the following journal, which was never published in Portuguese; but having been found, if we are rightly informed, on board a Portuguese ship taken by the English, was afterwards translated and published by Purchas. Purchas tells us that the original was reported to have been purchased by Sir Walter Raleigh for sixty pounds; that Sir Walter got it translated, and afterwards, as he thinks, amended the diction and added many marginal notes. Purchas himself reformed the style, but with caution as he had not the original to consult, and abbreviated the whole, in which we hope he used equal circumspection: For, as it stands in Purchas [3] it still is most intolerably verbose, and at the same time scarcely intelligible in many places; owing, we apprehend, to the translator being not thoroughly acquainted with the meaning of the original, if not to the fault of the abbreviator. These two inconveniences we have endeavoured to remedy the best we could, and though we have not been always

2 De Faria in his Portuguese Asia, says that Don Juan went up to Mount Sinai, where his son Don Alvaro was knighted. But this does not appear in his journal.—Astl. I. 107. a.

3 Pilgrims, Vol. II. p. 1122, under the title of *A Rutter*, or Journal, &c. from India to Suez, dedicated to the Infant Don *Luys*.—Astl. I. 107. b.

always able to clear up the sense, we presume to have succeeded for the most part; and by entirely changing the language, except where the places were obscure, we have made the journal more fit for being read, and we hope without doing it any manner of injury [4].

This expedition was undertaken for two important purposes. *One*, to carry succours to the emperor of *Habash* or Abyssinia; and the *other*, to endeavour to destroy the Turkish ships at Suez. For, soon after the retreat of Solyman Pacha from Diu, it was rumoured that another fleet of the *Rumes* or Turks was on its way to India; but as Don Stefano de Gama was afterwards informed that the Turks could not set out during the year 1540, he determined to be before hand with them, in some measure to be revenged for the late siege of Diu, and to prevent a second attack by burning the fleet they had prepared for that purpose. The governors liberality brought more men to inlist under his banners than he desired, so that he was enabled to select the best. The fleet consisted of 80 sail of different sorts and sizes, and carried 2000 soldiers besides mariners and rowers. On coming into the Red Sea, he found most of the cities and islands abandoned, the inhabitants having notice of his coming. At Suakem, the sheikh or king, who had retired a league up the country, amused De Gama with pretences of peace, that he might not destroy the town and island. In consequence of this delay, De Gama was prevented from carrying his design into execution of destroying the ships at Suez; as it afforded time for the Turks to receive intelligence of the expedition. This is the account given by De Faria; but Bermudas gives a different reason for the want of success in that design, as De Gama could not get at the ships, which were all drawn up on the land, which we have already seen to have been the case, in the journal of the voyage of Solyman Pacha, in the immediately preceding chapter.

In revenge for the duplicity and delay of the sheikh of Suakem, De Gama marched into the interior with 1000 men, accompanied by his brother Don Christopher, and defeated the sheikh with great slaughter. He then plundered the city of Suakem, where many of the private men got booty to the

 value

4 On the present occasion we have followed the example of the Editor of Astleys Collection, having employed the original abbreviated translation by Purchas modernized in the language and endeavouring to elucidate obscurities; using as our assistance the version in Astley.—E.

value of four or five thousand ducats, and then burnt it to the ground. From thence, he went towards Suez with only sixteen *Katurs* or Malabar barges, and sent back the fleet to Massua under the command of Lionel de Lima. On this occasion, there was a great dispute, as every one strove to go on this expedition; whence the bay got the name of *Angra de los Aggraviadas*, or *bay of the offended.* Many gentlemen went in the barges as private soldiers or volunteers, willing to go in any capacity if only they were admitted. The number of men on this fruitless expedition was 250. They plundered and burnt *Cossier* or *Al Kossir;* whence crossing to *Tor* or *Al Tur*, they took some vessels belonging to the enemy. At first the Turks opposed their landing; but some of them being slain, the rest abandoned the city, in which nothing was found of value. De Gama did not burn this town, in reverence for the relics of St Catharine and the monastery and religious men there, which he visited at their request. He was the first European commander who had taken that city, where he knighted several of his followers, an honour much prized by those who received it, and which was envied afterwards even by the emperor Charles V. From thence De Gama proceeded to Suez; and after many brave but fruitless attempts to sound the harbour, De Gama determined to go himself in open day to view the gallies. He accordingly landed and saw the gallies; but endeavouring to force his way towards them, the enemies shot poured thick from the town, and 2000 Turkish horse broke out from an ambush, by which the Portuguese were reduced to great straits. Though the Portuguese cannon slew a good many of the enemy, their numbers were so much superior that the Portuguese were obliged to retreat with some loss, and much grieved that the object of their expedition was frustrated. Thus far we have deemed necessary to premise, relative to the design and success of the expedition, from De Faria and other authors; because the journal of Don Juan de Castro is almost entirely confined to observations respecting the places visited in the voyage, and gives little or no information respecting these particulars.

The *rutter* or journal must be allowed to be very curious.—The author, like an exact and diligent navigator, has not only given the course and distance from one place to another, with the latitudes of the principal ports and headlands; but has noticed the minute windings of the coast, and the si-

tuations of islands, with observations on the tides, currents, shoals, sand-banks, and other particulars respecting the Red Sea. Yet, far from confining himself to mere nautical remarks, he has given an account of all the places at which he touched, together with accounts of the countries and the inhabitants, so far as he was able to collect from his own observations, or the accounts of such as he was able to converse with, particularly the natives. Don John hath gone farther yet, and has even attempted to draw a parallel between the ancient and modern geography of this sea. If in all points of this last he may not have succeeded, the great difficulty of the task, owing to the obscurity of the subject, is to be considered: most of the ancient places having been destroyed; the ancient names of others long since out of use and forgotten; and that very little is known of these coasts by Europeans, even at this day. For these reasons, as the conjectures of the author are often erroneous respecting the ancient geography, and as at best they are very uncertain, we shall for the most part *insert them by way of notes*, with our own remarks respecting them[5]. Whether the *altitudes* have been taken by Don Juan with that precision which geography requires, may also be in some measure questioned; since we find there was *a crack in the instrument employed*, the size of which is not mentioned; neither were all the observations repeated. Even if they had been, it is well known that the observations of those times were by no means so accurate as those made of late years. After all, however, the observations in this journal appear to have been made with a good deal of care, and they cannot fail to be of great service to geography.

It is alone by the observations contained in this journal that geographers are able to determine the extent of the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea from north to south[6], as well as the situation of its principal ports on the west side. The latitude of the straits was verified by the observations of Don Juans pilot. But as most maps and charts give the situation of Suez, at the northern end of the Red Sea, very different from that marked

5 In this edition, which has been taken from that by Purchas, these conjectures of Don Juan de Castro are restored to the text: but the remarks by the Editor of Astleys Collection are all retained in notes. —E.

6 The modern knowledge of the Red Sea has been much augmented by the labours of Bruce, Nieubur, Lord Valentia, and others, which will be given n a future division of our work.—E.

marked in this journal, which is 29° 45′ N. it may not be amiss to examine this point.

By several very accurate observations made in 1694, M. Chazelles of the Royal Academy of Paris found the latitude of Cairo to be 30° 2′ 20″. The difference of latitude therefore between Cairo and Suez, will be 17 minutes; which we conceive cannot be very far from the truth, if not quite exact, since the map published by Dr Pocock makes the difference about 20 minutes. It is true that in Sicards map of Egypt, and in a *late*[7] French chart of the *eastern ocean*, Suez is placed only two or three minutes to the southward of Cairo. But as these authors had no new observations made at Suez to go by, and seem to have been unacquainted with those of Don Juan de Castro, their authority can weigh very little against an express observation, and against Dr Pococks map, which, among other helps, was constructed upon one made by the natives. Besides this, in his later maps *De L'Isle* regulates the situation of Suez according to the latitude found by Don Juan. Indeed Sicard places Suez nearly in that parallel, but egregiously mistakes the latitude of Cairo, so that he seems to have given it that position more by chance than design.

This may suffice to support the credit of the observations of latitude as made by Don Juan, till new and better ones can be made, which we are not to expect in haste, as European ships now seldom sail any farther into the Red Sea than *Mokha* or *Zabid*, for which reason this journal is the more to be prized. In other respects it is full of variety; and if some parts of it be dry and unamusing, these make amends by their usefulness to geographers and navigators, while other parts are calculated to instruct and give pleasure on other accounts. —*Astley*.

So far the foregoing introduction is taken from Astleys collection. In our edition of the Journal of Don Juan de Castro, we have used the earliest known copy as given by Purchas, Vol II. p. 1122—1148, under the title of *A Rutter or Journal of Don John of Castro, of the Voyage which the* Portugals *made from* India *to* Zoes, *&c. and here abbreviated. The original of which is reported to have been bought by* Sir Walter Raleigh, *at*

7 It is proper to remark here that the collection of Astley was published in 1745, *sixty-seven* years ago.—E.

at sixtie pounds, and by him caused to be done into English *out of the* Portugal.

Of this Journal Purchas gives the following account in a marginal note, which is inserted in his own words: "This "voyage being occasioned by sending the Patriarch *Bermudez* "to *Ethiopia*, and relating how that state decayed, invaded "by the *Moores*, and embroiled with civil discontents, con-"tayning also a more full intelligence of the *Red Sea*, than "any other *Rutter* which I have seene, I have here added; "and next to it, *Bermudez* own report, translated, it seemeth, "by the same hand (not the most refined in his *English* phrase, "which yet I durst not be too busie with, wanting the origi-"nal) and reduced to our method; here and there amending "the *English*, which yet in part was done, as I thinke, and "many marginall notes added, by *Sir Walter Raleigh* him-"selfe."—In the present edition, while we have adhered closely to that of Purchas, with the assistance of that in Astleys Collection, we have endeavoured, *a little more busy* than Purchas, to reduce the language to a more intelligible modern standard; and have divided it into *Sections*, in imitation of the editor of Astleys Collection of Voyages and Travels. On purpose to carry on the series of events, we have inserted as a necessary introduction, an account of the Portuguese Transactions in India, from the discontinuance of the siege of Diu and retreat of Solyman Pacha in November 1538, to the commencement of the expedition of Don Stefano de Gama to the Red Sea in December 1540, when the journal of Don Juan de Castro begins; which *first section* of this chapter is taken from the Portuguese Asia of De Faria.—*E.*

SECTION I.

Portuguese Transactions in India, from the Siege of Diu by the Turks, to the Expedition of Don Stefano de Gama to Suez[1].

SOON after the retreat of Solyman Pacha from Diu in November 1538, but in the beginning of the subsequent year 1539, when the new viceroy Don Garcia de Noronha had returned from his

[1] This section is added from the Portuguese Asia of De Faria, II. 3. et seq. to connect the history of events.—E.

his tardy expedition to relieve Diu, *Don Gonzalo Vaz Confino*[2] came with five small vessels from *Onore*, where he had been sent by the former governor Nuno de Cuna on the following occasion. One of the gallies belonging to the fleet of Solyman Pacha had been forced into the port of Onore[3], and it was thought the queen of that province, then a widow, had violated the treaty subsisting between her government and the Portuguese, by giving protection to that vessel. Gonzalo Vaz called her to account on this subject, when she declared that the vessel was there against her will, as she was not in condition to prevent it, but would be glad that it were taken by the Portuguese. Gonzalo Vaz accordingly made the attempt, but was repulsed after a sharp engagement, in which he lost fifteen of his men, and among these his own son Diego Vaz. Gonzalo suspected the queen of having secretly assisted the enemy, and refused some refreshments she had sent for the wounded men, returning a rash and resentful answer mingled with threats. The queen cleared herself of the imputation, and again offered a treaty of peace with the Portuguese, which was concluded, and some Portuguese were left by Gonzalo at Onore, to observe what conduct was pursued by the queen for expelling the Turks.

Before leaving Diu, and having repaired the fortifications of the castle, the command of which was given to Diego Lopez de Sousa, pursuant to a commission from the king of Portugal, a treaty of pacification with the king of Guzerat was set on foot and concluded, very little to the advantage of the Portuguese, owing as was generally believed to the covetousness of Noronha.

The late success of the Portuguese terrified all the princes of India who had been their enemies. Nizam-al-Mulk and Adel Khan sent ambassadors to the viceroy to renew the former treaties of peace; and the zamorin, to obtain the more favourable reception from the viceroy, employed the mediation of Emanuel de Brito, commandant of the fort at *Chale*. Brito accordingly promised his interest, and the zamorin sent *Cutiale* as his ambassador to Goa accompanied by a splendid retinue, where

2 The name of this commander is probably erroneous in the text, from an error of the press, and ought to have been *Coutinho*.—E.

3 Probably the galley already mentioned in the Venetian Journal, as having separated from the Turkish fleet on the voyage to Diu, and for which the pilot was executed by command of Solyman.—E.

where he was received by the viceroy with much courtesy and great pomp. Had not the viceroy fallen sick, he intended to have gone to Calicut, to perform the ceremony of swearing to the observance of the articles of pacification and amity which were agreed to upon this occasion; but he sent his son Don Alvaro on this errand, under the discretion of some discreet men, as Alvaro was very young. They came to Paniany with a numerous fleet, where they were met by the zamorin, accompanied by the kings of Chale and Tanor. The peace was confirmed and ratified with great demonstrations of joy on both sides, and lasted thirty years to the great advantage of the Portuguese.

The illness of the viceroy became serious and threatened to end fatally, insomuch that he could not attend to the affairs of government; for which reason he proposed that some worthy person might be chosen to supply his place, and even desired that the choice might fall upon his son Don Alvaro. This surprised all men as violating the public liberty of choice, and might have proved of dangerous consequence, had not the death of the viceroy prevented its adoption. On the death of the viceroy, the *first* patent of succession was opened in which Martin Alfonso de Sousa was named; but he had gone a short while before to Portugal. On the *second* being opened, Don Stefano de Gama was therein named, who then lived in retirement a short way from Goa.

Don Stefano de Gama, who was the son of Don Vasco de Gama the discoverer of India, entered upon the government in the beginning of April 1540. The first thing he did was to have his whole property publicly valued, that it might not be afterwards laid to his charge that he had acquired riches during his government; and indeed at his death, his fortune was found considerably diminished. Finding the public treasury very much exhausted, he advanced a large sum to it from his own funds. In the next place he refitted the fleet, which had been laid up by his predecessor after his return from Diu. He likewise founded the college of *Santa Fe*, or St Faith, at Goa for the education of the heathen youth who were converted, appointing the vicar-general Michael Vaz as first rector. He sent his brother Christopher de Gama, to attend to the repair of the ships at Cochin, and gave notice to several commanders to hold themselves in readiness to oppose the *Rumes* or Turks, whose fleet was reported to be again proceeding

ceeding towards the western coast of India. But being afterwards credibly informed that the Turks would not set out this year, he attended to other affairs.

SECTION II.

Journal of the Voyage from Goa to the Straits of Bab-al-Mandab [1].

HAVING expedited all the affairs of his government, and collected an armament of 80 sail of different sorts and sizes, on board which 2000 soldiers were embarked, besides mariners and rowers, Don Stefano de Gama set sail from the bar of Goa, at sunrise of the 31st December 1540, on his expedition to Suez. The wind was easterly, blowing from the land, and they advanced under an easy sail, coming to anchor about ten o'clock at the mouth of the river *Chaparoa*. Proceeding on their voyage till the 13th of January 1541, they saw in the morning of that day great quantities of weeds which grow on the rocks of the sea coast, and soon afterwards a sea-snake, being indications of the neighbourhood of land; and when the sun was completely risen, they descried the island of Socotora, whither they were bound in the first place, bearing due south.

After coming to anchor at this island, I inquired at the principal pilots of the fleet how far they had reckoned themselves from the land when we first came in sight. The chief pilot was 90 leagues short; the pilot of the *Bufora* galleon 100 and odd; those who made the least were 70 leagues short: and my own pilot, being only 65 leagues, was nearest in his reckoning. They were all astonished at this difference, and all affirmed in excuse for their short reckoning, that the way was actually shorter than was expressed on the charts; with them the Moorish pilots concurred in opinion, affirming that it was only 300 leagues from Goa to Socotora [2]. The island

1 We now take up the Rutter or Journal of Don Juan de Castro, but Purchas has chosen to omit the navigation from the Malabar coast to the Island of Socotora, *to avoid prolixity*.—E.

2 The real distance is 430 marine leagues, and the difference may be easily accounted for by the operation of an eastern current, not observed or not sufficiently allowed for.—E.

island of Socotora is 20 leagues in length from east to west, and 9 leagues broad, being in lat. 12° 40′ N. on its north side. This northern side runs east and west, somewhat inclined towards the north-west and south-east. The coast is all very clear without rocks and shoals, or any other hinderance to navigation. The anchoring ground in the road is sand, stony in some places, but not of such a nature as to cut the cables. On this side the north wind blows with such force as to raise up great heaps of sand over the hills, even beyond their highest craggy summits. In the whole circuit of the island there is no other place or harbour where a ship may winter in safety. The sea coast all around is very high, and girt with great and high mountains, having many pyramidal peaks, and having a grand appearance. The tides on the coast of this island are quite contrary to those on the opposite shore of India, being flood when the moon rises in the horizon, and as the moon ascends the tide of ebb begins, and it is dead low water when the moon comes to the meridian of the island; after which, as the moon descends, the tide begins to flow; and when set it is full sea. I made this observation for many days by the sea side, and always found it thus.

If I am not deceived, this island of Socotora was in ancient times named *Dioscorides*, and had a city of the same name, as appears in the *sixth* table of Asia by Ptolemy: But by the situation which he has given it, he appears to have had bad information from navigators [3]. The Socotorians are Christians, their ancestors as they say having been converted by the holy apostle Thomas. The island has many churches, in which there is *no oracle* [4] except the cross of Christ. They pray in the *Chaldean* tongue; and are very ignorant, but as I was informed they are desirous of being instructed in the doctrines and ceremonies of the Romish church, which they confess to be alone good and worthy of being followed. The men have names like us, as John, Peter, Andrew, &c. that of the women being generally Mary. The manner of life of these people is singular, as they have no king, governor, prelate, or other person in authority, but live in a manner like wild beasts, without any rule, or order of justice or policy [5].

In

3 Don Juan omits all mention of the island of *Abdal Kuria,* about nine leagues E. S. E. of Socotora, with two interposed small islands, called *Las Duas Hermanas*, or the Two Sisters.—E.

4 Probably meaning no images or Christian idols.—E.

5 Since then they have been subdued by the Arabs.—Astl.

In the whole island there is no city or great town, and most of the people dwell in caves, though some have small thatched cottages, separated from each other, more savage than pastoral. Their food is flesh and wild dates, and their drink chiefly milk, as they taste water but seldom. They are much devoted to the cross, and you will hardly meet a single individual without one hanging from the neck. Their dispositions are good; their persons tall and straight, their faces comely but swarthy, the women being somewhat fairer, and of very honest behaviour. They have no arms either of defence or offence, except very short swords of dead iron. The men go entirely naked, except a clout of a certain cloth called *Cambolis*, a considerable quantity of which is manufactured in the island. The country is very poor, and produces no other merchandise than *verdigris*[6] and *sanguis draconis*; but the *verdigris* is in great abundance, and is esteemed above all. All the island is mountainous, and breeds abundance of all kinds of cattle like those of Europe. There is no wheat or rice or other provisions of that kind, which I believe is not the fault of the ground, but owing to want of skill and industry in the people; as the land within the external mountains is fresh, and hath many vallies and plains, very convenient for culture. They have no manner of navigation, neither do they catch any fish, though the sea around their coast has an infinite quantity. They have very few fruit trees, among which the palm tree is chiefly esteemed, and produces a principal part of their food. The land produces all kind of garden and medicinal plants, and the mountains are covered with the herb *Basil* and other odoriferous herbs.

Leaving Socotora, we were very near Aden in the morning of the 27th of January 1541, which was to the north-west, distant from us about 6 leagues. The wind being from the east and fair, we sailed W. S. W. and then knew that the land we had seen the evening before, thinking it an island, was the mountain of Aden. This mountain is very high and is full of crags on every side, with some very high peaks, like the hill of Cintra, having a noble appearance. This hill descends to the sea, into which it projects a very great and long cape or promontory; on each side of which there is a deep harbour or bay, the strong city of Aden being situated on that which is to the east of the cape. In ancient times the hill was called *Cabubarra*, famous among navigators, and the

6 By verdigris is probably meant the Socotorine aloes.—Purch.

the city of *Aden* was then known by the name of *Madoca.* Within these three years, this city of Aden has fallen under the power of the Turks, being taken by the treachery of Solyman Pacha, governor of Cairo, in the following manner. At the request of the king of Cambaya and all the inhabitants of the *Straits of Mecca* [7], the grand Turk sent the governor of Cairo, Solyman Pacha eunuch, with a great fleet of ships and gallies for India. On coming to Aden, the king and inhabitants, fearing the treachery of the Turks, refused to allow them to come into their city, but supplied them with all kinds of provisions and necessaries. As Solyman and his soldiers shewed no resentment, the king became reassured, and after many messages and declarations of friendship on both sides, consented to an interview with the Pacha on board his galley, that they might treat respecting the conquest on which the Pacha was bound. But the king was made prisoner by Solyman on board the galley; and the Turks landing possessed themselves of the city, before the gates of which the king was hanged next day. Whereupon Solyman left a garrison to keep possession of the city, and proceeded on his voyage to Diu.

From the Cape of *Guardafu* on the coast of Africa, anciently called *Aromata*, and from the opposite promontory of *Siagros* or Cape *Fartak* in Asia, all the sea to the city of *the heroes*, now *Suez*, is called the *Arabian Gulf*, vulgarly the Red Sea. The distance between these two promontories may be 58 leagues. From these promontories the coast on both sides of this sea extends towards the west, nearly at the same distance, till they come to the two cities of *Aden* in Arabia, and *Zeyla* in Ethiopia or *Abexi* [8]; and from thence the two shores begin to approximate rapidly, with desert coasts and little winding, till they almost meet in the straits which are formed by two capes or promontories; that on the Arabian side being named *Possidium* by the ancients, but I could never learn either the ancient or modern name of that on the side of Ethiopia [9]. This strait between the promontories is called

7 This singular expression certainly means the Red Sea, which the Arabs often call the Straits of Mecca, or more properly the Gulf of Mecca; sometimes Bahr-hejaz, or the Sea of Hejaz, one of the provinces of Arabia.—E.

8 Meaning Abassi, Abyssinia, or Habash.—E.

9 The cape on the Arabian shore is called Arrah-morah, or of St Anthony, and that on the African *Jebul al Mondub*, or *Mandab*, which signifies the

called by the neighbouring people and those who inhabit the coasts of the Indian ocean *Al babo* [10], which signifies the gates or mouths in the Arabic language. This strait is *six* leagues across, in which space there are so many islands, little islets, and rocks, as to occasion a suspicion that it was once stopped up. By those straits, sluices, and channels, there entereth so great a quantity of water, which produces so many and great creeks, bays, gulfs, and ports, and so many islands, that we do not seem to sail between two lands, but in the deepest and most tempestuous lake of the great ocean. Now returning to the mouths of the strait, which is the object of our description, we are to note that the land of Arabia at this place stretches out into the sea with a long and large point or promontory; and as there is a great nook or bay, it appears on coming from sea as if this cape were an island separate from the continent. This is what was named the promontory of *Possidium* by Ptolemy. Not more than a stones throw from this promontory is a small islet called the Isle of the *Robones.* For *Roboan* [11] in Arabic signifies a pilot, and in this isle dwell the pilots who are in use to direct ships coming from sea to the ports for which they are bound within the straits. This islet is round and quite flat, about the sixth part of a league in circuit, and the channel between it and the main land of Arabia may be crossed on foot at low water; but at one quarter-flood it becomes too deep for being waded. To seawards from this little island about a league from the coast is an island about a league and a half in length, which has a large haven on the side towards Ethiopia secure in all winds, where a large fleet of gallies may be safely harboured; but the side of this island towards Arabia has neither harbour nor landing-place [12]. This channel is easily sailed in the middle, steering N. W. and by W. from S. E. and by E. having 11 fathoms all through. It is all clean in every place, without flats, shoals, or any other obstruction, so that it may be passed on either side or in the middle. The whole ground is a soft coral rock, with hardly any sand. Being far within the channel, and

the Mountain of Lamentation, as formerly explained respecting *Bab-al-Mandub,* the name of the straits.—E.

10 In Arabic *Al Bab* is the gate, and *Al Abwah* the gates. By the Turks it is called *Bab Bogazi,* a general name for all straits; and *the babs* by the English sailors.—Ast.

11 Rather Roban or Ruban.—Ast.

12 The island of Prin.—E.

and going to seek the road or haven for shelter from the east winds which are here very strong, the depth somewhat diminishes, but is never less than 9 fathoms.

Besides this channel of the Arabians[13], there are many others by which we may safely enter the straits; but we shall only mention one other, which they called the channel of Abyssinia, between the *Island of the Gates*, or *Prin*, and the promontory opposite to *Possidium*, which is on the Abyssinian shore, and is about five leagues broad; but in this space there are six great high islands, which being seen by sailors while without the straits are apt to put them in fear that there is no passage that way; but between all these islands there are large channels of great depth all of which may be taken without danger, or leaving them all on the right hand, we may pass in safety between them and the coast of Abyssinia. At noon on the 29th of January 1541, I took the altitude of the sun, which at its great height rose 62¾ degrees above the horizon, the declination of this day being 15 degrees, whence the latitude of the promontory *Possidium* and mouth of the straits is 12° 15′ N. The pilot took the same altitude with me, and being taken on the land, it cannot but be accurate.

Section III.

Continuation of the Voyage, from the Straits of Bab-el-Mandub, to Massua.

On the same night, two hours after midnight, we set sail from the mouth of the straits, and by day-light on the 30th we saw the land of both the Arabian and African coasts, being nearer to the latter. The wind blew hard at E. S. E. till noon, and we sailed to the N. W. and by W. making our way by a channel between the first islands and the coast of Abyssinia, till that day unknown to the Portuguese, being about 4 leagues distant from that coast. An hour after sunrise, we saw a range of islands along the coast, most of them low, stretching from S. E. to N. W. and which extended about 60 leagues. Continuing our course in this channel with

13 From this expression it is probable that Don Juan had described the channel between the island of Prin and the shore of Arabia, or rather the pilot island.—E.

with a fair wind, we saw many little islands on either side, at whatsoever part we cast our eyes. In this channel of the *Abyssins*, as it is called, it is not proper to sail by night, nor unless the wind is in the poop, as if the wind should change there is not room to turn to windward, neither can we come to anchor till so far forward *as the first of the first islands*, when we shall observe to sea-wards nine little islands, and from thence forwards the sea remains free and open to seaward, but towards the land there still are many islands. Some of these islands are about two leagues distant from the coast, but the greatest part of them are close to the land. The length of this channel, between the three first islands and the coast of Abyssinia is about 8 leagues, and the safest navigation is nearer the continent than the islands: But in my opinion no one ought to venture upon this passage without a pilot of the country.

On the 31st day of January we came to a shoal with six fathoms water, and to sea-wards of which, over against certain islands called the Seven Sisters, there is a very dangerous rock as I was told by the Moorish pilots; so that the safe navigations in this part is to go between the shoal and the land, and in no case to pass to seawards of the shoal. At night we came to anchor in a haven named *Sarbo*, or *Sorbo*, in 9½ fathoms water; having all this day seen many little islands close to the coast. On the 1st of February I landed at the port in this island of *Sarbo* taking the pilot and master along with me, that we might all three take the altitude of the sun. At its greatest height it was scarce 71° above the horizon, and the declination of that day being 13° 56′, the latitude was 15° 7′ N. About 24 leagues short of Massua, and 4 leagues from the Abyssinian coast, in lat. 15° N. there is a great cluster or archipelago of islands, some of which hardly rise above the surface of the sea, while others are so lofty that they seem to touch the clouds; and between these there are so many bays, ports, and harbours, that no wind can annoy us. All of these islands want water, except one very high island, called *Whale* Island by the Portuguese, because it very much resembles one, in which there is water and plenty of cattle, with a large haven in which ships may winter. Of all these islands that which is most out to sea is called in Arabic *Sarbo*, where we now lay at anchor. The island of Sarbo is about a league in length and half a league broad, all low land with many low barren trees, and covered with grass. In every place we found the marks

marks of men and cattle, but we only saw one camel, for which reason our men called it the Island of the Camel. Though we sought the whole island with much diligence we could find no water, except in one well dug in a stone which seemed intended to contain rain water. Between these islands there are numerous arms of the sea, reaches, and channels. At sunrise on the 4th of February, we set sail from the port of *Sarbo.* February 7th we sailed along many islands about three or four leagues distant from the main land, most of them very low, almost even with the sea. We passed to sea-ward of them all about a league, and about even-song time, we saw to sea-wards of us a very long range of islands about 5 leagues in extent and about four leagues from us, which lay N. W. and S. W. as far as I could discern. The coast all this day trended N. W. and by W. and S. E. and by E. so that the channel in which we sailed this day was about 5 leagues broad. The greatest part of this day I caused the lead to be constantly thrown, always having 25 fathoms on an ouze bottom.

Two hours after sunrise on the 8th of February we set sail, steering mostly to the N. W. and at sunset we were nearly entered into the channel between that point of *Dallac* which looks to the continent, and an island called *Shamoa* [1]. But as night was coming on, and many of the galleons were far astern, so that it might be difficult for them to hit the channel, and as besides the wind was now scarce, we took in our sails, and with our foresails only *we went rummore* [2], sailing to the south-east, and two hours after night-fall we cast anchor in 40 fathoms water the ground ouzing. All this day we saw many islands along the coast, so low and flat that they seemed to have no surface above water. The coast stretched N. W. and S. E. to a low point which is as far forward as the island of *Dallac.* On doubling this point, a great bay or creek penetrates ten or twelve leagues into the land.

The Island of Dallac is very low land, almost level with the sea, having no mountain or any other height. In the common opinion

1 In Purchas these two last mentioned places are named Dalaqua and Xamea, the Portuguese expressing our *k* by *qu*, and our *sh* by *x*; but we have preferred the more ordinary mode of spelling in modern geography.—E.

2 This expression is absolutely unintelligible, but in the context the ship is said to have returned to the south-east. It is used on a subsequent occasion apparently in the same sense, and perhaps means beating to windwards or drifting to leeward.—E.

opinion it is 25 leagues long by 12 in breadth. The side of the island opposite to the south stretches E.S.E. and W.N.W. being all the coast which I could see, and along the coast lay great numbers of little islands, all very low, and having the same direction with the coast. I only went along this coast of the island seven leagues, at two leagues from the land, and though the lead was often cast I never found ground. The metropolitan city or chief town is situated almost on the point of the island which lieth on the west side, and is a frontier to Abyssinia. It is called *Dallaca*, whence the island took its name. *Dallac*, in the Arabic language signifies *ten lacs*, because in former times the custom-house of this city yielded that sum yearly to the king. Every Arabian *lac* is 10,000 Xerephines; so that *ten lacs* are worth 40,000 crusadoes[3]. The west point of the island, opposite to Abyssinia, is distant from the continent about 6 or 7 leagues, and in this space there are five very flat islands. The first of these, one league from the point, called *Shamoa*, is two leagues in circuit, and contains some springs and wells. Between this island of *Shamoa* and the western point of Dallac, is the principal and most frequented channel for going to *Massua*. In this channel the water is 70 fathoms deep. The land of this island is red, and produces few trees, but plenty of grass. The king of it and all his people are Moors. He resides most part of the year at Massua, because of the trade which he carries on with the Abyssinians. At present this island and Dallac yields very little profit; for since the rise of Suakem, Massua, Aden, and Jiddah, it has lost its trade and reputation.

The 12th of February the whole of our fleet came into the harbour of Massua. Massua is a small island very low and flat, in which anciently stood the city of *Ptolomaida of the wild beasts*. This island is in length about the fifth part of a league, and a caliver-shot in breadth, being situated in a large crooked nook or bay of the sea, and near the north-west headland of the bay. The channel which divides it from the main land is about a falcon-shot across, and in some parts not so much, in which channel the harbour is situated, which is safe in all weathers, as all the winds that blow must come over the land, and it has not much current. The depth of water is eight or nine fathom with an ouze bottom. The proper entrance

3 A Xerephine being 3s. 9d., a lac is L.1875 sterling, and ten lacs are consequently L.18,750.—E.

entrance into this port is on the north-east by the middle of the channel, between the island and the main; because from the point which runneth to the E. N. E. a shoal projects towards the land, and the continental point of the bay hath another projecting towards the point of the island, both of which make it necessary for ships to avoid the land and to keep the mid-channel, which is very narrow and runs N. E. and S. W. Very near this island of Massua, towards the south and the south-west, there are two other islands, that nearest the main land being the larger, and that more out to sea being smaller and very round. These three islands form a triangle, being all very flat and barren, having no wells or springs; but in Massua are many cisterns for the use of the inhabitants. There are many shoals interspersed among these islands, but there is a channel through among them, through which gallies and rowing vessels may pass at full sea. This island of Massua, with all the coast from Cape *Guardafu* to *Swakem*, was only a short time before under the dominion of *Prester John;* but within these few years the king or sheikh of *Dallac* hath usurped it, and resides there the greater part of the year, because of the trade which he carries on with the Abyssinians, from whom he procures great quantities of gold and ivory. In the months of May and June, in consequence of excessive calm weather, the air of this island is exceedingly intemperate and unhealthy; at which season the sheikh and the other inhabitants go all to Dallac, leaving Massua entirely empty. All the coast of the bay of Massua on the main-land is extremely mountainous, till you come to a place called *Arkiko*[4] by the sea-side, where there are many wells of water, where the coast is more clear and open, with many fields and plains. Arkiko is about a league from Massua to the south, and through all these mountains and fields there are many wild beasts, as elephants, tygers, wolves, wild boars, stags, and elks, besides others not known to us; whence Massua was called *Ptolomaida of the wild beasts*, which is farther confirmed, as the latitude of Massua is the same as that assigned to *Ptolomaida*[5].

4 Arkiko, Arkoko, or Erkoko, by some erroneously called Erocco, and by De L'Isle, Arcua. In the edition of this journal by Purchas it is called Arquito. —Ast.

5 These are no proofs that Massua is on the spot formerly occupied by Ptolomaida; for the whole coast of Abyssinia is full of wild beasts, and since Ptolomy

Section IV.

Digression respecting the History, Customs, and State of Abyssinia.

Presbyter or *Prester John*, otherwise called *Prete Jani*, who is the king or emperor of the Abyssinians, is lord of all the land called anciently *Ethiopia sub Egypto*[1], or Lower Ethiopia; which is one of the most extensive dominions we know of in the world. This empire begins at Cape *Guardafu*, called anciently *Aromata*, whence running along the Red Sea, with desert and not very crooked coasts, it reaches to the boundaries of the rich city of *Swakem*. On the north side it borders on the warlike people of the *Nubys*, *Nuba*, or Nubians, who intervene between Abyssinia and the *Theabaid* or Upper Egypt. From thence it reaches a great way inland to the kingdom of *Manicongo*, including part of *Lybia Inferior*, and other interior parts of Africa towards the west; whence turning behind the springs and lakes of the Nile through burning and unknown regions, it endeth in the south upon the *Barbarian Gulf*, now known to the Portuguese who navigate that gulf, as the coasts of *Melinda* and *Magadoxa*. The Nile is still known by its ancient name, being called *Nil* by the Abyssinians, Egyptians, Arabians, and Indians. The springs and lakes of this river are on the confines which separate the land of the Abyssinians from the Cafres that inhabit the continent behind Melinda and Mozambique, as I was informed by some great lords and other persons of Abyssinia, whence it appears that the ancients had little knowledge respecting the origin of this river. Inquiring from these people, if it were true that this river did sink in many places into the earth, and came out again at the distance of many days journey, I was assured there

Ptolomy fixed the latitude solely by computed distances, it is next to impossible that these should exactly agree with real observations.—Ast.

1 That is Ethiopia *below* Egypt, or more properly to the *south* of Egypt. The expression *below* seems ridiculous, as Abyssinia or Ethiopia containing the sources of the Nile must be *higher* than Egypt at its mouth. But among Greek and Roman geographers, *above* and *below* meant respectively to the north and to the south.—E.

there was no such thing, but that during its whole course it was seen on the surface, having great breadth and depth, notwithstanding of what we read in the fifth book of the Natural History of Pliny. I made many inquiries respecting the causes of increase and overflowings of this river, which has been so much disputed by all the ancient philosophers, and received the most satisfactory solution of this question never before determined. Thus almost jestingly, and by means of very simple questions, I came to learn that which the greatest philosophers of antiquity were ignorant of.

The principal lords of Abyssinia informed me, that in their country the winter began in May, and lasted all June and July and part of August, in which latter month the weather becomes mild and pleasant. In June and July it is a great wonder if the sun ever make his appearance; and in these two months so great and continual are the rains that the fields and low grounds are entirely overflown, so that the people cannot go from one place to another. That this prodigious quantity of water hath no other issue or gathering-place excepting the Nile; as towards the Red Sea the country is entirely skirted by very high mountains. Hence that river must necessarily swell prodigiously and go beyond its ordinary bounds, as unable to contain such vast quantities of water, and overflows therefore both in Egypt and the other lands through which it passes. And as the territories of Egypt are the most plain of these, of necessity the overflowing there must be the more copious, as the river has there more scope and freedom to spread out its waters than in the high and mountainous lands of Abyssinia. Now, it is manifest that the inundations of the Nile in Egypt always begin when the sun is in the summer solstice, which is in June, while in July the river increases in greater abundance, and in August, when the rains diminish in Abyssinia, the river decreases by similar degrees to its former increase. Hence the manifest cause of the increase of the Nile is from the great and continual rains that fall in Abyssinia during the months of June and July. I was myself in Massua in the month of June and part of July, where I saw great storms of thunder and rain; and we saw within the continent great and constant black clouds; though the Abyssinians said what we saw was little in comparison of what it was in the inland country. We likewise know that the months of June and July are the winter season at the Cape of Good Hope and all the coast of Africa, where

the

the rains are continual. I was likewise told that the Nile formed many islands, especially one exceedingly large, in which was a great and rich city; which on due consideration must be the Island of *Meroe*. They told me also that on this great island, and all through the river, there were great numbers of fierce and pestiferous animals, which doubtless must be crocodiles. Enquiring if the river in a certain place fell from such a height, that with the noise of the fall those who inhabited the neighbouring towns were born deaf; they said that certainly in one place the river did fall over a great rock with a prodigious noise, but had no such effects.

As an extended account of the manners and customs of the Abyssinians would interfere with this journal, I must touch them only shortly, though most worthy of being known; more especially the causes of the overthrow and ruin of this empire in these our own days.

Atini Tingill, afterwards named David, *Prete Jani* or Emperor of Ethiopia, reigning in the year 1530, became so cruel and tyrannized so much over his subjects that he incurred their universal hatred. At that time *Gradamet*, king of Zeyla, made war on Abyssinia, encouraged by the great enmity of the people against their sovereign, and perhaps secretly invited by some of the great lords of the kingdom. On entering into Abyssinia, and having reduced some towns and districts, Gradamet divided liberally the spoils among his warriors, among whom he had 300 Turkish arquebusseers, who formed the main strength of his army. He likewise enfranchised all the inhabitants of the towns through which he passed, exempting the inhabitants from the taxes and impositions they had to pay to their sovereign, by which he gained to his party all the common people, and even many of the principal nobles of the kingdom [2].

King David sent an army against the king of Zeyla; but when the Turks began to shoot their calivers or arquebusses, among the Abyssinians, by which some of them were slain, they

2 Of the cruelties of David, several examples are given in the journal of Alvarez, such as the death of two *Betudetes*, the chief justice, two *Tigre mahons* or governors of Tigre, and four *Barnagassoes* or governors of the maritime country, in six years. This disposition increased with his years, and perhaps he intended to force some alteration in the religion of the country; which indeed sufficiently appears by his sending Alvarez and Bermudez as his ambassadors to the Pope.—*Purchas*.

they were seized with an universal panic and took flight. Proud of this victory, the king of Zeyla overrun the country, accompanied by a great number of Abyssinians, and advanced into that part of the south, towards Magadoxa and Melinda, where the vast treasures of the former kings of Abyssinia were secured on the top of an almost inaccessible mountain. Seeing every day the Abyssinians revolting to the Moors, David gathered a new army with which he marched against *Gradamet* and joined battle, but was again completely defeated, chiefly by means of the Turkish musqueteers: On which David withdrew to a strong post on a mountain, where in a few days he died, in the year 1539. After this great victory Gradamet marched immediately to the mountain where the treasure was deposited, which he assaulted and took, gaining possession of the largest treasure that ever was known in the world. On the death of David, those of the nobles who had continued to adhere to him, elected his eldest son in his stead, who was a young man under age; and that nothing might be wanting to assist the ruin of the kingdom, already almost irrecoverably reduced by the Moors, another party of the nobles appointed a different son of the late king to succeed to the throne. In this hopeless condition of his affairs, the unfortunate youth, having to contend at the same time against foreign invasion and domestic division, withdrew for personal safety to the mountain of the Jews.

In the interior of Abyssinia there is a very large and high mountain which can only be ascended by one very difficult path, and on its summit there is a large plain, having abundance of springs, with numerous cattle, and even some cultivation. The inhabitants of this mountain observe the law of Moses. Though I have carefully inquired, I could never learn how this people came into Abyssinia, and wherefore they have never descended from their mountain to mix with the other inhabitants of the country. The young king received a friendly entertainment from these Jews, who acknowledged him as their sovereign, and defended him against the king of Zeyla, who was unable to force his way up the mountain, aud had to retire. About this time we arrived at Massua, which put the Moors in great fear, and inspired new courage into the hearts of the Abyssinians, insomuch that the young king left the mountain of the Jews and took up his quarters with his adherents in other mountains towards the sea coast and nearer to Massua, whence he wrote many pitiful and imploring

ploring letters for assistance, to which favourable answers were returned giving him hopes of succour. We proceeded on our expedition to Suez; and being returned again to Massua, it was ordained to send an auxiliary force of 500 men under a captain, which was accordingly done and we set sail on our way back to India. Since that time, I have not learnt any intelligence whatever respecting the affairs of Ethiopia [3].

The Abyssinians are naturally ceremonious men, and full of points of honour. Their only weapons are darts, in which they figure to themselves the lance with which our Saviour was wounded, and the cross on which he died, though some wear short swords. They are very expert horsemen, but badly apparelled; and are much given to lying and theft. Among them riches are not computed by money, but by the possession of cattle and camels, yet gold is much valued. In their own country they are dastardly cowards, but in other countries valiant; insomuch that in India they say that a good *Lascarin*, or what we call a soldier, must be an Abyssinian; and they are so much esteemed in Ballagayat, Cambaya, Bengal, and other places, that they are always made captains and principal officers in the army. Their clothing is vile and poor. They wear linen shirts, and the great personages have a kind of upper garment called *Beden*. The vulgar people are almost quite naked. They eat *bollemus* and raw flesh; or if held to the fire, it is so little done that the blood runs from it. In the whole land there are no cities or towns, so that they live in the field under tents and pavilions like the Arabs [4]. They pride themselves on believing that the queen of *Sheba* was of their country, alleging that she took shipping at *Massua*, though others say at *Swakem*, carrying with her jewels of great value when she went to Jerusalem to visit Solomon, making him great gifts, and returned with child by him.

It is alleged in the history of Abyssinia, that when one of the Soldans of *Babylon* in Egypt made war many years ago upon their emperor, he gathered a multitude of people and turned the course of the Nile, so that it might not run into Egypt [5]. The Soldan, amazed at this vast enterprize, which he

3 The circumstances and fate of this Portuguese expedition into Abyssinia will be found in the next chapter of this work.---E.

4 The word used here in the edition of Purchas is *Alarbes*.—E.

5 According to Bermudez, this attempt was begun by *Ale Beale*, predecessor to *Onadinguel* or *Atine-tingil*.—Astl.

he believed would entirely ruin the land of Egypt, sent ambassadors with great gifts, and made peace with the emperor, giving a privilege to the Abyssinians to pass through his country without paying tribute, when on their way to visit the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the shrine of St Catharine on Mount Sinai. Some learned Moors whom I conversed with while in the Red Sea confirmed the truth of this relation.

SECTION V.

Continuation of the Journal of De Castro from Massua to Swakem.

WE set sail at sun-rising on the 19th of February from the bay which is half a league beyond Massua and half a league from the land. This day was very close and rainy, and numbering our fleet I found 64 rowing vessels; that is 3 galliots, eight small gallies, and 35 foists[1]. By night our north-west wind lulled, and it blew a little from the west. In the second watch it came on to rain; and in the middle of the morning watch we weighed anchor and rowed along shore till morning, during which time it rained hard. By evening of the 20th we were as far as the extreme point of the range of islands on the north side, about 14 leagues from Massua. The coast from Massua hither stretched N. N. W. and S. S. E. for these 14 leagues, and in some of the islands which lay to seaward we knew that there were cattle and water, with some few poor dwellings. The distance from these islands to the African coast might be about four leagues. The islands in this range having cattle and water are *Harate*, *Dohull*, and *Damanill*, which are all low and surrounded with shoals and flats. All the first watch of the night, having the wind fair at east, we sailed N. N. W. At the beginning of the second watch we came suddenly to certain very white spots, which threw out flames like lightning. Wondering at this strange event, we took in our sails believing we were upon some banks or shoals; but on casting the lead I found 26 fathoms. As this great novelty to us made no impression on the native pilots, and being in deep

1 The particular enumeration comes only to 46 vessels, so that the number of 64 in the text seems an oversight or transposition.—E.

deep water, we made sail again. On the 21st at day light, we saw off to seawards a low island of which the Moorish pilot had been afraid in the night.

At day light on the 22d we again set sail, and at noon my pilot took the altitude of the sun, and found our latitude 18° 30′ N. At this time we were abreast of a very long point of sand projecting from the main-land. After doubling this point, we found the sea very free, and sailed N. W. and by W. One hour after noon we came to a haven called *Marate*. All the coast on our left hand during this day stretched N. N. W. and S. S. E. the land by the sea shore being very low with not even a hillock; but within the land the mountains rise to such a height that they seem to reach the clouds. *Marate* is a very low desert island and without water, 66 leagues beyond Massua, of a roundish figure, and a league and a half in circuit. It is about three leagues from the main, and on the S. W. side which fronts the Ethiopean coast it has a very good harbour, safe in all winds, especially those from the eastern points; as on this side two long points stretch out from the island east and west, one quarter N. W. and S. E. between which the land straitens much on both sides, forming a very great and hollow bosom or bay, in the mouth and front of which there is a long and very low island, and some sands and shoals, so that no sea can come in. This haven has two entries, one to the east and the other to the west, both near the points of the island which form the harbour. The channel on the *east* stretches N. and S. one quarter N. W. and S. E. having three fathoms water in the shallowest place, after which it immediately deepens, and within the haven we have four and five fathoms near the shore, with a mud bottom. During the night the wind was from the east, but less than in the day, and we rode at anchor all night.

At sunrise on the 23d of February, we set sail from the island and port of *Marate*, finding seven fathom water and a sandy bottom [2]. At eleven o'clock we came to two small islands far to seawards, one called *Darata* and the other *Dolcofallar* [3], from whence to *Swakem* is a days sail. From noon we sailed N. W. by W. till even-song time, when we entered

2 Perhaps this refers to the *west* channel of the harbour, though not so expressed in the text.—E.

3 Named Daratata and Dolkefallar in Astley.

tered the channel of *Swakem*, in which, after sailing a league N. W. we had certain shoals a-head, on which account we altered our course to W. one quarter N. W. and sometimes W. to keep free of these shoals. We continued in this course about three leagues, till we saw a great island a-head of us, when we immediately tacked towards the land, and came to an anchor between certain great *shoals of stone* or sunken rocks, forming a good harbour named *Xabaque* [4], which in the Arabic means a net. It might be an hour before sunset when we came to anchor. This day my pilot took the sun at noon, and found our latitude *scarce* 19° N [5]. The shoals of Swakem are so many and so intermingled, that no picture or information were sufficient to understand them, much less to sail through among them; the islands, shoals, banks, rocks, and channels are so numerous and intricate. At the entrance among these shoals, there is to seaward a shoal under water on which the sea breaks very much, and to landward a small island, these two ranging N. E. and S. W. a quarter more E. and W. the distance between being three quarters of a league. Immediately on entering, the channel seemed large and spacious, and the farther we advanced so much more to seaward there appeared to us an infinite number of very flat islands, shoals, sand-banks and rocks, that they could not be reckoned. Towards the land side these were not so numerous; but it is the foulest and most unnavigable channel that ever was seen, in comparison with any other sea. What ought chiefly to be attended to in this channel, is always to keep nearer to the shoals that are to seawards, and as far as possible from those to landward. The breadth of this channel in some places is about half a league, in others a quarter, and in others less than a gun-shot. In the entry to this channel we had six fathoms, and from thence to the port of *Shabak* never less, and never more than 12. From the beginning of the shoals to *Shabak* may be about five leagues, and their whole length eight or nine. We have then another channel, more secure for ships and great vessels; and we may likewise pass these shoals leaving them all to seaward, going very close to the main-land, which is the best and most pleasant way.

On

4 More properly Shabak.—Ast.

5 Purchas in a side-note makes this the latitude of the harbour of *Xabaque;* but it is obvious that they had sailed a long way between noon, when the altitude was taken, and an hour before sunset, when they entered the harbour.—E.

On the 24th, at sunrise, we set sail from the port of *Shabak*, and rowed by so narrow a channel that our fleet had to follow each other in single line a-head, being only about a cross-bow shot over in the widest parts. In this narrow channel we were never more than a cannon shot from the main-land, and sometimes little more than a cross-bow shot; having shoals, rocks and banks on every side of us, all under water, yet we had always sufficient indications to avoid them; as wherever they lay, the water over them appeared very red or very green, and where neither of these colours appeared we were sure of the clearest channel, the water being there dark. Continuing by this channel among so many difficulties, we came to anchor at half an hour past eleven at a little low round island, in lat. 19° N. In this latitude Ptolomy places the mountain of the *Satyrs*[6]. Of this mountain the native pilots had no knowledge; but going about half a league into the land, I found the footsteps of so many kind of beasts, and such great flocks of *pianets*[7] as was wonderful. All these tracks came till they set their feet in the sea, and they occupied the greatest part of the field. I believe the fable of the *Satyrs* to have arisen from thence, and that they were said to inhabit these hills and mountains. It is to be noted that in the channel of four leagues from the harbour of *Shabak* to this island, the water is never less than two and a half fathoms nor deeper than eleven, and also that the tide at this island does not ebb and flow above half a yard. It begins to flow as soon as the moon begins to ascend towards the horizon, in the same order as already mentioned respecting Socotora.

The 26th at sunrise we departed from the island, rowing along a reef of rocks that ran between us and the land to which it was almost parallel, all the sea between it and the land being full of shoals and banks; but to seawards there were neither shoals nor banks nor any other impediment. At nine o'clock we came to anchor at a small island encompassed by many flats and shoals, where there was a good haven. This island was a league and a half from that we left in the morning, and 5 leagues short of *Swakem*. The 27th at sunrise

6 This mountain of the Satyrs may more properly be generally referred to the high range of mountains on this part of the coast, perhaps from abounding in the baboon called Simia Satyrus, or the Mandrill.—E.

7 I know not what to make of the *pianets;* but the footsteps of beasts reaching to the edge of the water may probably refer to amphibious animals, while the flocks of pianets may have been water-fowl of some kind.—E.

rise, we set sail from this second island, and two hours within the night we came to anchor a league and a half farther on in 28 fathoms water. The 28th we *bridled* our oars and set sail. At nine o'clock we anchored about two leagues from the land in 23 fathoms, on soft sand, like ouze or mud. This morning we found some shoals under water, but the sea always shewed itself very green or red over them. Two hours after noon we set sail again, and anchored at night in 37 fathoms on a sandy bottom, hard by an island a league and a half short of Swakem. The coast runs N. N. W. and S. S. E. having all along a shoal which extends near half a league into the sea. This land differs in nothing from that formerly described. The 1st March 1541, departing from this anchorage, and having doubled a point of land made by the shoal, we approached the land inwards by a channel, and came to anchor in the haven of the city of *Swakem.*

Swakem was called by the ancients the port of *Aspi*, as may be seen in the *third* table of Africa by Ptolemy. At this day it is one of the richest cities in the East[8]. It is situated within the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea, on the coast of *Ethiopia sub Egypto*, now called the land and coast of the *Abexii* or Abyssinians. Among famous places, this may be reckoned equal or superior to them all in *four* things. The *first* is the goodness and safety of the haven. The *second* in the facility and good service for lading and unlading ships. The *third* in its traffic with very strange and remote people of various manners and customs. The *fourth* in the strength and situation of the city. As touching the goodness and security of the port I shall first speak. Nature hath so formed this port that no storm from the sea can enter it in any direction. Within the haven the sea is so quiet, and runs so insensibly, that scarcely can we perceive it to have any tide. The ground is mud. The road in all places has five or six fathoms, and seven in some places; and is so large that two hundred ships may ride commodiously at anchor, besides rowing-vessels without number. The water is so clear that you may plainly perceive the bottom; and where that is not seen the depth is at least ten or twelve fathoms. The ships can be laden or unladen all round the city, merely by laying a plank from them into the warehouses of the merchants; while gallies fasten

8 This is to be understood of 1541, when visited by De Castro. Since the Turkish conquest, Mokha and other places have greater trade.—*Purch.*

ten themselves to stones at the doors of the houses, laying their prows over the quays as so many bridges. Now touching the trade and navigation of this port with many sorts of people, and with strange and remote countries, I know not what city can compare with it except Lisbon: as this city trades with all India, both on this side and beyond the Ganges; with *Cambaya*, *Tanacerim*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*; and within the Straits with *Jiddah*, *Cairo*, and *Alexandria*. From all Ethiopia and Abyssinia it procures great quantities of gold and ivory. As to the strength and situation of this city enough can hardly be said; since to come to it, the inconveniences, difficulties, and dangers are so great, that it seems almost impossible: as for fifteen leagues about, the shoals, flats, islands, channels, rocks, banks, and sands, and surges of the sea, are so many and intricate that they put the sailors in great fear and almost in despair. The situation of the city is this: In the middle of a great nook or bay, is a perfectly flat island almost level with the sea and exactly round, being about a quarter of a league in circuit, upon which the city of *Swakem* is built; not one foot of ground on the whole island but is replenished with houses and inhabitants, so that the whole island, is a city. On two sides this insular city comes within a bow-shot of the main land, that is on the E. S. E. and S. W. sides, but all the rest is farther from the land. The road, haven, or bay surrounds the city on every side to the distance of a cross-bow shot, in all of which space, ships may anchor in six or seven fathoms on a mud bottom. All around this bay there is a great shoal; so that the deep water is from the edge of the city all round to the distance of a bow-shot, and all beyond is full of shoals. In this bay there are three other islands on the land side to the north-west. The two which lie farthest in are small, but that nearest to the channel is about as large as the city. Between this island and the main sea, there is a large and very long channel, having seven fathoms water, all along which a great navy might safely ride at anchor, without any danger of annoyance from the city, whence only their masts could be seen. When the moon appears in the horizon it is full sea, and as the moon advances it ebbs till the moon comes to the meridian, when it is dead low water; and thence it begins again to flow till the moon sets, when it is again full sea. The entire ebb and flow of the sea at this city does not exceed a quarter of a yard. The most that it rises along the coast is a yard and a half, and in some

some places less than three quarters of a yard. But when I made this observation it was neap tide.

SECTION VI.

Continuation of the Voyage from Swakem to Comol.

WE remained in the haven of Swakem from the 1st to the 9th of March 1541, when an hour before sunset we weighed from before the city, and anchored for the night at the mouth of the channel. We weighed again on the 10th, and came again to anchor at night, when the dew was wonderfully great. On the 11th it blew a storm from the north, so violent that it raised great mountains of sand along the sea coast, after which it dispersed them, and the air remained obscured by the sand as if it had been a great mist or smoke. We remained at anchor all this day, and on the 12th we left this channel two leagues beyond *Swakem*, and being without the channel we made sail. About a league and a half from the coast there were so many rocks, shoals, and flats, on which the sea continually broke, that we had to take in our sails and row for three hours, till we got beyond these shoals, after which we again made sail. At evening we came to anchor within the bank by a very narrow channel, a league beyond that we had been last in, and three leagues from Swakem, but the channel within the entrance was large, with clean ground, and perfectly secure in all winds.

The 13th we went out of this channel an hour before day, and about a cannon-shot to seaward we saw a long range of shoals with broken water, seeming to stretch in the same direction with the coast. At eleven o'clock the wind turned to the N. N.W. and as our course was N. W. we were unable to make way, and had to fasten our vessels to the rocks on these shoals, where we lay about three hours. About two o'clock afternoon the wind freshened at N. N. E. and we made sail N. W. But coming to the bank landward, we took in our sails and rowed into a channel within the bank, where we came to anchor. This channel is very narrow and winding, being about seven leagues beyond Swakem, whence the coast to this place runs N. and S. and then N. by W and S. by E. I went ashore on the 15th to observe the order and flowing of the

the tide, and found it was full sea when the moon was two hours past the meridian, and was dead ebb two hours after the moon set. I found likewise that the ebb and flow of the tide at this place was 22 cubits [1]. The 16th we left this channel, with the wind at north, and cast anchor half a league out at sea. The 17th we entered a very good harbour named *Dradate* or *Tradate*, the coast from Swakem here winding N. by W. and S. by E. distance 10 leagues. The land behind the shore is all very low in that space, but three leagues back from the coast it rises into great and high mountains. This harbour of *Tradate*, in lat. 19° 50′ N. 10 leagues beyond Swakem, is one of the best in the world. The entrance is about a falcon-shot across, and grows narrower inwards, but has 20 fathoms water in its whole length with a mud bottom; and a quarter of a league within the land there is a famous watering-place at certain wells, where is the best water and in greatest plenty of any place on all these coasts. The 19th we sailed at day-light, and advanced 3½ leagues that day, having many shoals to seaward of us, and the coast for these 3½ leagues trended N. and S. On the 20th at sunrise the wind blew from the N. and the sea was rough, for which reason we had to seek shelter within the shoal, entering by a very narrow and difficult channel. After we were in, the wind came N. N. E. and we remained all day at anchor. The 21st we left the shoal with fine weather, the wind being at W. N. W. and sailed N. keeping about half a league from the land; and an hour after sunrise we came to a long and fair point of land called by Ptolomy the *promontory of Diogenes*. On the north side of this point is a large fine bay named *Doroo*, and at the extremity of this long bare point there is a large round tower like a pillar. At the entrance of this harbour or channel there are six fathoms water, which diminishes gradually inwards to three. The ground is hard clay, and the bay is very large with many creeks and nooks within, and many islands; many of these creeks penetrating deep into the mainland, so that in every place there may be many vessels hidden without being observed from the other branches of the harbour. A quarter of a league off to sea from the mouth of this harbour there is a shoal which defends it completely from the admission of any sea, as this shoal is above water, and has no

1 Considering the very small rise and fall of the tide at Swakem, the text in this place ought perhaps only to have been *inches*.—E.

no passage except by the entrance already mentioned, which trends E. by N. and W. by S. A cannon-shot from this bay there is a great well, but the water is very brackish.

On the 22d we left this harbour of Doroo at day light, proceeding by means of our oars, and found the sea very full of rocks, so that escaping from some we got foul of others, and at half past ten o'clock we had to fasten our vessels to the rocks. Proceeding onwards, we got towards evening in with the land, and having doubled a point we entered a very large bay named *Fuxaa*, or *Fushaa*, three leagues and a half beyond *Doroo*, the coast between stretching N. and E. with a tendency towards N. W. and S. E. This bay of *Fushaa* is remarkable by a very high sharp peaked hill, in lat. 20 15′ N. In the very mouth of the harbour there are two very low points, lying N. by E. and S. by W. from each other, distant a league and half. As no great sea can enter here it is a very good harbour, having 10 and 12 fathoms water on a mud bottom, diminishing inwards to five fathoms. Along the land within the bay on the south side there are nine small islands in a row, and in other places there are some scattered islets, all very low and encompassed by shoals. The land at this bay is very dry and barren, and it has no water.

On the 25th we continued along the coast, having many rocks to seawards about a league off; and at ten o'clock we entered a very large harbour named *Arekea*, four leagues beyond *Fushaa*, the coast between running N. and S. with some tendence to N. W. and S. E. *Arekea*, the strongest and most defensible harbour I have ever seen, is 22 leagues beyond *Swakem*. In ancient times it was called *Dioscori* according to Pliny. In the middle of the entry to this port there is a considerable island, about a cross-bow shot in length and breadth, having a bank or shoal running from it on the south side to the main land, so shallow that nothing can pass over it. But on the north side of this island the channel is about a cross-bow shot in breadth and 15 fathoms deep, running N. W. and S. E. and on both sides this channel is very shallow and full of rocks, the fair way being in the middle. This channel is about a gun-shot in length, after which the coasts on both sides recede and form within a large fine and secure harbour, about a league long and half a league broad, deep in the middle but full of shoals near the land, and it hath no fresh water. At this place it was agreed to

to send back all the ships to Massua, and to proceed with only sixteen small gallies or row boats.

Arrangements being accordingly formed, we set sail from *Arekea* on the 30th at noon, and came to an anchor in a port called *Salaka* four leagues beyond *Arekea* and 96 from *Swakem*, the coast trending N. and S. with a slight deviation to N. E. and S. W. The land next the sea has many risings or hillocks, behind which there are high mountains. It must be noted that all the land from Arekea onwards close behind the shore puts on this uneven appearance, whereas before that it was all plain, till in the inland it rises in both into high mountains. The 31st we sailed from *Salaka*, and an hour before sunset we made fast to the rocks of a shoal a league from the land and 17 leagues from *Salaka*, being 43 leagues from Swakem. From the port of *Salaka* the coast begins to wind very much; and from *Raseldoaer* or *Ras al Dwaer*, it runs very low to the N. N. E. ending in a sandy point where there are 13 little hillocks or knobs of stone, which the Moorish pilots said were graves. From this *point of the Calmes*[2] about two leagues, the coast runneth N. N. W. to a shoal which is 43 leagues from *Swakem*. This point is the most noted in all these seas, as whoever sails from *Massua*, *Swakem*, and other places for *Jiddah*, *Al Cossir*, and *Toro*, must necessarily make this point. The sea for the last seventeen leagues is of such a nature that no rules or experience can suffice for sailing it in safety, so that the skilful as well as the unskilful must pass it at all hazards, and save themselves as it were by chance, for it is so full of numerous and great shoals, so interspersed everywhere with rocks, and so many and continual banks, that it seems better fitted for being travelled on foot than sailed even in small boats. In the space between *Salaka* and *Ras-al-Dwaer*, but nearer to the latter, there are three islands forming a triangle, the largest of which is called *Magarzawn*, about two leagues long and very high ground, but has no water. This island bears N. and S. with *Ras-al-Dwaer* distant three leagues. The second island lies considerably out to sea, and is called *Al Mante*, and is high land without water; the third island is all sand and quite low, being four leagues from *Salaka* towards *Ras-al-Dwaer*, but I did not learn its name.

On

2 Meaning perhaps the sandy point near Ras-al-Dwaer. This paragraph is very obscure, and seems to want something, omitted perhaps by the abbreviator.—Astl.

On the 2d of April 1541, casting loose from the before-mentioned shoal, which is 43 leagues beyond *Swakem*, we rowed along the coast, and entered a river called *Farate*, about four leagues from the shoal; whence setting our sails we got into a fine haven a league from thence called *Kilfit*. All this day we saw no rocks to landward, but there was a shoal to seaward. *Farate* is a large and fair river, the mouth of which is in lat. 21° 40′ N. Its mouth is formed by two low points about a gunshot apart, from each of which a shoal stretches towards the middle, where only there is any passage. The river runs from the west to the east, having very low land on both sides, without either tree or shrub or bush of any kind. At the entrance it is 30 fathoms deep, and from thence diminishes to 18 fathoms. *Kilfit* is a fine harbour and very safe, as when once in, no wind whatever need be feared. There are at the entry two very low points bearing N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. and S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. distant near a quarter of a league. It is rather more than three leagues in circuit, and every part of it is safe anchorage, having 12 fathoms water throughout; the shore is however rocky. This harbour is rather more than a league from the river of *Farate*, between which is a range of mountains, one of which is higher than the others. We left *Kilfit* on the 3d, an hour before day, and rowed along the coast till an hour before sunset, when we anchored in a haven called *Ras al Jidid*, or the new cape, about nine leagues from *Kilfit*. This day we saw a few shoals to seawards, but fewer than before. Two leagues from *Kilfit* there is a very good haven named *Moamaa*; and from the *point of the shrubs* to another very long sandy point, about two leagues distant, before the port of *Ras-al-Jidid*, the coast runs N. and S. with a small deviation to the N. W. and S. E. the distance being about three and a half leagues [3]. *Ras-al-Jidid* [4] is a small but very pleasant haven, 57 leagues beyond Swakem, and so exactly circular that it resembles a great cauldron. There are two points at its entrance bearing N. and S. and on the inside the eastern winds only can do harm. All the ground is very clean, having 18 fathoms at the mouth and 13 within; and half a league inland there is a well of water, though not very plentiful,

3 This paragraph is likewise obscurely worded, and is perhaps left imperfect by the abbreviator.—Astl.

4 In some subsequent passages this harbour is called Igidid, probably to distinguish it from the point of Ras-al-Jidid.—Astl.

tiful, and bitterish. This port is a large half league in circuit. It is a singularity in all the rivers or harbours which I have seen on this coast, that they have no bars or banks at their mouths, which are generally deeper than within. On the land round this port, I found certain trees which in their trunk and bark resembled cork-trees, but very different in all other respects. Their leaves were very large, wonderfully thick, and of a deep green, crossed with large veins. They were then in flower, and their flowers in the bud resembled the flowers of the mallow when in that state: But such as were opened were white, and like the white cockle. On cutting a bough or leaf there run out a great stream of milk, as from the dug of a goat. On all this coast I saw no other trees, except a grove a little beyond Massua, in some marshy ground near the sea. Besides these trees, there are some valleys inland producing a few capers, the leaves of which are eaten by the Moors, *who say they be appropriate to the joynts.*

On the 4th of April, from sunrise till eleven o'clock, the wind blew a storm from the N. W. after which there was much and loud thunder, accompanied with hail, the stones being the largest I ever saw. With the thunder the wind veered about to every point of the compass, and at last it settled in the north. This day I carried my instruments on shore, when I found the variation $1\frac{1}{4}$ degree north-east [5], and the latitude by many observations 22° N. Though these observations were made on shore with great care, so that I never stirred the instrument when once set till the end of my observations, I am satisfied there must be some error; because the great heat cracked the plate of ivory in the middle, so that there remained a great cleft as thick as a *gold portague.* On the 6th, an hour before day, we weighed from the port of *Ras-al-Jidid*, and advanced about three and a half leagues. The 7th in the morning, the wind blew fresh at N. W. and we rowed to the shore, where at eight o'clock we fastened our barks to certain stones of a shoal or reef, lying before a long point which hereafter I shall name *Starta.* We went in this space about three leagues. About noon we made sail and proceeded in our voyage, but in no small doubts, as we saw on both sides of our course a prodigious number of shelves; we were

5 It is therefore probable that in all the bearings set down in this voyage, when applied to practice, either for the uses of geography or navigation, this allowance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ too much to the east ought to be deducted.—E.

were therefore obliged to take in our sails and use our oars, by means of which we came about sunset to a good haven named *Comol*, in which we anchored.

From a point two leagues beyond the harbour of *Igidid*, or *Ras-al-Jidid*, to another very long and flat point may be about four leagues, these two points bearing N. W. and S. E. between which there is a large bay; within which towards the long point at the N. W. is a deep haven so close on all sides that it is safe from every wind. This point is an island; from which circumstance and its latitude it seems certainly the island named *Starta* by Ptolomy. From thence to a great point of land over the harbour of *Comol* the distance may be five leagues; these two points bearing N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. and between them is a large fair bay. From the port of *Igidid* till half a league short of the harbour of *Comol*, the land close to the shore is all raised in small hills very close together, behind which, about a league farther inland, are very high mountains rising into many high and sharp peaks; and as we come nearer to *Comol* these hills approach the sea, and in coming within half a league of *Comol* they are close to the shore. Comol is eleven leagues beyond *Igidid*, and 68 from *Swakem*, and is in lat. 22° 30′ N. This port is in the second bay, very near the face of the point which juts out from the coast on the north-west side of this second bay. Though not large, the port of *Comol* is very secure, as towards the seaward it has certain reefs or shoals above water which effectually defend it from all winds. The land around it is very plain and pleasant, and is inhabited by many *Badwis* [6]. The north-west point which ends the bay and covers this port is very long and fair, being all low and level, being what was named by Ptolomy the promontory of *Prionoto* in his *third* table of Africa, since the great mountains which range along the whole of this coast end here.

SECTION

6 Named *Badois* in the edition of Purchas, but certainly the *Badwis* or *Bedouins*, signifying the *People of the Desert*, being the name by which the Arabs who dwell in tents are distinguished from those who inhabit towns.—Astl.

SECTION VII.

Continuation of the Voyage from the Harbour of Comol to Toro or Al Tor.

THREE hours after midnight of the 7th April 1541[1], we left the harbour of *Comol*, using our oars for a small way, and then hoisting sail we proceeded along the coast; but an hour before day-light some of our barks struck upon certain rocks and shoals, on which we again struck sails and took to our oars till day-light. At day-light, being then the 8th, we came to a spacious bay, of which to the north and north-west we could see no termination, neither any cape or head-land in that direction. We accordingly sailed forwards in that open sea or bay, but which had so many shoals on each side that it was wonderful we could make *any profit of a large wind;* for, *now going roamour*, *and now upon a tack*, sometimes in the way and sometimes out of it, there was no way for us to take certain and quiet[2]. About sunset we came to a very great shelf or reef, and fastening our barks to its rocks we remained there for the night. The morning of the 9th being clear, we set sail from this shelf, and took harbour within a great shelf called *Shaab-al-Yadayn*[3]. After coming to anchor, we noticed an island to seaward, called *Zemorjete*. This port and shelf trend N. E. by E. and S. W. by W. From the *cape of the mountains*[4], to another cape beyond it on which there are a quantity of shrubs or furzes; the coast runs N. E. by N. and S W. by S. the distance between these capes being about three and a half or four leagues. From this last point the coast of the great bay or nook winds inwards to the west, and afterwards turns out again, making a great circuit

1 In our mode of counting time, three in the morning of the 8th.—E.

2 This nautical language is so different from that of the present day as to be almost unintelligible. They appear to have sailed in a winding channel, in which the wind was sometimes scant, sometimes large and sometimes contrary; so that occasionally they had to tack or turn to windward. The strange word *roamour*, which has occurred once before, may be conjectured to mean that operation in beating to windward, in which the vessel sails contrary to the direction of her voyage, called in ordinary nautical language the short leg of the tack.--E.

3 Signifying in Arabic the shelf of the two hands.—Astl.

4 Probably that just before named *Prionoto* from Ptolomy, and called cape of the mountains, because the Abyssinian mountains there end.—E.

circuit with many windings, and ends in a great and notable point called *Ras-al-Nashef*, or the dry cape, called by Ptolomy the promontory *Pentadactilus* in his *third* table of Africa. The island *Zemorjete* is about eight leagues E. from this cape; and from that island, according to the Moorish pilots, the two shores of the gulf are first seen at one time, but that of Arabia is a great deal farther off than the African coast. This island, which is very high and barren, is named *Agathon* by Ptolomy. It has another very small island close to it, which is not mentioned in Ptolomy. Now respecting the shelf *Shaab-al-Yadayn*, it is to be noted that it is a great shelf far to seaward of the northern end of the great bay, all of it above water, like two extended arms with their hands wide open, whence its Arabic name which signifies *shelf of the hands.* The port of this shelf is to landward, as on that side it winds very much, so as to shut up the haven from all winds from the sea. This haven and cape *Ras-al-Nashef* bear from each other E. S. E. and W. S. W. distant about four leagues.

At sunrise on the 10th we set sail to the N. N. E. the wind being fresh and the sea appearing clear and navigable. When about half a league from the point we saw, as every one thought, a ship under sail, but on drawing nearer it was a white rock in the sea, which we were told deceives all navigators as it did us. After this we stood N. by E. By nine o'clock we reached an island named *Connaka*, and passed between it and the mainland of Africa. This island is small and barren, about half a league in circuit, and is about a league and a half from the main. It resembles a vast crocodile with its legs stretched out, and is a noted land-mark among navigators. *Connaka* and *Zamorjete* bear from each other N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. distant about six small leagues. About half an hour past ten, we reached a very long point of sand stretching far out to sea, called *Ras-al-nef*, which signifies in Arabic the point or cape of the nose. There is no high land whatever about this cape, but a vast plain field without tree or any green thing, and in the very face of the point stands a great temple without any other buildings, and on each side of it is a very clear sandy coast in manner of a bay. This cape of *Ras-al-nef* is famous among navigators, as all their trouble and danger ends on reaching it, when they consider themselves at home and secure. We continued our course from this cape along the coast with the wind at S. E. At noon my pilot took the altitude, and found our latitude 24° 10′ N. at which

which time we were beyond *Ras-al-nef* about three leagues, whence the latitude of that cape is 24° N. From this it appears that the ancient city of *Berenice* was built upon this cape *Ras-al-nef*, as Ptolomy places it on this coast under the tropic of *Cancer*, making the greatest declination of the sun at this place almost 23° 50′. Likewise Pliny says that at Berenice the sun at noon in the summer solstice gives no shadow to the *gnomon*, by which that city appears to have stood under the tropic [5].

Half an hour before sunset, we came to an island called *Shwarit*, but passing onwards a quarter of a league we came to some shelves of sand and others of rock, and anchored between them in a good harbour called *Sial*. These shelves and this port are 103 leagues beyond *Swakem*. On these shelves we saw a much greater quantity of sea-fowl than had been seen in any part of the Red Sea. From *Ras-al-Nashef* to the island of *Shwarit* may be between 16 and 17 leagues. After passing Cape *Ras-al-Nashef*, or the N. W. point of the great bay, the coast winds very much, running into the land, and pushing out again a very long point of land called *Ras-al-nef*, which two points bear from each other N. E. and S. W. almost ¼ more N. and S. distant about six leagues large. From *Ras-al-nef* forwards, the coast winds directly to the N. W. till we come to *Swarit*, the distance being between 10 and 11 leagues. In this distance the sea is only in three places foul with shoals; *first* to seaward of the island of *Connaka*, where there is a large fair shoal rising above water in a great ridge of large rocks, and running a long way toward the land; the *second* place is at the island of *Shwarit*, as both to the east and west of this island great shoals and flats stretch towards the main-land, so as apparently to shut up the sea entirely between that island and the main; the *third* is at this harbour of *Sial* where we anchored, where the sea is studded thick with innumerable shoals and flats, so that no part remains free. The island of Shwarit is a gun-shot in length and nearly as much in breadth, all low land, with a great green bush in the middle, and opposite to its east side there is a great rock like an island. *Shwarit* is little more than half a league from the main-land.

From

5 It may be presumed that the position given by Ptolomy is merely accidental, resulting from computed distances; and Pliny only speaks from the authority of Ptolomy. In all probability *Al Kossir*, to be afterwards mentioned, is the *Berenice* of the ancients.—Astl.

From *Swakem* all the way to *Ras-al-nef*, the countries are all inhabited by *Badwis* or *Bedouins*, who follow the law of Mahomet, and from *Ras-al-nef*, upwards to *Suez* and the end of this sea, the coast all belongs to Egypt, the inhabitants of which dwell between the coast of the Red Sea and the river Nile. Cosmographers in general call the inhabitants of both these regions *Ethiopians*. Ptolomy calls them Egyptian Arabs: Pomponius Mela and other cosmographers name them in general Arabs; but we ought to follow Ptolomy, as he was the prince of cosmographers. These Egyptian Arabs, who inhabit the whole country from the mountains to the sea, are commonly called *Bedwis* or *Bedouins*, of whose customs and manner of life we shall treat in another place.

We took in our sails on the 11th of April, and proceeded on our way by rowing. At nine o'clock we entered a great bay called *Gadenauhi* [6], about 4 leagues from *Sial*, the coast between trending N. W. and S. E. rather more to the N. and and S. The land over the sea, which for some way had the appearance of a wall or trench, becomes now very mountainous and *doubled*, shewing so many mountains and so close that it was wonderful. The port or bay of *Gadenauhi* is 107 leagues beyond *Swakem*, in lat. 24° 40′ N. It was low water *one hour after high noon* [7], and full sea when the moon rose above the horizon; and as the moon ascended it began to ebb, till the moon was an hour past the meridian, when it began to flow, and was full sea an hour after the moon set. By night the wind was N. W. Two or three hours after midnight we departed from *Gadenauhi* prosecuting our voyage. In passing between the shoal which comes from the N. W. point of the bay and the island of *Bahuto*, we stuck fast upon the shoal, and were much troubled, believing ourselves in a net or cul-de-sac; but we had no hurt or danger, and presently got into the right channel and rowed along shore, against the wind at N. W. till day. The 12th we rowed along shore, and came an hour after sunrise into a haven called *Xarmeelquiman* or *Sharm-al-Kiman*, meaning in the Arabic a cleft or opening in the mountains. This is a small but excellent harbour, 1½ league beyond *Gadenauhi*, and 108 leagues beyond *Swakem*, very much like the port of *Igidid*.

The 12th of April we set sail along shore, the wind being fresher

6 Perhaps *Wad-annawi*.—Astl.

7 This strange expression, as connected with the tide which is dependent on the moon, may possibly mean when the moon was in opposition to the north; or mid-way between her setting and rising.—

fresher and more large, at E. S. E. About noon it blew very hard with such impetuous gusts that it drove the sands of the coast very high, raising them up to the heavens in vast whirls like great smokes. About evening when the barks draw together, the wind was entirely calm to some, while others a little behind or before, or more towards the land or the sea, had it still so violent that they could not carry sail, the distance between those becalmed and those having the wind very fresh, being often no more than a stones throw. Presently after, the wind would assail those before becalmed, while those that went very swift were left in a calm. Being all close together, this seemed as if done in sport. Some of these gales came from the E. and E. N. E. so hot and scorching that they seemed like flames of fire. The sand raised by these winds went sometimes one way and sometimes another; and we could sometimes see one cloud or pillar of sand driven in three or four different directions before it fell down. These singular changes would not have been wonderful among hills; but were very singular where we were at such a distance from the coast. When these winds assailed us in this manner we were at a port named *Shaona*, or *Shawna*; and going on in this manner, sometimes hoisting and at other times striking our sails, sometimes laughing at what we saw, and other times in dread, we went on till near sunset, when we entered a port named *Gualibo* [8], signifying in Arabic the port of trouble, having advanced this day and part of the former night about 13 leagues.

From *Gadenauhi* to a port named *Shakara*, which is encompassed by a very red hill, the coast trends N. W. by N. and S. E. by S. the distance about 10 leagues; and from this red hill to a point about a league beyond *Gualibo*, the coast runs N. N. W. and S. S. E. distance about 6 leagues. In these 16 leagues, the coast is very clear, only that a league beyond the Red Hill there is a shoal half a large league from the land. In these 16 leagues there are many excellent ports, more numerous than I have ever seen in so short a space. At one of these named *Shawna*, which is very large, the Moors and native inhabitants say there formerly stood a famous city of the gentiles, which I believe to have been that named *Nechesia* by Ptolomy in his third book of Africa. Along the sea there runs a long range of great hills very close together and doubling

8 Perhaps *Kalabon*.—Astl.

doubling on each other, and far inland behind these great mountains are seen to rise above them. In this range there are two mountains larger than the rest, or even than any on the whole coast, one of which is black as though it had been burnt, and the other is yellow, and between them are great heaps of sand. From the black mountain inwards I saw an open field in which were many large and tall trees with spreading tops, being the first I had seen on the coast that seemed planted by man; for those a little beyond Massua are of the kind pertaining to marshes on the borders of the sea or of rivers; as those at the port of *Sharm-al-Kiman* and at the harbour of *Igidid* are wild and pitiful, naked and dry, without boughs or fruit. These two mountains are about two leagues short of the port of *Sharm-al-Kiman*. *Gualibo*, which is 122 leagues beyond Swakem, is very like the port of *Sharm-al-Kiman*; except that the one is environed by many mountains, while the land round the other is an extensive plain. The entry to this port is between certain rocks or shoals on which the sea breaks with much force, but the entry is deep and large. After sunrise on the 13th we left the port of *Gualibo*, and as the wind was strong at N. W. making a heavy sea, we rowed along shore, and at ten in the morning went into a port named *Tuna*, a league and half beyond *Gualibo*. *Tuna* is a small foul haven, beyond Swakem 123 leagues and a half, in lat. 25° 30′ N. The entrance is between rocks, and within it is so much encumbered with shoals and rocks that it is a small and sorry harbour; but round the point forming the north side of this harbour, there is a good haven and road-stead against the wind at N. W. the land round it being barren sand. To the N. W. of this there are three sharp mountains of rock, as if to indicate the situation of the harbour. One hour before sunset we fastened ourselves to a shoal a league beyond *Tuna*. This coast, from a league beyond *Gualibo*, to another point a league and a half beyond this shoal, trends N. N. W. and S. S. E distance four leagues.

The 14th April we rowed along shore, the sea running very high so as to distress the rowers; but beating up against wind and sea till past noon, we came into a fine bay, in the bottom of which we came to anchor in an excellent haven. This day and night we went about 5 leagues, and were now about 129 leagues beyond Swakem. For these five leagues the coast extends N.W. and S.E. the land within the coast being in some places

places low and plain, while it is mountainous in others. By day-light on the 15th we were a league short of *Al Kossir*, which we reached an hour and half after sunrise, and cast anchor in the harbour. During the past night and the short part of this day we had advanced about seven leagues, the coast extending N. N. W. and S. S. E. According to Pliny, in the sixth book of his Natural History, and Ptolomy in his third book of Africa, this place of *Al Kossir* was anciently named *Philoteras* [9]. All the land from hence to *Arsinoe*, at the northern extremity of the Red Sea, was anciently called *Enco*. This place is about 15 or 16 days journey from the nearest part of the Nile, directly west. This is the only port on all this coast to which provisions are brought from the land of Egypt, now called *Riffa*; and from this port of *Kossir* all the towns on the coast of the Red Sea are provided. In old times the town of *Kossir* was built two leagues farther up the coast; but being found incommodious, especially as the harbour at that place was too small, it was removed to this place. To this day the ruins of old *Kossir* are still visible, and there I believe was *Philoteras*. New *Kossir* by observations twice verified is in lat. 26° 15′ N. being 136 leagues beyong *Swakem*. The port is a large bay quite open to the eastern winds, which on this coast blow with great force. Right over against the town there are some small shoals on which the sea breaks, between which and the shore is the anchorage for frigates and ships coming here for a loading. The town is very small and perhaps in the most miserable and barren spot in the world. The houses are more like hovels for cattle, some built of stone and clay, and others of sod, having no roofs except a few matts which defend the inhabitants from the sun, and from rain if any happen now and then to fall as it were by chance, as in this place it so seldom rains as to be looked upon as a wonder. In the whole neighbouring country on the coast, fields, mountains, or hills, there groweth no kind of herb, grass, tree, or bush; and nothing is to be seen but black

9 In Purchas, Al Kossir is named Alcocer. Don John thinks this place to be the *Philoteras* of Ptolomy; but Dr Pocock places it 2° 40′ more to the north, making Kossir *Berenice*, which is highly probable, as it is still the port of *Kept*, anciently Coptos, or of *Kus* near it, both on the Nile, as well as the nearest port to the Nile on all that coast, which *Berenice* was. Dr Pocock supposes old Kossir to have been *Myos Hormos*: but we rather believe it to have been Berenice.—Ast.

black scorched mountains and a number of bare hillocks, which environ the whole place from sea to sea, like an amphitheatre of barrenness and sterility, most melancholy to behold. Any flat ground there is, is a mere dry barren sand mixed with gravel. The port even is the worst I have seen on all this coast, and has no fish, though all the other ports and channels through which we came have abundance and variety. It has no kind of cattle; and the people are supplied from three wells near the town, the water of which differs very little from that of the sea.

The most experienced of the Moors had never heard of the name of Egypt[10], but call the whole land from *Al Kossir* to Alexandria by the name of *Riffa*[11], which abounds in all kinds of victuals and provisions more than any other part of the world, together with great abundance of cattle, horses, and camels, there not being a single foot of waste land in the whole country. According to the information I received, their language and customs are entirely Arabic. The land, as I was told, is entirely plain, on which it never rains except for a wonder; but God hath provided a remedy by ordaining that the Nile should *twice a year*[12] overflow its natural bounds to water the fields. They said likewise that the Nile from opposite to *Al Kossir*, and far above that towards the bounds of Abyssinia, was navigable all the way to Alexandria; but having many islands and rocks, either it was necessary to have good pilots or to sail only by day. They told me likewise that the natives inhabited this barren spot of *Al Kossir*, as being the nearest harbour on the coast of the Red Sea to the Nile, whence provisions were transported; and that the inhabitants were satisfied with slight matts instead of roofs to their houses because not troubled with rain, and the matts were a sufficient protection from the sun: but made their walls of stone to defend themselves against the malignity and rapaciousness of the *Badwis*, a perverse people, void of all goodness, who often suddenly assaulted the place in hope of plunder, and frequently pillaged the caravans coming across from the Nile with provisions and other commodities.

The

10 No wonder, as *Messr* is the name by which Egypt is known to the Arabs.—E.

11 More properly *Al Rif*, which name more particularly belongs to part of Lower Egypt.—Ast.

12 This is erroneous, as the Nile only overflows *once* yearly.—E.

The 18th of April we fastened ourselves to a shoal about four leagues past *Kossir*, and set sail from thence at noon. The 19th, about half an hour past eight o'clock, while proceeding with fine weather, we were suddenly taken aback by a fierce gust at N. N. W. which obliged us to take shelter in an island called *Suffange-al-bahar* [13] or *Saffanj-al-bahr*, losing 4 or 5 leagues of way that we had already advanced. The name given to this island means in the Arabic *a sea-sponge*. It is 13 leagues beyond *Al Kossir*, in lat. 27° N. being in length about two leagues by about a quarter in breadth, all of sand without trees or water. Its harbour is good in all weathers; but upon the main land the number of bays, ports, and harbours about this place are wonderful. The best channel here is between the island and the main, along the coast of the continent, as on the side next the island there are some shoals. Likewise in the northern entry to this port there are other shoals which need not be feared in coming in by day, and in in the southern entrance there is a large rock in the very middle. The 20th at sunset we were about six leagues beyond this island of Safanj-al-bahr. From which island to a sandy point about 1½ league beyond, the coast trends N. N. W. and S. S. E. and from this point forwards to the end of the six leagues, the coast winds inwards to landwards forming a large bay, within which are many islands, ports, creeks, bays, and notable harbours. The 21st by day we were fast to the shore of an island called Sheduam, and the wind being calm, we rowed along the coast of the island, which, opposite to Arabia or the east side, is high and craggy, all of hard rock, three leagues long and two broad. This island is 20 leagues beyond *Al Kossir*, having no water nor any trees. It is between the two coasts of Arabia and Egypt, being five leagues from either. Beyond it to the north-west are three small low islands with shoals among them. An hour after sunset, we were upon the north cape or point of this island, whence we crossed towards the Arabian coast [14], and having no wind we took to our oars. Within a little it began to blow fair from the S. E. and we set sail steering N. W. At eleven next morning,

13 *Safanj-al-bahr*. In Arabic *Safanj*, *Sofinj* and *Isfonj*, all signify *Sponge*, which is obviously derived from the Arabic word.—Ast.

14 Probably meaning that part of Arabia between the Gulf of Suez and the Bahr-akkaba, called the promontory of Tor, of which Cape Mahomed forms the S. W. extremity.—E.

morning, we were upon the coast of the Stony Arabia, and soon sailed along its shore, entering two hours before sunset into the port of *Toro* or *Al Tor*, which may be seen from the island of Sheduam, distant 12 leagues, bearing N. by W. and S. by E.

Toro or *Al Tor* was of old called *Elana*, as may be seen in the writings of Ptolomy, Strabo, and other ancient writers, although our observation of the latitude differs materially from theirs. But they shew that *Elana* was situated in the most inward part of a very great gulf, called *Sinus Elaniticus*[15], from the name of this place *Elana*, and in lat. 29° 15′ N. Now we know that *Toro* is in lat. 28° 10′ N.[16] and lies upon a very long and straight coast. The cause of this great difference, if these places be the same, may have proceeded from erroneous information given to Ptolomy and the other ancient cosmographers. But that ancient *Elana* and modern *Toro* are the same, appears from this, that from thence to Suez both on the Arabian and Egyptian coasts of the Elanitic Gulf, not only is there no memorial or remains of any other ancient town, and the barrenness of the country, want of water, and rough craggy mountains, make it evident that in no other place could there be any habitation. Hence, considering that Ptolomy places Elana on the coast of *Arabia Petrea*, near adjoining to mount Sinai, and makes no mention of any town between it and the *City of Heroes* on the upmost extremity of the Elanitic Gulf where the sea ends; and as on this shore of Arabia there is neither town, village, nor habitation, coming so near the position assigned to *Elana* as *Toro*, and as it is impossible to inhabit between *Toro* and *Suez*, it seems just to conclude that *Toro* and *Elana* are the same place. The port of *Toro* seems likewise that mentioned in holy writ under the name of *Ailan*, where Solomon, king of Israel, caused the ships to be built which sailed to *Tarsis* and *Ophir* to bring gold and silver for the temple of Jerusalem: for taking away the second letter from *Ailan*, the ancient names are almost the same.

15 Don Juan entirely mistakes this point of antiquity, in consequence of not having learnt that there was another and eastern gulf at the head of the Red Sea; the *Bahr-akkaba* or real *Sinus Elaniticus*, on which is the town of *Ayla*, assuredly the ancient *Elana* or *Aylan*.—E.

16 If this observation be exact, the great promontory or peninsula between the gulfs at the head of the Red Sea must be extended too far south in the map constructed by Dr Pocock.—Ast.

same. Nor is it reasonable that it should be in any other place, as the timber for the navy of Solomon was brought from Lebanon and Antelibanus; and to avoid expences they would necessarily carry it to the nearest port, especially as the Jews then possessed the region of Idumea, and that part of the coast of Arabia Petrea which is between Toro and Suez. Strabo holds that *Elana* and *Ailan* are the same city; and when treating of this city in another place, he says, that from the port of *Gaza* it is 1260 furlongs to the city of Ailan, which is situated on the *inwardest* part of the Arabic Gulf[17]; "and "there are two, one towards Gaza and Arabia, called the "Sinus Elaniticus, from the city Elana which stands upon it; "the other on the Egyptian side towards the City of *Heroes*, "and the way from *Pelusium* to this gulf is very small." This is what I would pick out from ancient authors.

"As this is a point of great moment in geography, it deserves to be examined[18]. It is observable that Don Juan admits that both Ptolomy and Strabo make the Red Sea terminate to the north in two large gulfs, one towards Egypt and the other towards Arabia, at the end of which latter they place *Elana*. Yet here he rejects the authority of both geographers, alleging that both were mistaken, because Tor is situated on a very long and straight coast. He likewise cites Ptolomy as making the latitude of Elana 29° 15′ N[19]. yet accounts the difference between that position and the altitude found at Al Tor, 20° 10′, as of no significance here, though in former instances he had held the tables of Ptolomy as infallible. It is still stranger that Don Juan should after all admit of a gulf of *Elana*, as will be seen presently, and yet place it at a great distance, and at the opposite side of the sea from that on which Elana stands. However this may be, it is

17 Had Don Juan de Castro been acquainted with the eastern gulf at the head of the Red Sea, called the *Bahr-akkaba*, he would have more readily chosen *Ayla* for the seat of *Ailan*, and the dock-yard of the navy of Solomon, being at the *inwardest* part of the Red Sea, and the port nearest to Gaza. Besides, the portion of the text marked with inverted commas, seems a quotation by Don Juan from Strabo, which distinctly indicates the eastern or Elanitic Gulf, and points to *Ayla* as the seat of Elana and *Ailan*, and distinctly marks the other or western gulf, now that of Suez.—E.

18 This paragraph, marked by inverted commas, is a dissertation by the editor of Astleys Collection, too important to be omitted, and too long for a note.—E.

19 The latitude of Ayla in modern maps is about 29° 10′ N. having a very near coincidence.—E.

is certain that Don Juan, and not the ancients, has been misinformed on this matter; for not only the *Arab* geographers give a particular account of this eastern gulf, as will appear from the description of the Red Sea by *Abulfeda*, but its existence has been proved by two English travellers, Dr Shaw and Dr Pocock. The errors which Don Juan has here fallen into, has been owing to not having examined the coast on the side of Arabia; for until the fleet came to the island of Sheduam, it had sailed entirely along the African shore; and then, leaving the north part of that island, it passed over to the coast of Arabia[20] for the first time, where it may be presumed that they fell in with the land some way to the north of the S. W. point of the great peninsula between the two gulfs. This cape in the maps by De L'Isle and Dr Pocock is called *Cape Mahomet*. Still however as the island of Sheduam seems to lie nearer the eastern gulf, its north end being at least eighteen or twenty miles to the southward of Cape Mahomet, it is surprising that Don Juan and the whole fleet should overlook that gulf, which indeed was done before by the Venetian who sailed along the Arabian shore in the fleet of Solyman Pacha. What Don Juan says about the identity of *Elana* and *Ailan* or *Aylan* we shall not contend about, as the authority of Strabo, and the similarity of names are strong proofs. But we shall presently see that the Arabs place *Aylan* at the head of a great gulf; and the distance he cites from Strabo, 1260 stadia from Gaza to Aylan, supposing it to be exact, is a proof that *Aylan* cannot be the same with *Toro*. We shall only observe farther, that the positive denial by Don Juan of there being any such gulf as the *Elanitic* on the east or side of Arabia, may have been the reason why it was not laid down in the maps of *Sanson*, or by any geographer before *De L'Isle*."—Ast. I. 124. a.

The city of *Toro* or *Al Tor* is built on the sea-side along an extensive and fair strand or beach, and about a cannon-shot before coming to it we saw twelve palm-trees close together very near the sea; and from these a plain field extends to the foot of some high hills. These hills are part of a chain which extends from the straits of Ormuz or Persian Gulf, and which extend hither along the coast very high above the sea as far as Toro, where they leave the coast, "and with a great and

20 Properly speaking only to the Arabian coast of the Gulf of Suez, not at all to the Arabian coast of the Red Sea.—E.

and sudden violence return from thence to the main towards the north-east, as angry and wearied by so long neighbourhood of the waters." *Arabia Petrea* is divided by three mountains from *Arabia Felix*, and on the highest tops of them some Christians lead holy and quiet lives. A little way beyond Toro, on the borders of the sea, a mountain begins to rise by little and little; and thrusting out a large high cape or promontory, seems to those in the town like three great and mighty separate mountains. This town of Tor is small but well situated, all its inhabitants being Christians who speak Arabic. It has a monastery of friars of the order of *Monserrat*, in which is the oracle or image of *Santa Catalina* of Mount Sinai or St Catharine. These friars are all Greeks. The harbour of Toro is not large, but very secure, having opposite to the shore a long stony bank, between which and the shore is the harbour. At this place both the coasts of the gulf are only about three leagues distant.

Being desirous to learn some particulars concerning this country, I made myself acquainted with the friars, from whom I had the following information. They told me that Mount Sinai was *thirteen* small days journey into the land, or about 18 leagues [21]. The mountain is very high, the country around being plain and open, having on its borders a great town inhabited by Christians, into which no Mahometan can enter except he who gathers the rents and duties belonging to the Turks. On the top of the mountain is a monastery having many friars, where the body of the blessed Virgin St Catharine lay buried. According to Anthony bishop of Florence, the body of this Holy Virgin was carried away by the angels from the city of Alexandria and buried on Mount Sinai. They told me farther that about four months before our arrival this most blessed and holy body was carried from the mountain with great pomp, on a triumphal chariot all gilt, to the city of Cairo, where the Christians of that city, which are the bulk of the inhabitants, came out to receive it in solemn procession, and set it with great honour in a monastery. The cause of this strange removal was the many insults which the monastery on Mount Sinai suffered from the Arabs, from whom the friars and pilgrims had often to redeem themselves with money; of which the Christians of Cairo complained to the Turkish governor, and received permission to bring the

21 Surely this passage should be only *three* short days journey.—E.

the blessed and holy body to their city, which was done accordingly, in spite of a strenuous opposition from the friars of Mount Sinai. I am somewhat doubtful of the truth of this transportation, suspecting that the friars may have trumped up this story lest we might have taken the holy body from them, as they expected us with an army of 10,000 men: Yet they affirmed it for truth, expressing great sorrow for the removal. These friars told me likewise that several hermits lead a solitary and holy life in these mountains over against the town; and that all through the Stony Arabia, there are many towns of Christians. I asked if they knew where the Jews had passed the Red Sea; but they knew of no certain place, only that it must have been somewhere between *Toro* and *Suez.* They said likewise, that on the Arabian coast of the Gulf, two or three leagues short of Suez, was the fountain which Moses caused to spring from the rock by striking it with his rod, being still called by the Arabs the fountain of Moses, the water of which is purer and more pleasant than any other. They said that from *Toro* to *Cairo* by land was seven ordinary days journey, in which the best and most direct way was through Suez: But that since the Turkish gallies came to Suez they had changed the road, going two leagues round to avoid Suez, after which they turned to the west.

I afterwards conversed with a very honest, learned and curious Mahometan, whom I asked if he could tell where the Jews crossed the Red Sea; on which he told me that both in tradition and in some old writings it was said that the Jews, fleeing from the Egyptians, arrived on the coast of Egypt directly opposite to *Toro*, where Moses prayed to God for deliverance, and struck the sea twelve times with his rod, on which it opened in twelve several paths, by which the Jews passed over to the other side to where *Toro* now stands; after which the Egyptians entering into these paths were all destroyed to the number of about 600,000 men. That from *Toro* Moses led the Israelites to Mount Sinai, where Moses spake many times with God. I approved much of this opinion; for if the passage had been at Suez, as some insist, the Egyptians had no occasion to have entered into the sea for persecuting the Jews, as they could have gone round the bay and got before them, more especially as they were horsemen and the Jews all on foot. For though all these things came about by a miracle, we see always on like

 occasions

occasions there is a shew and manner of reason. I asked of this Moor if it were true that the Christians of Cairo had carried away the body of St Catharine from Mount Sinai; but he said he had never heard of it, neither did he believe the story; and that only four months before he had been in Cairo, which city they call *Mecara* [22], where he heard of no such thing. He thought likewise that the Christians about Mount Sinai would never have permitted such a thing, as they all considered that woman as a saint, and held her body in great reverence. He told me also that two or three leagues before coming to *Suez* there is a fountain which was given to the Jews at the intercession of Moses, whom they call *Muzaa*, the water of which surpasses all others in goodness. On inquiring what kind of a place was the town of *Suez*, he said he had never been there, as no person could enter that town except those appointed by the governor of Cairo for taking care of the gallies, nor come nearer than two leagues under pain of death.

Section VIII.

Continuation of the Voyage from Toro or al Tor to Suez.

We set sail the day after our arrival at Toro, being the 23d of April 1541, and on the 24th we were in the lat. of 27° 17′ N. At this place, which is 20 leagues beyond *Toro* and 52 leagues from *al Kossir*, the land of Egypt, or that coast of the Red Sea which continueth all the way from Abyssinia, comes out into the sea with a very long and low point, which winds a great way inwards to the land and more crooked than any other I have seen. After forming a large fine bay, it juts out into a large high cape or point, which is three short leagues from *Suez*, at the other extremity of this bay, and from that first promontory to *Suez* the land bears N. W. by N. and S. E. by S. The shore of this bay is very high and rough, and at the same time entirely parched and barren. The whole of this large bay, except very near the shore, is so deep that we had no ground with fifty fathom, and the bottom is a soft sand like ouze. This bay I hold to have been

22 Mecara, perhaps by mistake for Meçara or Mezara, which is very near Mesr as it is called by the Turks. Cairo is an Italian corruption of Kahera or al Kahira.--Astl.

been undoubtedly the *Sinus Elaniticus* of the ancients, though Strabo and Ptolemy, being both deceived in regard to its situation, placed it on the coast of Stony Arabia at *Toro.* This I mentioned before, when describing *Toro,* that Strabo says the Arabian Gulf ends in two bays, one called *Elaniticus* on the Arabian side, and the other on the Egyptian side where stands the *City of Heroes* [1]. Ptolemy evidently fixes the *elanitic sinus* on the coast of Arabia, where *Toro* now stands; which is very wonderful, considering that Ptolemy was born in Alexandria, where he wrote his Cosmography and resided all his life, and which city is so very near these places.

The 26th of April we set sail, and at eleven o'clock we lowered our sails, rowing along shore, where we cast anchor. Two hours before sunset we weighed again with the wind at north and rowed along shore; and before the sun set we anchored behind a point of land on the Arabian shore, which sheltered us effectually from the north wind, having advanced only a league and a half this day. This point is three *small* leagues short of *Suez*, and is directly east of the N. W. point of the Great Gulf, distance about a league. From this point, about half a league inland, is the fountain of Moses already mentioned. As soon as we had cast anchor we went on shore, whence we saw the end of this sea, which we had hitherto thought without end, and could plainly see the masts of the Turkish ships. All this gave us much satisfaction, yet mixed with much anxiety. As the wind blew hard all night from the north, we remained at anchor behind the point till day.

On the morning of the 27th, the wind blowing hard at N. N. W. we remained at anchor till ten, when we departed from the point and made for Suez with our oars. When about a league from the end of the sea, I went before with two *catures* to examine the situation of Suez and to look out for a proper landing-place. We got close up to Suez about three o'clock in the afternoon, where we saw many troops of horse in the field, and two great bands of foot-soldiers in the town, who made many shots at us from a blockhouse. The Turkish navy at this place consisted of forty-one large gallies, and nine great ships. Having completed the examination, and returned to our fleet, we all went to the point of land to the west

1 No description can be more explicit: but Don John unfortunately knew not of the eastern *sinus*, and found himself constrained to find both *sinuses* in one gulf.—E.

west of the bay, and came to anchor near the shore in five fathoms water, in an excellent harbour, the bottom a fine soft sand.

It is certain that in ancient times Suez was called the *City of Heroes*, for it differs in nothing as to latitude situation and bearings from what is said in Ptolomy, Table III. of Africa. More especially as Suez is seated on the uttermost coast of the nook or bay where the sea of Mecca ends, on which the City of Heroes was situated, as Strabo writes in his XVII book thus: "The city of *Heroes*, or of *Cleopatra*, by some called *Arsinoe*, is in the uttermost bounds of the *Sinus Arabicus*, which is towards Egypt." Pliny, in the VI. book of his Natural History, seems to call the port of Suez *Danao*, on account of the trench or canal opened between the Nile and the Red Sea. The latitude of Suez is 29° 45′ N. being the nearest town and port of the Red Sea to the great city of Cairo, called anciently *Babylon* of Egypt. From Suez to the *Levant Sea* or Mediterranean, at that mouth of one of the seven branches of the Nile which is called *Pelusium*, is about 40 leagues by land, which space is called the *isthmus*, or narrow neck of land between the two seas. On this subject Strabo writes in his XVII. book, "The isthmus between Pelusium and the extreme point of the Arabian Gulf where stands the *City of Heroes*, is 900 stadia." This is the port of the Red Sea to which Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, after the victory obtained by Augustus over Antony, commanded ships to be carried by land from the Nile, that they might flee to the Indians.

Sesostris King of Egypt and Darius King of Persia undertook at different periods to dig a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, on purpose to open a navigable communication between the Mediterranean and the Indian ocean; but as neither of them completed the work, Ptolomy made a trench 100 feet broad and 30 feet deep, which being nearly finished, he discontinued lest the sea-water from the Arabian Gulf might render the water of the Nile salt and unfit for use. Others say that, on taking the level, the architects and masters of the work found that the Sea of Arabia was *three cubits* higher than the land of Egypt, whence it was feared that all the country would be inundated and destroyed. The ancient authors on this subject are Diodorus Siculus, Pliny,

Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, and many other cosmographers [2].

Although the town of Suez had a great name of old, it is small enough at this time, and I believe had been utterly ruined and abandoned if the Turkish navy had not been stationed here. In the front of the land which faces the south where this sea ends there is the mouth of a small creek or arm of the sea entering a short way into the land, which extends towards the west till stopped by a hillock, the only one that rises in these parts: Between which creek and the bay or ending of the sea is a very long and narrow tongue or spit of sand, on which the gallies and ships of the Turks lie aground; and on which the ancient and warlike City of the Heroes is seated [3]. There still remains a small castle, without which are two high ancient towers, the remains of the City of Heroes which stood here in old times. But on the point of land where the creek enters there is a great and mighty bulwark of modern structure, which defends the entry of the creek, and scours the coast behind the sterns of the gallies if any one should attempt to land in that place. Besides this, there runs between the gallies and the strand, an entrenchment like a ridge or long hill, making the place very strong and defensible. Having considered this place attentively, it seemed to me impossible to land in any part except behind the little mountain on the west at the head of the creek, as we should be there free from the Turkish artillery, and likewise the possession of this hillock might contribute to our success against the enemy. But it is necessary to consider that all along this strand the water is shoaly for the breadth of a bow-shot, and the ground a soft sticking clay or sinking sand, as I perceived by examining the ground from the foist or cature, which would be very prejudicial to the men in landing.

In

2 This communication was actually opened about A.D. 635, by *Amru*, who conquered Egypt for *Moawiah*, the first *Ommiyan Khalifah* of Damascus. It was called *al Khalij al Amir al Momenein*, or the canal of the commander of the faithful, the title of the Caliphs. It was shut up about 140 years afterwards by *Abu Jafar al Mansur*.—Astl.

3 This description does not agree with the map or relation of Dr Pocock; which makes the sea terminate in two bays, divided by the tongue of land on which Suez stands. That to the N. W. is very wide at the mouth, and is properly the termination of the western gulf of the Red Sea. The other on tbe N. E. is narrow at the entrance, and is divided by another tongue of land into two parts.—Astl.

In regard to the particulars which I learnt concerning Suez, as told me by some of the men I met with, especially the Moor formerly mentioned whom I conversed with at Toro, I was informed that at the fountain of Moses, formerly mentioned as three leagues from Suez towards *Toro*, there had been a great city in old times, of which they say some buildings or ruins are still to be seen; but they could not say what had been its name. They told me also that the remains of the canal attempted to be made in old times from the Nile at the city of Cairo to Suez were still to be seen, though much defaced and filled by length of time, and that those who travel from Suez to Cairo have necessarily to pass these remains. Some alleged that this trench was not intended for navigation between the Nile and the Red sea, but merely to bring water from the Nile for the supply of Suez. They told me that the whole country from Suez to Cairo was a sandy plain, quite barren and without water, being three days journey going at leisure, or about 15 leagues. That in Suez and the country round it seldom rained, but when it did at any time it was very heavy; and that the north-wind blew at Suez the whole year with great force.

From *Toro* to *Suez* it is 28 leagues, without any island bank or shoal in the whole way that can impede the navigation. Departing from Toro by the middle of the channel, the run for the first 16 leagues is N. W. by N. from S. E. by S. in all of which space the two coasts are about an equal distance from each other, or about three leagues asunder. At the end of these 16 or 17 leagues, the coasts begin to close very much, so that the opposite shores are only one league distant, which narrowness continues for two leagues; after which the Egyptian coast withdraws very much towards the west, making the large fine bay formerly mentioned. The mid channel from the end of the before mentioned 16 or 17 leagues, till we come to the N. W. point of this bay trends N. N. W. and S. S. E. the distance being 8 leagues. In this place the lands again approach very much, as the Arabian shore thrusts out a very long low point, and the Egyptian coast sends out a very large and high point at the end of the bay on the N. W. side, these points being only a little more than one league asunder. From these points to Suez and the end of this sea, the coasts wind inwards on each side, making another bay somewhat more than two leagues and a half long and one league and a half broad, where this sea, so celebrated

celebrated in holy scripture and by profane authors, has its end. The middle of this bay extends N. and S. with some deflection to W. and E. respectively, distance two leagues and a half. On the coast between Toro and Suez, on the Arabian side, a hill rises about a gunshot above Toro very near the sea, which is all bespotted with red streaks from side to side, giving it a curious appearance. This hill continues along the coast for 15 or 16 leagues, but the red streaks do not continue more than six leagues beyond Toro. At the end of the 15 or 16 leagues this ridge rises into a great and high knoll, after which the ridge gradually recedes from the sea, and ends about a league short of Suez. Between the high knoll and Suez along the sea there is a very low plain, in some places a league in breadth, and in others nearer Suez a league and half. Beside this hill towards Toro I saw great heaps of sand, reaching in some places to the top of the hill, yet were there no sands between the hill and the sea: "Likewise by the clefts and breaches many broken sands were driven," whence may be understood how violent the cross winds blow here, as they snatch up and drive the sand from out of the sea and lift it to the tops of the hills. These cross winds, as I noticed by the lying of the sands, were from the W. and the W. N. W.

On the other or Egyptian side of this gulf, between Toro and Suez, there run certain great and very high hills or mountains appearing over the sea coast; which about 17 leagues above Toro open in the middle as low as the plain field, after which they rise as high as before, and continue along the shore to within a league of Suez, where they entirely cease. I found the ebb and flow of the sea between Toro and Suez quite conformable with what has been already said respecting other parts of the coast, and neither higher nor lower: Whence appears the falsehood of some writers, who pretend that no path was opened through this sea for the Israelites by miracle; but merely that the sea ebbed so much in this place that they waited the ebb and passed over dry. I observed that there were only two places in which it could have been possible for Sesostris and Ptolomy kings of Egypt, to have dug canals from the Nile to the Red-Sea: One of these by the breach of the mountains on the Egyptian coast 17 leagues above Toro, and 11 short of Suez; and the other by the end of the nook or bay on which Suez stands; as at this place the hills on both sides end, and all the land re-

mains

mains quite plain and low, without hillocks or auy other impediment. This second appears to me to be much more convenient for so great a work than the other, because the land is very low, the distance shorter, and there is a haven at Suez. All the rest of the coast is lined by great and high mountains of hard rock. Hence Suez must be the place to which Cleopatra commanded the ships to be brought across the isthmus, a thing of such great labour that shortness was of most material importance: Here likewise for the same reason must have been the trench or canal from the Nile to the Red Sea; more especially as all the coast from Toro upwards is waste, and without any port till we come to Suez.

During all the time which we spent between Toro and Suez, the heaven was constantly overcast with thick black clouds, which seemed contrary to the usual nature of Egypt; as all concur in saying that it never rains in that country, and that the heavens are never obscured by clouds or vapours: But perhaps the sea raises these clouds at this place, and farther inland the sky might be clear; as we often see in Portugal that we have clear pleasant weather at Lisbon, while at Cintra only four leagues distant, there are great clouds mists and rain. The sea between Toro and Suez is subject to sudden and violent tempests; as when the wind blows from the north, which is the prevailing wind here, although not very great, the sea is wonderfully raised, the waves being everywhere so coupled together and broken that they are very dangerous. This is not occasioned by shallow water, as this channel is very deep, only that on the Egyptian side it is somewhat shoaly close to the shore. "About this place I saw certain *sea foams* otherwise called *evil waters*, the largest I had ever seen, being as large as a target, of a whitish dun colour. These do not pass lower than Toro; but below that there are infinite small ones, which like the other are bred in and go about the sea [4]." While between Toro and Suez, though the days were insufferably hot, the nights were colder than any I ever met with.

SECTION

4 This passage respecting *sea foams* or *evil waters* is altogether unintelligible, unless perhaps some obscure allusion to *water-spouts* may be supposed.—E.

4

SECTION IX.

Return Voyage from Suez to Massua.

In the morning of the 28th of April 1541 we departed from before Suez on our return to Massua[1]. At sunset we were one league short of a sharp red peak on the coast, 20 leagues from Suez. At night we took in our sails and continued along shore under our foresails only, the wind blowing hard at N. N. W. Two hours within the night, we came to anchor near the shore in 3 fathoms, the heavens being very dark and covered by many thick black clouds. The 29th we weighed in the morning, and came into the port of Toro at nine o'clock, but soon weighed again, and came to anchor a league farther on, in a haven called *Solymans watering place*, where we took in water, digging pits in the sand a stones throw from the sea, where we got abundance of brackish water. Leaving this place in the morning of the 30th, we anchored at 10 in the morning at the first of the three islands, which are two leagues N. W. of the island of *Sheduam*. I went on shore here with my pilot, when we took the suns altitude a little less than 80°; and as the declination that day was 17° 36′ the latitude of this island is 27° 40′ N. At sunset on the 1st of May we set sail, and by even-song time we came to an island two leagues long, which thrusts out a point very close to the main land, between which and the island is a singularly good harbour for all weathers, fit for all the ships in the world. The 2d at sunset we came to anchor in the port of *Goelma*[2], which is safe from N. and N. W. winds, but only fit for small vessels. A short space within the land is the dry bed of a brook, having water during the floods of winter descending from the mountains. Digging a little way we found fresh water. There is a well here also, but

1 The fleet seems only to have been before Suez from 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th of April till the morning of next day the 28th, or rather Don Juan only went forwards to examine the possibility of landing. Yet De Faria says, II. 23. "That after many brave attempts made by several to view and sound the harbour, Don Stefano landed with his men, and being repulsed, chiefly by means of an ambush of 2000 horse, was obliged to retire." The silence of Don John respecting any military operations, and the shortness of time, leaves hardly room to suppose that any were attempted.--E.

2 Rather Kallama or Kalla'lma.—Astl.

but not abundant in water. This port, the name of which signifies in Arabic *the port of water*, is N. N. W. of *al Kessir*, distant 4 leagues.

The 4th of May we rowed along shore, and came to anchor near sunset, in a small but excellent harbour named *Azallaihe*, two leagues S. E. beyond *Shakara* between that place and the *black hillock*. We lay at anchor all night, the wind at N. N. W. *Bohalel Shame* is a deep, safe, and capacious port, in which many ships may ride at anchor. It was named from one Bohalel, a rich chief of the *Badwis* who dwelt in the inland country, and used to sell cattle to the ships frequenting this port. *Shame* signifies land or country; so that *Bohalel Shame* signifies the Land of *Bohalel* [3]. At this place we found an honourable tomb within a house like a chapel, in which hung a silk flag or standard, with many arrows or darts round the grave, and the walls were hung round with many *bulls* [4]. On an upright slab or table at the head of the grave there was a long inscription or epitaph, and about the house there were many sweet-scented waters and other perfumes. From the Moors and Arabs I was informed that an Arabian of high rank of the lineage of Mahomet was here buried; and that the *Sharifs* of Jiddah and other great prelates gave indulgences and pardons to all who visited his sepulchre: But the Portuguese sacked the house and afterwards burnt it, so that no vestige was left. On the shore of this harbour we saw many footsteps of tigers and goats, as if they had come here in search of water.

Having often occasion to mention the *Badwis* or *Bedouins* while voyaging along the coasts of their country, it may be proper to give some account of that people. These *Badwis* are properly the *Troglodites ophiofagi*, of whom Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, and other ancient writers make mention. These *Badwis* or *Troglodites* live on the mountains and sea-coasts from *Melinda* and *Magadoxa* to Cape *Guardafu*, and thence all along the coasts of the Red Sea on both sides, and along the outer coast of Arabia through the whole coast of the Persian Gulf; all of which land they may be more properly said to occupy than to inhabit. In Good Arabic, *Badwi* signifies one who lives only by cattle [5]. Those who dwell along the

3 Rather perhaps *Bohalel Shomeh*, meaning the lot or portion of Bohalel.—Astl.

4 Perhaps *Bells*.—E.

5 *Badwi*, or more properly *Badawi*, signifies a dweller in the field or in the desert, corruptly called by us *Bedouin*.—Astl.

the Red Sea from *Zeyla* to *Swakem*, and thence to *al Kossir*, are continually at war with the *Nubii* or *Nubians*; while those from *Kossir* to *Suez* perpetually molest the Egyptians. On the eastern coast of the Red Sea the *Badwis* have incessant contests with the Arabians. They are wild men, among whom there is no king or great lord, but they live in tribes or factions, allowing of no towns in their country, neither have they any fixed habitations, but live a vagabond life, wandering from place to place with their cattle. They abhor all laws and ordinances, neither will they admit of their differences being judged of by any permanent customs or traditions, but rather that their sheiks or chiefs shall determine according to their pleasure. They dwell in caves and holes, but most of them in tents or huts. In colour they are very black, and their language is Arabic. They worship Mahomet, but are very bad Mahometans, being addicted beyond all other people on earth to thievery and rapine. They eat raw flesh, and milk is their usual drink. Their habits are vile and filthy; but they run with wonderful swiftness. They fight afoot or on horseback, darts being their chief weapons, and are almost continually at war with their neighbours.

By day-light of the 10th May we weighed anchor from the port of *Igidid*[6], and an hour before sunset we fastened our barks to a shoal about four leagues south of *Farate*. In this shoal there is an excellent harbour, lying almost E. S. E. and W. N. W. but very crooked and winding, so large that we could not see to the other end. The 22d of May[7], by daybreak, we were a league short of the grove which stands four leagues north of *Massua*, having the wind from the land. At nine o'clock it began to blow fair from the N. N. E. and we entered the port of Massua at noon, where we were joyfully received by the fleet and army. From the 22d of May, when we entered Massua, the winds were always from the easterly points, either E. or S. E. or E. S. E. often with great storms. On the last day of June we had so violent a gale from S. E. that the galleons drifted and were in great danger of grounding. This storm was attended by heavy rain and fearful thunders, and a thunderbolt struck the mast of one of our galleons, which furrowed it in its whole length. On the 2d of July

6 Either Don Juan or his abbreviator has omitted part of the Journal at this place, from the port of *Azallaihe* to that of *Igidid*.—E.

7 Here again a considerable portion of the Journal is omitted.—E.

July we had another great storm from the east which lasted most of the day, and drove many of our vessels from their anchors. From thence to the 7th of July we had other storms, but small in comparison. On the 8th and 9th we had two desperate gales from the land.

Section X.

Return of the Expedition from Massua to India.

Having remained 48 days at Massua, we set sail from thence on our return to India on the 9th of July 1541, one hour before sunrise, and by day-break we were two or three leagues short of the north point of *Dallak*, and among some flat islands that have some woods, which islands are scattered in the sea to the north of Dallak. We sailed through a channel between two of these islands, having a fair wind almost N. W. our course being N. E. by N. After doubling a shoal we came to anchor, and at two in the afternoon we sailed again with a fair wind at N. N. E. coasting the island of Dallak. An hour before sun-set we came to a very flat sandy island, called *Dorat Melkuna*, from which on all sides extended great shoals. When the sun set we were a league short of the island of *Shamoa*, between which and the west side of Dallak, opposite the Abyssinian coast, is the most frequented channel for such as sail to Massua. All the coast of Dallak which we sailed along this day trends N. N. W. and S. S. E. and is very low. The 18th of July by day break we saw the mouth of the straits [1], about three leagues distant, "and we saw all the fleet *lye at hull*, and presently we set sail altogether [2]."

Before leaving the Gulf of Arabia or of Mecca, it may be proper to consider the reason why the ancients called this Gulf the *Red* Sea, and to give my own opinion founded on what I actually saw, whether it differ in colour from the great ocean. In the *sixth* book of his Natural History, Pliny quotes several opinions as the origin of the name *Erythros* given

1 A large portion of the Journal is again omitted at this place, either by Don Juan or his abbreviator, Purchas.—E.

2 Perhaps in coming in sight of the Strait, the ship of Don Juan was so much in advance as barely to see the hulls of the rest; and lay to till the rest came up.—E.

given to this sea by the ancients [3]. The first is, that it took its name from *Erythra*, a king who once reigned on its borders, whence came *Erythros* which signifies *red* in the Greek. Another opinion was that the reflexion of the sun-beams gave a red colour to this sea. Some hold that the *red* colour proceeds from the sand and ground along the sea coast, and others that the water was red itself. Of these opinions every writer chose that he liked best. The Portuguese who formerly navigated this sea affirmed that it was spotted or streaked with red, arising as they alleged from the following circumstances. They say that the coast of Arabia is naturally very red, and as there are many great storms in this country, which raise great clouds of dust towards the skies, which are driven by the wind into the sea, and the dust being *red* tinges the water of that colour, whence it got the name of the Red Sea.

From leaving *Socotora*, till I had coasted the whole of this sea all the way to *Suez*, I continually and carefully observed this sea, and the colour and appearance of its shores, the result of which I shall now state. First then, it is altogether false that the colour of this sea is red, as it does not differ in any respect from the colour of other seas. As to the dust driven by the winds from the land to the sea staining the water; we saw many storms raise great clouds of dust and drive them to the sea, but the colour of its water was never changed by these. Those who have said that the land on the coast is red, have not well observed the coats and strands: for generally on both sides the land by the sea is brown and very dark, as if scorched. In some places it appears black and in others white, and the sands are of these colours. In three places only there are certain parts of the mountains having veins or streaks of a red colour; and at these places the Portuguese had never been before the present voyage. These three places are all far beyond *Swakem* towards Suez, and the three hills having these red streaks or veins are all of very hard rock, and all the land round about

3 By Dr Hyde, in his notes on *Peritsol*, and Dr Cumberland, in his remarks on Sanchoniatho, and by other writers, *Erythros* or *Red* is supposed to be a translation of *Edom*, the name of *Esau;* whence it is conjectured that this sea, as well as the country of *Idumea*, took their denominations from *Edom*. But this does not seem probable for two reasons: *First*, because the Jews do not call it the *Red Sea* but *Yam Suf*, or the *Sea of Weeds*; and, *second*, the ancients included all the ocean between the coasts of Arabia and India under the name of the *Erythrean* or *Red Sea*, of which the *Persian* and the *Arabian* Gulfs were reckoned branches.—Ast. I. 129. c.

bout that we could see are of the ordinary colour and appearance. Now, although substantially the water of this sea has no difference in colour from that of other seas, yet in many places its waves by accident seem very red, from the following cause. From *Swakem* to *Kossir*, which is 136 leagues, the sea is thickly beset with shoals and shelves or reefs, composed of *coral stone*, which grows like clustered trees spreading its branches on all sides as is done by real *coral*, to which this stone bears so strong resemblance that it deceives many who are not very skilful respecting the growth and nature of coral.

This *coral stone* is of two sorts, one of which is a very pure white, and the other very *red*. In some places this *coral stone* is covered by great quantities of green ouze or sleech, and in other places it is free from this growth. In some places this ouze or sleech is very bright green, and in others of an orange-tawny colour. From *Swakem* upwards, the water of this sea is so exceedingly clear, that in many places the bottom may be distinctly seen at the depth of 20 fathoms. Hence, where-ever these shoals and shelves are, the water over them is of three several colours, according to the colour of these rocks or shelves, red, green, or white, proceeding from the colour of the ground below, as I have many times experienced. Thus when the ground of the shoals is sand, the sea over it appears *white*; where the coral-stone is covered with *green* ouze or sleech, the water above is greener even than the *weeds*; but where the shoals are of *red* coral, or coral-stone covered by *red* weeds, all the sea over them appears very *red*. And, as this *red* colour comprehends larger spaces of the sea than either the *green* or the *white*, because the stone of the shoals is mostly of *red coral*, I am convinced that on this account it has got the name of the *Red Sea*, and not the green sea or the white sea, though these latter colours are likewise to be seen in perfection.

The means I used for ascertaining this secret of nature were these. I oftentimes fastened my bark upon shoals where the sea appeared red, and commanded divers to bring me up stones from the bottom. Mostly it was so shallow over these shoals, that the bark touched; and in other places the mariners could wade for half a league with the water only breast high. On these occasions most of the stones brought up were of red coral, and others were covered by orange-tawny weeds. Whether the sea appeared *green*, I found the stones at the bottom were white coral covered with green weeds; and

and where the sea was white I found a very white sand. I have conversed often with the Moorish pilots, and with persons curious in antiquities, who dwelt on this sea, who assured me that it was never stained red by the dust brought from the land by the winds: I do not, however reprove the opinion of former Portuguese navigators; but I affirm, that having gone through this sea oftener than they, and having seen its whole extent, while they only saw small portions, I never saw any such thing. Every person with whom I conversed wondered much at our calling it the Red Sea, as they knew no other name for it than the sea of Mecca [4]. On the 9th of August 1541, we entered the port of *Anchediva*, where we remained till the 21st of that month, when we went in foists or barks and entered the port of Goa, whence we set out on this expedition on the 31st of December 1540, almost eight months before.

Table of Latitudes observed in the Journal of Don Juan [5].

	Deg.	Min.		Deg.	Min.
Socotora, - - -	12	40	Swairt island - -	24	10
Bab-al-Mondub * -	12	15	Gaudenauchi, port	24	40
Sarbo port, † - -	15	7 [6]	Tuna, haven - -	25	30
Shaback, scarcely -	19	0	Kossir * - -	26	15
A nameless island,	19	0	Safanj-al-bahr, island	27	0
Tradate, harbour -	19	50	Island, 2 leagues N. W. from Sheduan -	27	40
Fushaa, bay - -	20	15	Toro, town -	28	10
Farate, river - -	21	40	Anchorage, 20 leagues farther - -	29	17
Ras-al-Jidid, port †	22	0	Suez - - -	29	45
Comol, port -	22	30			
Ras-al-Nef, Cape -	24	0			

SECTION

4 This might have been the case among the pilots at this time; but among Arabic geographers it is likewise called the Sea of Hejaz, the Sea of Yaman, and the Sea of Kolzum.—Astl.

5 In this Table * denotes *two* observations having been made at the place; † indicates more observations than two; and all the rest only one. All of course north.—E.

6 In the enumeration of latitudes in Astleys Collection this is set down as 15 deg. 17 min. but in the text of Purchas it is stated as here.—E.

Section XI.

Description of the Sea of Kolzum, otherwise called the Arabian Gulf, or the Red Sea. Extracted from the Geography of Abulfeda [1].

The following description of the Red Sea was written by *Ismael Abulfeda* prince of *Hamah* in Syria, the ancient *Epiphania*, who died in the 733d year of the *Hejirah* or Mahometan era, corresponding with the year 1332 of the Christian computation, after having lived sixty-one years, twenty two of which he was sovereign of that principality. Greaves has mistaken both the length of his reign, which he makes only three years, and the time of his death [2]. Abulfeda was much addicted to the study of geography and history, and wrote books on both of these subjects, which are in great estimation in the East. His geography written in 721, A. D. 1321, consists of tables of the latitudes and longitudes of places, in imitation of Ptolemy, with descriptions, under the title of *Takwin al Boldan.* No fewer than five or six translations have been made of this work, but by some accident or other none of these have ever been published. The only parts of this work that have been printed are the tables of *Send* and *Hend*, or India, published in the French collection of Voyages and Travels by Thevenot; and those of *Khowarazm* or *Karazm*, *Mawara'l-nahar*, or Great Bukharia, and Arabia. The two former were published in 1650, with a Latin translation by Dr Greaves; and all the three by Hudson, in the third volume of the *Lesser Greek Geographers*, in 1712; from which latter work this description of the Red Sea is extracted, on purpose to illustrate the two preceding journals, and to shew that there

1 Astley, I 130. We have adopted this article from Astleys Collection, that nothing useful or curious may be omitted. In the present time, when the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope is about to be thrown open, it might be highly useful to publish a series of Charts of all the coasts and islands of the great Eastern Ocean; and among others, a Chart of the Red Sea, with a dissertation on its geography and navigation, might be made of singular interest and utility.—E.

2 See Gagnier's preface to the life of Mahomet by Abu'lfeda; and the preface of Shulten to that of Saladin—Astl. I. 130. d.

there really is such a gulf on the coast of Arabia as that mentioned by the ancients, that geographers may not be misled by the mistake of Don Juan de Castro. In this edition, the words inserted between parenthesis are added on purpose to accommodate the names to the English orthography, or to make the description more strictly conformable to the Arabic. The situations or geographical positions are here thrown out of the text, to avoid embarrassment, and formed into a table at the end. We cannot however warrant any of them, as those which may have been settled by actual observation are not distinguished from such as may not have had that advantage; which indeed is the general fault of oriental tables of latitude and longitude. The latitude of *Al Kossir* comes pretty near that formed by Don Juan de Castro; but that of *Al Kolzum* must err above one degree, while that of Swakem is more than two degrees erroneous.—Ast.

The author begins his description of the sea of *Kolzum* or of *Yaman* at *Al Kolzum* [3], a small city at the north end of this sea; which from thence runs south, inclining a little towards the east, as far as *al Kasir* (*al Kossir*) the port of *Kus* [4]. Hence it continues its course south, bending somewhat westward to about *Aidab* (Aydhab [5].) The coast passes afterwards directly south to *Sawakan* (Swakem), a small city in the land of the blacks, (or *al Sudan*). Proceeding thence south, it encompasses the island of *Dahlak*, which is not far from

3 Or *al Kolzom*, which signifies *the swallowing up*. Here, according to Albufeda in his description of *Mesr* or Egypt, Pharaoh was drowned, and the town and the sea took this name from that event. *Kolzum* is doubtless the ancient *Clysma*, as indicated both by the similarity of names, and the agreement of situation. It was in the road of the pilgrims from Egypt to Mecca, but is now destroyed. Dr Pocock places Clysma on his map about 13 min. south from Suez.—Ast. I. 131. b.

4 *Kus* is a town near the Nile, a little way south of *Kept*, the ancient *Koptos*; which shews that Kossir must be the ancient Berenice, as formerly observed in a note on the Journal of de Castro.—Astl. I. 131. c.

5 In this name of *Aydhab*, the *dh* is pronounced with a kind of lisp, like the English *th* in the words *the, then*, &c. About 1150, in the time of *al Edrisi*, this was a famous port, and carried on a great trade. Both the king of *Bejah* or *Bajah*, a port of Nubia, and the Soldan of Egypt, had officers here to receive the customs, which were divided between these sovereigns. There was a regular ferry here to *Jiddah*, the port of Mecca, which lies opposite, the passage occupying a day and a night, through a sea full of shoals and rocks. In his description of Egypt, Abulfeda says Aydhab belonged to Egypt, and was frequented by the merchants of Yaman, and by the pilgrims from Egypt to Mecca.—Astl. I. 131. d.

the western shore. Afterwards advancing in the same direction, it washes the shores of *al Habash (Ethiopia* or *Abyssinia)*, as far as the cape or mountain of *al Mandab* (or *al Mondub)*, at the mouth of the *Bahr al Kolzum* or Red Sea, which here terminates; the *Bahr al Hind*, or Indian Sea flowing into it at this place. The cape or mountain of *al Mandub* and the desert of *Aden* approach very near, being separated only by so narrow a strait that two persons on the opposite sides may see each other across. These Straits are named *Bab al Mandab*. By some travellers the author was informed that these Straits lie *on this side* of Aden to the north-west, a day and nights sail. The mountains of *al Mandab* are in the country of the negroes, and may be seen from the mountains of *Aden*, though at a great distance. Thus much for the western side of this sea. Let us now pass over to the eastern coast.

The coast of *Bahr al Kolzum* runs northward from *Aden* [6], and proceeds thence round the coast of *al Yaman* (or Arabia Felix), till it comes to the borders thereof. Thence it runs north to *Joddah*. From *Joddah* it declines a little to the west, as far as *al Jahafah*, a station of the people of *Mesr* (Egypt), when on pilgrimage to Mecca. Thence advancing north, with a small inclination towards the west, it washes the coast of *Yanbaak (Yamboa)*. Here it turns off north-westwards, and having passed *Madyan* it comes to *Aylah*. Thence descending southwards it comes to the mountain *al Tur* [7], which thrusting forwards separates two arms of the sea. Thence returning to the north, it passes on to *al Kolzum*, where the description began, which is situated to the west of *Aylah*, and almost in the same latitude.

Al Kolzum and *Aylah* are situated on two arms or gulfs of the sea, between which the land interposes, running to the South; which land is the mountain *al Tur* almost in the same longitude with *Aylah*, which stands at the northern extremity of

6 From Aden the coast leading to the Straits of Bab al Mandab runs almost due west, with a slight northern inclination, about 115 statute miles, or 1 deg. 45 min. of longitude to Cape *Arah*, which with Cape *al Mandab* from the two sides of the Straits of Mecca or Bab al Mandab, having the island of Prin interposed, considerably nearer to the Arabian than the African shore.--E.

7 A mountain so called near Sinai, which likewise goes by that name.—Ast: I. 151. h.--This mountain of *al Tur* forms the separation between the Gulf of *Suez* and that of *Akkaba*, its western extremity forming Cape Mahomed.—E.

of the eastern bay, while *al Kolzum* is at the northern extremity of the western gulf, so that *Aylah* is more to the east, and mount *al Tur* more to the south than *al Kolzum*. *Aylah* is situated on the inmost part of the promontary which extends into the sea. Between *al Tur* and the coast of *Mesr* (Egypt), that arm of the sea or gulf extends on which *al Kolzum* stands. In like manner that arm of the sea on which *Aylah* is situated extends between *al Tur* and *Hejaz*. From this mountain of *al Tur* the distance to either of the opposite coasts is small by sea, but longer about by the desert of *Fakiyah*, as those who travel by land from *al Tur* to *Mesr* are under the necessity of going round by *al Kolzum*, and those who go by land from *al Tur* to *Hejaz* must go round by way of Aylah. *Al Tur* joins the continent on the north, but its other three sides are washed by the sea. The sea of *al Kolzum*, after passing some way to the south-east from *al Tur* begins to widen on either side, till it becomes *seventy*[8] miles broad. This wider part is called *Barkah al Gorondal*.

Table of Situations, from Abulfeda[9].

	Lat.		Long.	
	deg.	min.	deg.	min.
Kolzum, - - -	28	20 N.	54	15 E.
——— by some - - -	-	-	56	30
Al Kossir, - - -	26	0	59	0
Aydhab - -	21	0	58	0
Swakem, - - -	17	0	58	0
Aden, - - -	11	0	66	0
Borders of Yaman, - -	19	0	67	0
Jiddah, - - -	21	0	66	0
Jahafah, - - -	22	0	65	0
Yamboa, - -	26	0	64	0
Aylah, - - -	29	0	55	0
——— - - -	28	50	56	40

POSTSCRIPT

8 These are to be understood as Arabian miles, $56\frac{2}{3}$ to the degree, or each equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ English miles according to Norwoods measure, $69\frac{1}{2}$ to the degree.—Astl. I. 132. b.

This would only give 80 English miles for the breadth of the Red Sea; whereas, immediately below the junction of the two northern gulfs, it is 104 miles broad, and its greatest breadth for a long way is 208 miles.—E.

9 The longitude is reckoned by *Abulfeda* from the most western shores on

POSTSCRIPT.—*Transactions of the Portuguese in Abyssinia, under Don Christopher de Gama*[1].

WHILE the Portuguese fleet was at Massua, between the 22d of May and 9th of July 1541, a considerable detachment of soldiers was landed at Arkiko on the coast of Abyssinia under the command of Don Christopher de Gama, brother to the governor-general, for the assistance of the Christian sovereign of the Abyssinians against Grada Hamed king of Adel or Zeyla, an Arab sovereignty at the north-eastern point of Africa, without the Red Sea, and to the south of Abyssinia. In the journal of Don Juan de Castro, this force is stated at 500 men, while in the following notices from De Faria, 400 men are said to have formed the whole number of auxiliaries furnished by the Portuguese[2]. This account of the first interferrence of the Portuguese in the affairs of Abyssinia by De Faria, is rather meagre and unsatisfactory, and the names of places are often so disguised by faulty orthography as to be scarcely intelligible. In a future division of our work more ample accounts will be given both of this Portuguese expedition, and of other matters respecting Abyssinia.—E.

Some time before the expedition of De Gama into the Red Sea, Grada Hamed the Mahometan king of Adel or Zeyla, the country called *Troglodltis* by some geographers, submitted himself to the supremacy of the Turkish empire in order to obtain some assistance of men, and throwing off his allegiance

on the Atlantic Ocean, at the *pillars of Hercules*; supposed to be 10 deg. E. of the *Juzair al Khaladat*, or the Fortunate Islands.—Ast. I. 134.

These latitudes and longitudes are so exceedingly erroneous as to defy all useful criticism, and are therefore left as in the collection of Astley without any commentary; indeed the whole of this extract from Abulfeda is of no manner of use, except as a curiosity.—E.

1 From the Portuguese Asia of De Faria, II. 24.

2 In an account of this expedition of the Portuguese into Abyssinia, by the Catholic Patriarch, Juan Bermudez, who accompanied them, this difference of the number of men is partly accounted for. According to Bermudez, the force was 400 men, among whom were many gentlemen and persons of note, who carried servants along with them, which increased the number considerably.—E.

ance to the Christian emperor of Abyssinia or Ethiopia, immediately invaded that country with a numerous and powerful army. On this occasion he took advantage offered by the sovereign of Abyssinia, to whom he owed allegiance, being in extreme youth, and made such progress in the country that the emperor *Atanad Sagad*, otherwise named *Claudius*, was obliged to retire into the kingdom or province of Gojam, while his mother, *Saban* or *Elizabeth*, who administered the government in his minority, took refuge with the *Baharnagash* in the rugged mountains of *Dama*, a place naturally impregnable, which rising to a prodigious height from a large plain, has a plain on its summit about a league in diameter, on which is an indifferent town with sufficient cattle and other provisions for its scanty population. On one side of this mountain there is a road of difficult ascent to near the top; but at the last part of the ascent people have to be drawn up and let down on planks by means of ropes.

While in this helpless condition, the queen got notice that Don Stefano de Gama was in the Red Sea, and sent the Baharnagash to him, desiring his assistance against the tyrant, who had overrun the country, destroyed many ancient churches, and carried off numbers of priests and monks into slavery. The embassador was favourably listened to; and it was resolved by the governor-general, in a council of his officers, to grant the assistance required. Accordingly Don Christopher de Gama, brother to the governor-general, was named to the command on this occasion, who was landed with 400 men and eight field-pieces, with many firelocks and abundance of ammunition. He was accompanied by Don Juan Bermudez, Patriarch of Ethiopia, whose presence was much desired by the Abyssinian emperor, on purpose to introduce the ceremonies of the Roman church.

Don Christopher de Gama and his men set out on their march from Arkiko under the guidance of the Baharnagash for the interior of Abyssinia, and the men endured incredible fatigue from the excessive heat, though they rested by day and marched only in the night. A whole week was spent in passing over a rugged mountain, whence they descended into a very pleasant flat country, watered by many rivulets, through which they marched for two days to the city of *Barua*, the metropolis or residence of the Baharnagash. Though much damaged in the late invasion, yet this place had several sight-

ly

ly buildings, divided by a large river, with goodly villages and country houses in the environs. The Portuguese were received at the gates by a procession of several monks singing a litany, one of whom made a speech to welcome them, extoling their generosity in coming to the aid of their distressed country: After which the Portuguese visited the church and encamped.

Don Christopher sent immediate notice of his arrival to the Emperor, who was at a great distance, and to the queen mother who was near, upon the mountain of Dama already mentioned. The Baharnagash was sent to conduct her from the mountain, having along with him two companies of the Portuguese as an escort, and brought her to Barua attended by a great retinue of women and servants. On her arrival, the Portuguese troops received her under arms, and the cannon were fired off to do her honour. The queen was seated on a mule, whose trappings reached to the ground, and she was hidden from view by curtains fixed to the saddle. She was clothed in white, having a short black cloak or mantle with gold fringes on her shoulders. From her white head dress a flowing white veil fell down that concealed her face. The Baharnagash led her mule by the bridle, having his arms bare in token of respect, while his shoulders were covered by a tigers skin; and on each side of her walked a nobleman in similar attire. She opened the curtains that surrounded her that she might see the Portuguese troops; and on Don Christopher going up to pay his compliments, she lifted her veil that he might see her. The reception on both sides was courteous. Don Christopher went afterwards to visit her and consult with her, when it was resolved by the advice of the Abyssinians to winter at that place, and to wait an answer from the Emperor. The answer came accordingly, expressing his joy for the arrival of the Portuguese succours, and desiring Don Christopher to march in the beginning of summer.

The Portuguese accordingly marched at the time appointed, and in the following order. Some light horse led the van, to explore the road: Then followed the artillery and baggage: After which came the queen and her attendants, with a guard of fifty Portuguese musqueteers: Don Christopher brought up the rear with the remainder of the Portuguese troops; and the Baharnagash with his officers secured the flanks. In eight days, the army came to the mountain of *Gané* of most difficult

ficult ascent, on the top of which was a city, and on the highest cliff a chapel, near which was a house hung round with three hundred embalmed bodies sewed up in hides. These external coverings were much rent with age, and discovered the bodies within still white and uncorrupted. Some supposed these were the *Roman* conquerors of the country; while others, and among them the patriarch, supposed them to have been martyrs. Encouraged by the presence of the Portuguese auxiliaries, many of the natives resorted to the queen. Don Christopher marched on to the mountain of Canete, well watered and having abundance of cattle, which, almost impregnable by nature was still farther strengthened by artificial fortifications. The emperors of Abyssinia used formerly to be crowned at this place, which was now held for the tyrant by a thousand men, who used often to come down from the mountain and ravage the open country.

Contrary to the advice of the queen and her councillors, Don Christopher determined to commence his military operations by assaulting this den of thieves. For this purpose he divided his force into three bodies, one of which he led in person, and courageously endeavoured to force his way by the three several passes which led to the summit. But after the most valiant efforts, the Portuguese were forced to desist from the attack, in consequence of great numbers of large stones being rolled down upon them by the enemy. After hearing mass on Candlemas day, the 2d of February 1542, the Portuguese returned to the attack, playing their cannon against the enemy; and though they lost some men by the great stones rolled down among them from the mountain, they at length made their way to the first gates, which they broke open, and forced their way to the second gates with great slaughter of the enemy, and the loss of three Portuguese. The enemy within the second and third gates, seeing only a few men of the vanguard, opened their gates, on which the Portuguese rushed in and maintained a hot contest with the enemy till Don Christopher came up with the main body, and pressed the enemy so hard that many of them threw themselves headlong from the rocks. Many women and children were made prisoners, and much plunder was taken. The queen and her retinue went up to the mountain, expressing great admiration of the Portuguese prowess, as the fortress had always been deemed impregnable by the Ethiopians. The patriarch purified a mosque, which he dedicated to the blessed virgin,

virgin, and in which mass was celebrated to the great joy both of the Portuguese and Abyssinians.

Placing a garrison of Abyssinians in this place under a native officer, the army marched on into the country of a rebel named *Jarse*, who now submitted to the queen and brought his men to her service, thinking nothing could withstand men who had conquered nature, so highly did they esteem the conquest of the mountain *Canete*. The king of Zeyla came on now with his army, covering the plains and mountains with his numbers, and exulting in the hopes of an easy victory over so small a number of men. Don Christopher encamped in good order near a mountain in full sight of the enemy. Palm Sunday and Monday were spent in skirmishing, with nearly equal loss on both sides, but the Portuguese had so far the advantage as to compel the enemy to retreat to their camp. Don Christopher found it necessary to remove his camp, being in want of some necessaries, particularly water; and on the king of Zeyla observing the Portuguese in motion from his position on the high grounds, he came down and surrounded the Portuguese in the plain, who marched in good order, keeping off the enemy by continual discharges of their artillery and small arms. The enemy still pressing on, Don Christopher ordered Emanuel de Cuna to face about with his company, which he did so effectually, that he obliged a body of Turks to retire after losing many of their men. The Turks rallied and renewed their attack, in which they distressed De Cuna considerably, so that Don Christopher was obliged to come in person to his relief, and fought with so much resolution that he was for a considerable time unconscious of being wounded in the leg. At this time the king of Zeyla came on in person, thinking to put a favourable end to the action, but it turned to his own loss, as many of his men were cut off by the Portuguese cannon. Don Christopher was in great danger of being slain, yet continued the action with great resolution, till at length the tyrant was struck down by a shot which pierced his thigh. His men immediately furled their colours and fled, carrying him off whom they believed slain though he was still alive. This victory cost the Portuguese eleven men, two of whom were of note. After the battle, the queen herself attended Don Christopher and all the wounded men with the utmost alacrity and attention.

After the respite of a week, the Portuguese army marched towards the enemy, who came to meet them, the king of Zeyla

Zeyla being carried in an open chair or litter. This battle was resolutely contested on both sides. A Turkish captain, thinking to recover the honour which had been lost in the former action, made a charge with the men he commanded into the very middle of the Portuguese, and was entirely cut off with all his followers. Don Christopher on horseback, led his men with such fury into the heat of the action, that at length he compelled the enemy to turn their backs and seek safety in flight. The king of Zeyla had infallibly been taken in the pursuit, had there been a sufficient body of horse to pursue and follow up the victory. In this battle the Portuguese lost eight men. After the victory, the allied army of the Portuguese and Abyssinians, on marching down to a pleasant river found it possessed by the enemy, who immediately fled with their king. At this time the king of Zeyla sent an embassy to the Pacha of Zabit acquainting him with the distress to which he was reduced, and prevailed upon him by a large subsidy to send him a reinforcement of almost 1000 Turkish musqueteers.

Don Christopher wintered in the city of *Ofar*, waiting the arrival of the Abyssinian emperor. While there a Jew proposed to him, if he were in want of horses and mules, to shew him a mountain at no great distance, inhabited by Jews, where he might find a large supply of both. On that mountain the king of Zeyla had a garrison of 400 men. Having inquired into the truth of this information, and found that it was to be depended upon, Don Christopher marched thither with two companies of Portuguese and some Abyssinians, and came to the foot of the mountain which is twelve leagues in compass. Some Moors who guarded the passes were slain in the ascent, and on the top the Moorish commander met him with all his men, but Don Christopher running at him with his lance thrust him through the body. The shot of the Portuguese soon constrained the Moors to make a precipitate flight, after losing a great number of men, and the mountain was completely reduced. Great numbers of horses and mules were found in this place, which was inhabited by about 800 Jews in six or seven villages, who were reduced to obedience. According to tradition, these Jews, and many others who are dispersed over Ethiopia and Nubia, are descended from some part of the dispersion of the ten tribes. The Jew who acted as guide to the Portuguese on this occasion, was so astonished at their valour that he was converted and baptised, and by

common

common consent was appointed governor of this mountain. Before this it had the name of *Caloa*, but was ever afterwards known by the name of *the Jews mountain*.

On the second day after the return of Don Christopher to the army, the king of Zeyla began to shew himself more bold than usual, trusting to the great reinforcement of Turkish musqueteers he had procured from Zabid. The youth and inexperience of Don Christopher allowed his valour to transport him far beyond the bounds of prudence. He ought to have retired to some strong position on the mountains, till joined by the emperor with the military power of Abyssinia, as it was impossible for him to contend against such great superiority, now that the king of Zeyla had so strong a body of musqueteers: But he never permitted himself to consider of these circumstances, till too late. On the 29th of August, the Turks made an attack upon the camp, and were repulsed, on which occasion Don Christopher was wounded in the leg and lost four men. In that part of the entrenchments defended by Emanuel de Cuna, the Turks were likewise repelled, with the loss of three men on the side of the Portuguese. In another part Francisco de Abreu was killed while fighting like a lion, and his brother Humphrey going to fetch off his body was slain and fell beside that he went to rescue. On this Don Christopher came up to relieve his men and performed wonders, till his arm was broken by a musquet-ball and he was carried off by a brave soldier. He was scarcely dressed when news was brought that the enemy had entered the entrenchments, and had slain Fonseca and Vello, two of his officers, on which he ordered himself to be carried to the place of danger. As the enemy were now decidedly victorious, some of the Portuguese abandoned their ranks and fled, as did the queen and the patriarch, both being mounted on fleet mares, each taking a different way, he from fear not knowing where he went, but she from choice as being well acquainted with the country. Don Christopher sent immediately to bring back the queen, as her flight was entirely ruinous, occasioning the disbanding of all the Abyssinian troops. But at length, seeing that all was lost, he grasped in despair a sword in his left hand, saying, *Let who will follow me to die like heroes in the midst of the enemy*. He was carried however from the field by mere force, with only fourteen men, accompanied by the queen and Baharnagash, seeking some place of safety. The night being excessively dark they lost their way and separated, the queen and

and Baharnagash being fortunate enough to get up a mountain as they were better acquainted with the country; but Don Christopher wandering with some companions, fell into the hands of the enemy, who carried him to the tyrant who was quite elated with his prize. The victors used their good fortune with the utmost barbarity, cruelly cutting down every one who fell in their way, which occasioned one to set a quantity of powder on fire that was in one of the tents belonging to the queen, by which all who were in or near it were blown up.

The king of Zeyla was quite elated by the capture of Don Christopher, whom he caused to be brought into his presence, and questioned him as to what he would have done with him, if defeated and made prisoner. "I would have cut off your head," answered Don Christopher, "and dividing your body into quarters, would have exposed them as a terror and warning to other tyrants." The king caused him to be buffeted with the buskins of his slaves; his body to be immersed in melted wax, and his beard interwoven with waxed threads, which were set on fire, and in this manner he was led through the army as a spectacle. Being brought back, the king cut off his head with his own hand, and caused the body to be quartered and exposed on poles. Where the head fell, it is said that there gushed out a spring of water which cured many diseases. On the same hour, a tree was torn out by the roots in the garden of a certain convent of monks, though the air was at the time perfectly calm. Afterwards, at the same hour, the emperor of Abyssinia having vanquished the tyrant and caused his head to be struck off, the tree which was then dry replanted itself in the former place, and became covered with leaves.

Most of the Portuguese who were taken on occasion of this defeat, perished in slavery. Alfonso Chaldeira followed the queen with thirty men. Emanuel de Cuna with forty got away to the Baharnagash and was well received. Sixty more followed the Patriarch Bermudez, making in all 130 men. Ninety of these went to the emperor, who was then near at hand, and very much lamented the slaughter among that valiant body of auxiliaries, and the loss of their brave commander. De Cuna with his forty men were too far off to join the Abyssinian emperor at this time. The emperor marched soon afterwards against the king of Zeyla, accompanied by ninety of the Portuguese who had joined him after the former defeat,

defeat, to whom he gave the vanguard of his army, in consideration of the high opinion he had of their valour. At the foot of the mountain of *Oenadias* in the province of *Ambea*, they met a body of 700 horse and 2000 foot going to join the king of Zeyla. Fifty Portuguese horse went immediately to attack them, and Antonio Cardoso who was foremost killed the commander of the enemy at the first thrust of his lance. The rest of the Portuguese followed this brave example, and slew many of the enemy, and being seconded by the Abyssinians, first under the Baharnagash and afterwards by the king in person, eight hundred of the enemy were slain and the rest put to flight, when they went rather to terrify the tyrant with an account of their defeat, than to reinforce him by their remaining numbers.

The king of Zeyla was only at the distance of a league with his army in order of battle, consisting of two bodies of foot of three thousand men in each, while he was himself stationed in the front at the head of five hundred horse. The emperor of Abyssinia met him with a similar number, and in the same order. The ninety Portuguese, being the forlorn hope, made a furious charge on the advanced five hundred of the enemy, of whom they slew many, with the loss of two only on their own side. The emperor in person behaved with the utmost bravery, and at length the horse of the enemy being defeated fled to the wings of their infantry. The king of Zeyla acted with the utmost resolution, even shewing his son to the army, a boy of only ten years old, to stir up his men to fight valiantly against the Christians. The battle was renewed, and continued for long in doubt, the emperor being even in great danger of fuffering a defeat; but at length a Portuguese shot the king of Zeyla in the belly by which he died, but his horse carried him dangling about the field, as he was tied to the saddle, and his army took to flight. Only a few Turks stood firm, determined rather to die honourably than seek safety in flight, and made great slaughter among the Abyssinians: But Juan Fernandez, page to the unfortunate Don Christopher, slew the Turkish commander with his lance. In fine, few of the enemy escaped by flight. The head of the king of Zeyla was cut off, and his son made prisoner. Being highly sensible of the great merit of the Portuguese to whom he chiefly owed this and the former victories over his enemies, the emperor conferred great favours upon them. De Çuna returned to Goa with only fifty men; and the

the other survivors of the Portuguese remained in Abyssinia, where they intermarried with women of that country, and where their progeny still remains.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE PORTUGUESE TRANSACTIONS IN INDIA, AFTER THE RETURN OF DON STEFANO DE GAMA FROM SUEZ IN 1541, TO THE REDUCTION OF PORTUGAL UNDER THE DOMINION OF SPAIN IN 1581.

IN our remaining account of the early Transactions of the Portuguese in India, taken chiefly from the Portuguese Asia of De Faria, we have not deemed it necessary or proper to confine ourselves rigidly to the arrangement of that author, nor to give his entire narrative, which often contains a number of trifling incidents confusedly related. We have therefore selected such incidents only from that work as appeared important or curious: And, as has been already done in the two immediately preceding chapters, containing the Voyages of Solyman Pacha, and Don Stefano de Gama, we propose in the sequel to make such additions from other authentic and original sources, as may appear proper and consistent with our plan of arrangement. These additions will be found distinctly referred to their respective authors as we proceed.—E.

SECTION I.

Incidents during the Government of India by Don Stefano de Gama, subsequent to his Expedition to the Red Sea.

DURING the expedition of Don Stephano de Gama up the Red Sea, some circumstances are related by De Faria which are not noticed in the Journal of Don Juan de Castro, who either thought proper to confine his narrative to nautical affairs, or his abreviator Purchas has omitted such as were military. On his voyage up the Red Sea, De Gama found most

most of the islands and cities abandoned, as the people had received notice of the expedition. The chief island was Massua, and the principal city Swakem, in about 19° of north latitude [1], which was well built and rich. The sheikh or king had withdrawn a league into the interior, and endeavoured to amuse De Gama with proposals of peace and amity, that he might save his insular city from being destroyed. The greatest injury occasioned by this delay was that it prevented De Gama from destroying the ships at Suez, the main object of his expedition, as so much time was gained that the news of his approach was carried to Suez, and the Turks were fully prepared for his reception. In revenge, De Gama marched into the interior with 1000 men, accompanied by his brother Don Christopher, and defeated the sheikh with great slaughter, making a considerable booty. Then returning to Swakem, that city was plundered; on which occasion many of the private men got to the value of five or six thousand ducats, after which the city was burnt to the ground.

Sending back the large ships from thence to Massua under the command of Lionel de Lima, de Gama proceeded on his expedition to Suez with 250 men in 16 catures or barks. At Al-Kossir, in lat. 25° N. [2] that place was destroyed. Crossing over to Toro, some vessels belonging to the enemy were taken. The Turks first opposed their landing; but some of them being slain, the rest fled and abandoned the city, in which nothing of value was found; but De Gama refrained from burning the city from reverence to St Catharine, as there was a monastery at that place dedicated to her, which he visited at the instance of the friars. Being to his great glory the first European commander who took that city, he knighted several officers, who very justly held this honour in great esteem, which was even envied afterwards by the emperor Charles V. The friars of this monastry of St Catharines at Toro are of the Greek church, and of the order of St Basil. The city of Toro is in lat. 28° N. [3] and is thought by learned cosmographers to be the ancient *Elana*.

Proceeding onwards to Suez, after many brave attempts to sound and examine the harbour, all of which failed, De Gama resolved in person and in open day to view the Turkish gallies. He accordingly landed with his soldiers; but the enemies

1 Lat. 19° 40'. 2 Lat. 26° 15'. 3 Lat. 28° 15'.

enemies shot from the town was well kept up, and 2000 Turkish horse broke out from an ambush; and, though some of the enemy were slain by the Portuguese cannon, De Gama and his men were forced to retire, much grieved in being unable to accomplish the great object of the expedition.

On his return to the fleet at Massua, he there found that owing to the severity of *Emanual de Gama* [4] a mutiny had taken place, and that 80 men had run away with a ship, designing to go into Ethiopia. They were met however by a captain belonging to the king of Zeyla, and most of them slain after a vigorous resistance. Five of the mutineers were found hanging on a gallows, executed by order of Emanuel de Gama, for having concealed the design of the other 80 who deserted. At their execution, thsee men cited De Gama to answer before *the great tribunal*, and within a month De Gama died raving mad.

About July 1541, while on its return from Massua to India, the fleet commanded by the governor Don Stefano de Gama encountered so severe a storm that one of the galliots sunk bodily, a bark was lost, and all the other vessels dispersed. During the continuance of this dreadful tempest, many religious vows were made by the people; but that made by one of the soldiers afterwards occasioned much mirth. He vowed, if he survived the tempest, that he would marry Donna Isabel de Sa, daughter to Don Garcia de Sa afterwards governor of India, which lady was one of the most celebrated beauties of the time. At length De Gama arrived at Goa; and as the ships from Portugal did not arrive at the expected time, and the public treasure was much exhausted by the late charges, he loaded the goods provided for the home voyage in four galleons, and dispatched them for Lisbon.

About this time *Nizamoxa* [5] wished to gain possession of the forts of *Sangaza* and *Carnala*, held by two subjects of Cambaya, on the frontiers of that kingdom, which were formidable from their strength and situation, and took them by assault

4 In a preceding passage, Lionel de Lima is mentioned as commanding the fleet; Emanuel de Gama may therefore be supposed to have commanded the ship that mutinied.—E.

5 In Portuguese *x* has the power of *sh* in English orthography; hence the name of this prince was perhaps Nizam Shah, and may be the same prince called in other places of De Faria *Nazamaluco* or *Nizam al Mulk*.—E.

assault in the absence of their commanders, who applied to Don Francisco de Menezes, the commander at Basseen to assist in their recovery, offering to hold them of the Portuguese. Menezes went accordingly with 300 Portuguese and a party of native troops, accompanied by the two proprietors, each of whom had 200 men. The fort of Carnala was taken by assault, and the garrison of Sangaza abandoned it on the approach of De Menezes. Having thus restored both commanders to their forts, De Menezes left Portuguese garrisons with both for their protection. Nizamoxa sent immediately 5000 men who ruined both districts, and the owners in despair resigned their titles to the Portuguese, and withdrew to Basseen, whence De Menezes sent supplies to the two forts, meaning to defend them. Nizamoxa sent an additional force of 6000 men, of which 1000 were musqueteers and 800 well equipped horse. This great force besieged Sangaza, to which they gave two assaults in one day, and were repulsed with great slaughter. Menezes went immediately to relieve the place with 160 Portuguese, 20 of whom were horse, together with several *naigs* and 2000 Indians. After a sharp encounter, in which the Portuguese were nearly defeated, the enemy fled from Sangaza, leaving all the ground about the fort strewed with arms and ammunition. In this engagement the enemy lost 500 men and the Portuguese 20. During the action a Portuguese soldier of prodigious strength, named *Trancoso*, laid hold of a Moor wrapped up in a large veil as if he had been a buckler, and carried him before his breast, receiving upon him all the strokes from the enemies weapons, and continued to use this strange shield to the end of the battle.

The governor Don Stefano de Gama happened at this time to be in *Chaul*, visiting the northern forts; and considering that the maintenance of Sangaza and Carnala cost more than they produced, and besides that Nizamoxa was in alliance with the Portuguese, delivered them to that prince for 5000 pardaos, in addition to the 2000 he paid before, to the great regret of De Menezes. Soon afterwards a fleet arrived from Portugal under Martin Alfonso de Sousa, who was sent to succeed Don Stephano de Gama in the government. This fleet had the honour to bring out to India the famous *St Francisco Xaviar*, one of the first fathers of the society of Jesus, both in respect to true piety and virtue. He was the first ecclesiastic who had the dignity of *Apostolic*

 Legate

Legate of all Asia, and was very successful in converting the infidels: But we shall afterwards have occasion to enlarge upon his great virtues and wonderful actions.

On his arrival in the port of Goa, Martin Alfonso de Sousa sent notice to Don Stefano de Gama at the dead hour of the night, which induced De Gama to return an answer unworthy of them both. Martin Alfonso found nothing to lay to the charge of Don Stefano, as those desired who instigated him to seek for offences; for Alfonso was a gentleman of much honour, and could never have thought of any such thing of himself. But, though he ought now to have checked himself, finding nothing against De Gama, he became the more inveterate; as it is natural for men when they are in the wrong to persist with obstinacy. Alfonzo vented his malice by refusing conveniencies to De Gama for the voyage home, which so disgusted him that he never waited upon Alfonso after resigning to him the sword of command.

Don Stefano arrived safe in Portugal, where he was received with much honour by the court, and with favour by the king; but refusing a wife offered by his majesty, he was disgraced, on which he went to reside at Venice. The Emperor Charels V. persuaded him to return to Portugal, assuring him of the kings favour; but he found none; for princes are more fixed in punishing a little omitted to please, than in rewarding much done for their service. On assuming the government of India, Don Stefano made an inventory of all he was worth, being 200,000 crowns; and when he left the government his fortune was found 40,000 crowns diminished. He was of middle stature, thick and strong built, with a thick beard and black hair, and a ruddy complexion. On his tomb was inscribed at his own desire, *He who made knights on Mount Sinai ended here.*

SECTION II.

Exploits of Antonio de Faria y Sousa in Eastern India [1].

WE have placed these exploits in a separate Section, because, although they appear in the Portuguese Asia as having taken place during the government of Don Stefano de Gama,

1 De Faria, II. 29 & seq.

yet is their chronology by no means well defined: and likewise because their authenticity is even more than problematical. In themselves they appear to carry evidence of overstepping the modest bounds of history; and there is reason to believe that they rest principally, if not altogether, on the authority of Fernan Mendez de Pinto, of notorious character. Yet they seem sufficiently curious to warrant insertion in this work; and it is not at all improbable that Antonio de Faria may have been a successful freebooter in the Chinese seas, and that he may have actually performed many of the exploits here recorded, though exaggerated, and mixed in some places with palpable romance.—E.

About this time Pedro de Faria, who was governor of Malacca, sent his factor MENDEZ DE PINTO with a letter and a present to the king of *Patane*, desiring him to procure the liberty of five Portuguese who were then slaves to his brother-in-law at Siam. Pinto was also entrusted with goods to the value of 10,000 ducats, to be delivered to the factor of De Faria at *Pam*. Having at that place made up a valuable cargo of diamonds pearls and gold, to the extent of 50,000 crowns, it was all lost one night in a tumult, occasioned by the following circumstance. There resided in Pam an ambassador from the king of Borneo, who one night detected the king of Pam in bed with his wife, and immediately slew him. On the death of the king becoming public, the people rose in commotion, more for the purpose of plunder than revenge. In this tumult about 4000 men were slain, and the Portuguese factors were robbed, and some of their companions slain. They made their escape to *Patane*, where they and other Portuguese asked leave of the king to make reprisals on three vessels belonging to merchants of Pam, which were then riding at anchor in the river *Calantam* 18 leagues off, richly laden from China. Getting the kings permission, they set out to the number of 80 persons in three vessels, and after a sharp engagement took and brought in these ships to Patane, where their cargoes were valued at 300,000 ducats. The people of Patane urged the king to take these ships from the Portuguese; but he decided that the 50,000 crowns should be made good to them of which they had been plundered at Pam; on which the merchants paid that sum and were allowed to continue their voyage.

About the same period, *Pedro de Faria y Sousa* sent his kinsman *Antonio de Faria y Sousa* to treat of important affairs with

with the king of *Patane*, and in particular to preserve peace with that prince. Antonio carried goods with him to the value of 12,000 ducats, and finding no sale for them at that place, he sent them to the port of *Lugor* in the kingdom of Siam, a place of great trade, where he was informed they would sell to great advantage. He intrusted the charge of this valuable cargo to *Christopher Borallo*, who was surprised while at anchor in the mouth of the Lugor river by, Khodjah Husseyn, a Moor of Guzerat, who commanded a vessel well stored with artillery, and manned with 80 Turks and Moors. Borallo thought himself happy in escaping from these pirates by swimming on shore, and brought the news of this disaster to Antonio de Faria at Patane, who vowed that he would never desist till he had destroyed Husseyn, in revenge for this loss. Husseyn was equally inveterate against the Portuguese, ever since Hector de Silveyra had taken a ship belonging to him in the sea of Guzerat, killing his father and two brothers, and had continually exerted himself in robbing and murdering the Portuguese. Owing to this loss and his determination of revenge, Antonio de Faria was led to the performance of those brave actions which I now mean to relate with all my usual sincerity, without affection for my kindred.

Antonio accordingly fitted out a small vessel with 50 men, in which he sailed from Patane on Saturday the 8th May 1540, and steered north-east towards the kingdom of *Champa* or *Tsiompa*, to examine that coast. He here saw the island of *Pulo Condor*, in lat. 3° 20′ N [2]. and then to the eastwards rounded one six leagues from the coast of Cambodia. Entering the port of *Bralapisam*, he found there a vessel of the *Lequii*, having on board an ambassador from the prince of the island of *Lossa* [3] in 36° of north latitude, for the king of Siam. As soon as this vessel espied the Portuguese ship, it weighed anchor and sailed away. Faria sent after them a Chinese pilot with a civil message, who brought back this remarkable answer, " We return thanks: The time will come " when our nation shall have commerce with that captain in " real friendship, through the law of the supreme God, whose " clemency is boundless, since by his death he gave life to all " mankind, and remains an everlasting faith in the house of " the

2 Pulo Condor, off the mouths of the Japanese river, is in lat. 8° 40′ N. Perhaps the figure 3 in the text is a typographical error.—E.

3 Possibly Luzon in lat. 16° N. may be here meant. Unless we can suppose some part of Japan may be intended, which is in the latitude of the text.—E.

" the good. We confidently hold that this will be when half " the times are past[4]." The pilot also brought back a rich cymeter in a scabbard of beaten gold, with a handle of the same, splendidly ornamented with pearls of great value. Antonio would have made a return, but the vessel could not be overtaken. From thence Antonio proceeded to the river *Pulo Cambier*, which divides the kingdoms of *Cambodia* and *Tsiompa*. At the town of *Catimparu*, he was informed that great river took its rise in the lake of *Pinator*, 260 leagues westwards in the kingdom of *Quitirvam*, encompassed with high mountains, around which lake there are 38 towns, 13 of which are considerable, where was a gold mine that yielded 22 millions of crowns yearly. It belonged to *four* lords, who were engaged in continual wars for its possession. At *Bauquerim* likewise there is a mine of the finest diamonds: and from the disposition of the people they might easily be conquered by the Portuguese.

Coasting along, Antonio came to anchor in the mouth of the river *Toobasoy*, fearing to go up. At this place he espied a large vessel to which he made signs of peace, but received a rude answer. As night drew on, it was thought proper to wait for day; but in the dark first one vessel and then three more were descried coming towards them, and forty men from the first vessel boarded them, but were all slain, their vessel taken and the others burnt. A black, who was taken on this occasion, declared himself a Christian, saying he had been slave to Gaspar de Melo, who had been taken by the pirate *Similau* along with 26 other Portuguese, all of whom he had barbarously put to death. The black said that Similau had another vessel in the port richly laden, having only a few men on board. Similau with the other prisoners were put to the same death they had used to inflict on others. As soon as day appeared that other vessel was taken, and the booty in silver only amounted to 60,000 ducats, besides other goods. Thus enriched, Antonio went on to the river *Tinacoreu* or *Varela*, where the ships of Siam and Malacca, trading with China, barter their goods for gold, *calamba*, and ivory, with which

4 This strange oracular message, and indeed most of the wonderful deeds of Antonio de Faria, smells strongly of *Mendez de Pinto*, the factor of Pedro de Faria, who has been characterised as the *prince of liars*. Indeed the editor of Astleys Collection says that his name ought to be *Mendax* de Pinto. —E.

which that country abounds. He anchored off a small town called *Tayquileu*, the inhabitants of which called the Portuguese the *bearded people;* for though these people had beards, theirs were short and thin, whereas those of the Portuguese were at their full growth, many of them reaching to their girdles. By the inhabitants of this place, Antonio was informed that their river was formerly called *Tauralachim* or the Great Stock, to express its greatness: That it is deep and navigable for 80 leagues, up to a town named *Moncalor*, and then becomes wide and shallow, coming from the great country of *Chintaleuho*, where the country for eight days journey had been depopulated 40 years before *by a multitude of birds!* In the middle of that country is the great lake of *Cunabetee* or *Chiamay*, whence spring four great rivers. That lake is 180 leagues in circumference, and the country round abounds in mines of silver, copper, tin, and lead.

From thence Antonio proceeded to the island of *Hainan*, passing in sight of *Champiloo*, in lat. 13° N. at the entrance of the bay of Cochin China. Farther on he discovered the promontory of *Pulocampas*, whence the island of Hainan may be seen. To the west of this they found a river, up which Borallo was sent in a small vessel with 16 men, who discovered at least 2000 sail of vessels and a large walled town. On their return they saw a large vessel at anchor. The captain supposing this might be Husseyn took it; but learnt from an ancient Christian of Mount Sinai, who was among the prisoners, that it belonged to a pirate named *Quioy Tayjam*, who had killed above an hundred Portuguese, and now lay hid in the forecastle with six or seven others, all of whom were drawn from their hiding place and slain. In this vessel were found 60,000 quintals [5] of pepper, with a great deal of other spices, besides ivory, tin, wax, and powder, the whole valued at 60,000 crowns; besides several good cannon, some valuable baggage, and silver. In the hold were nine children, the biggest only about nine years old, all loaded with irons, and starving of hunger.

Coasting along the island of Hainan, Antonio met some fishers of pearls, whom he used courteously. They told him that the island belonged to China. Hence he went to the river *Tananquir*, where he was suddenly attacked by two large vessels

5 This is either an enormous exaggeration, or a gross error. The quantity in the text is equal to 3500 tons.—E.

vessels, both of which were taken, after a long struggle, in which 80 of the enemy were slain, with the loss of 14 men belonging to Antonio, only one of whom was a Portuguese. After a while they heard lamentable cries in the hold of one of these ships, in which 17 prisoners were found, two of whom were Portuguese. From one of these Antonio was informed that these vessels had belonged to *Necoda Xicaulem*, who, after becoming a Christian at Malacca and marrying a Portuguese woman, had killed her and many more of her nation. The booty in these two ships was valued at 50,000 crowns. One of the vessels was burnt, as Antonio had not a sufficient number of men to navigate her. In both vessels there were seventeen brass guns, most of which had the arms of Portugal. Antonio anchored at Cape *Tilaumere*, where four vessels came up to his squadron likewise now consisting of four vessels, and in one of these was the bride of a young nobleman, who had engaged to meet her at that place with a like number of ships, owing to which they had come up to the Portuguese vessels. Three of these ships were taken, in one of which was the bride. Some of the seamen were retained, and all the others were set on shore. Antonio then went to *Mutipinam*, as a convenient place for selling his prizes; but as the governor of that city somewhat obstructed the sale, Antonio was obliged to hasten it, and received in payment of the goods he had to dispose of to the value of 200,000 crowns in uncoined silver.

In the beginning of the year 1541, Antonio sailed in search of the port of *Madel* in the island of *Hainan*, and by the way took some prizes. Here he met with *Hinymilau*, a bold pirate and a great enemy to the Christians, whom he delighted to put to cruel deaths. With him they had a desperate engagement, and at last took him. He gave a bold account of the many cruelties he had practised upon the Portuguese, and was therefore immediately slain with four more. The prize was valued at 70,000 ducats. This action struck such terror into all who were in that river, that they sent a message to Antonio, calling him *King of the Seas*, offering him 30,000 crowns to take them under his protection, and desiring to have passes for their safe trading. He accepted the money and gave the passes, only for writing which his servant received 6000 crowns in the space of twelve days. So great a reputation had he acquired in these parts, that the governor of the city offered to make him admiral of those seas for the emperor

emperor of China, with a salary of 9000 crowns yearly. Antonio ran all along this coast without any remarkable occurrence, only that he saw many towns, none of which were large, and a fruitful country, and was informed that there were mines of silver, tin, saltpetre, and brimstone.

Being now weary of looking out for the pirate *Husseyn*, the soldiers demanded their shares of the prizes and to be discharged. This was agreed to, and their course was directed towards Siam; but by a furious storm they were cast away upon the *Ladrones*, where out of 500 men, only 86 got on shore naked, 28 of whom were Portuguese. At this place they were fifteen days with hardly any thing to eat. While in utter despair, as the island was uninhabited, they discovered a small vessel making for the shore where it cast anchor, and presently thirty Chinese landed, some of whom went to procure wood and water, while the others diverted themselves. Our men ran furiously and possessed themselves of the vessel and put to sea as quickly as possible. In this vessel they found only an old man and a child, but were quite delighted upon finding plenty of provisions and much silk. Sailing for *Xamoy* in *Liampo*, they took another Chinese vessel and went to the island of *Luxitay*[6], where they remained fifteen days refitting both vessels, and then proceeded on their voyage. On the coast of *Lamau* they discovered a large vessel having fifteen guns, which began to fire upon them as soon as within range; but on coming close it was observed to have several *crosses* and some men in Portuguese habits, on which they hailed each other, and the vessel was found to belong to *Quiay Panjau* a Chinese and a great friend of the Portuguese, having thirty soldiers of that nation on board. He came on board of Antonios vessel, bringing a present of amber, pearls, gold, and silver, worth 2000 ducats. Among other discourse, Antonio told him that he was bound for *Liampo* to furnish himself with necessaries, meaning to attempt the mines of *Quamjaparu*, where he was told he might get much treasure. *Quiay Panjau* offered to accompany him, demanding only a third part of what might be taken, which was agreed to.

They refitted at the river *Amay*, and going from there to *Chincheo*, Faria hired 35 Portuguese whom he found at that place. Soon after putting again to sea he found eight Portuguese,

6 The names in this strange relation of the adventures of Antonio de Faria are so extremely corrupt as to defy even conjectural commentary.—E.

guese, almost naked and all wounded in a fishing-boat, who told him that the pirate Khojah Husseyn had taken their ship, worth 200,000 ducats, in the harbour of the isle of *Cumbor*, and that they had escaped with difficulty in that miserable condition. Faria was quite rejoiced to hear of that pirate, and immediately turned back eight leagues to *Layloo* to prepare for engaging him. He there changed his old vessels for new ones, and provided men arms and ammunition, paying generously for every thing. In four vessels which he there fitted out, he had 40 pieces of cannon, 160 muskets, 6000 darts, with abundance of other arms and ammunition, and a force of 500 men, 95 of whom were Portuguese. In a day and a half sail from *Layloo* he came to the fisheries where those Portuguese had been robbed, and was informed by some fishermen that Husseyn was only at the distance of two leagues in the river *Tinlau*. To make quite sure, he sent a person to see if that were the case, and finding the information accurate he proceeded immediately to the place. The engagement began before day-light upon four ships belonging to the pirate, which were soon reduced to great straits, when four small vessels came up to their assistance. One of the Portuguese cannon was so well pointed that it sunk the first of these at the first fire, and killed several men in another vessel. At length Antonio boarded Husseyns vessel, and gave him such a cut over the head as struck him down on the deck, and by another stroke cut his hamstrings so that he could not rise. The pirates wounded Antonio in three places; but being succoured by his men the victory was complete, almost 400 of the enemy being slain or drowned by leaping overboard, while it cost 43 men on the side of Antonio, 8 of whom were Portuguese. Antonio immediately landed to bury his dead, and finding 96 men belonging to Husseyn in a house where they were left to be cured, he set the house on fire and destroyed them all. He here restored the Portuguese ship to her owners, and gave liberty to all the slaves, as he vowed on going upon this enterprize, paying their masters the value. After all this generosity, the remaining booty was worth 100,000 crowns.

On the night after sailing from *Tinlau* so violent a storm arose that two of the ships were cast away, and most of the goods in the others had to be thrown overboard, to the value of 200,000 ducats. One hundred and eleven men were lost,

eleven

eleven of whom were Portuguese. Thirteen men who escaped the shipwreck were carried prisoners to *Nauday*, where Faria came with the five remaining ships to anchor. He immediately offered 3000 crowns to the governor of the city for the liberty of the prisoners, and meeting with an unfavourable answer, he determined to liberate them by force. His men were fearful of the issue of so dangerous an enterprize; but he so encouraged them, that they agreed. He had at this time, which was in the beginning of the year 1542, a force of 470 men in all, 60 of whom were Portuguese. Of these he chose 300 men to accompany him on shore. After sending another civil message to the governor, who answered by hanging the messenger, he landed with his small but resolute band. While marching towards the city, 12,000 foot and 100 horse came out to meet him. His musqueteers killed at least 300 of them, and pursued the rest to a bridge which led into the city. The governor was on the inside with 600 men, and defended the passage of the bridge till he was slain by a musquet shot, immediately on which his men fled, and were pursued with great slaughter till they ran out at the opposite side of the city. The city was plundered, on which occasion he who even got least was enriched, after which the place was reduced to ashes. Having thus gloriously redeemed his prisoners, Antonio returned to his ships with many beautiful female captives, having only lost eight men, one of whom was a Portuguese.

Antonio now resumed his intended expedition for the mines, but in the first place went to pass the winter at *Pulo Hindor*, an inhabited island fifteen leagues from *Nauday*. When near the islands of *Commolem*, he was attacked by two large ships in which were 200 resolute men commanded by a pirate named *Premata Gundel*, a mortal enemy to the Portuguese, to whom he had done much harm, but thought now he had only to encounter Chinese merchant ships. One of the pirate ships came up to board one of those belonging to Antonio, but *Qiay Panjau* came up against her in full sail and ran so furiously upon the pirate ship that both went down instantly, but *Quiay* and most of his men were saved. The other pirate ship commanded by *Premata* in person boarded Faria, who was in great danger of being taken, but was at length victorious and slew 90 of the enemy; then boarding in his turn, he put the whole to the sword. This action cost Anto-

nio

nio 17 men, 5 of whom were Portuguese, and above 40 were wounded, among whom Antonio himself had two great cuts and a thrust of a spear. The prize was valued at 120,000 ducats. After staying 20 days in the island of *Buncalen* to cure the wounded men, they steered for the gates of *Liampo*, which are two islands three leagues from the city of that name which was built by the Portuguese who there governed in the nature of a commonwealth.

Anchoring at the gates of *Liampo*, Antonio sent to ask leave to come into the port, when he received a courteous answer, praying him to wait six days till the inhabitants had prepared a house for his reception. On Sunday morning, the time being expired, he hoisted sail and went up the river accompanied by many boats sent to receive him, in which were 3000 of the citizens, who saluted him with the sound of musical instruments. About 200 ships then in the port were ranged in two lines forming a lane through which de Faria passed, all the cannons in the vessels and on shore firing a salute. Some Chinese who saw this magnificent reception asked whether this was a brother or near kinsman to the king of Portugal, and being answered he was only his smiths son, they concluded that Portugal must be the greatest kingdom in the world. From his ship, Antonio was received into a barge shaded by a natural chesnut tree full of ripe fruit, and was seated on a silver chair raised on six steps adorned with gold, six beautiful maids richly clad standing on each side, who played and sang melodiously. When he landed on the quay, he was placed in a still richer chair on mens shoulders under a canopy, guarded by 60 halberdiers, and preceded by 16 men on fine horses, and before these eight with silver maces, all in splendid attire. In this manner he was conducted to a large scaffold covered with fine tapestry, where being placed in his chair of state, he received the compliments of the magistracy and principal inhabitants of the city. From the quay to the city, which was a considerable distance, there was a closely covered lane formed of chesnut, pine, and laurel trees, and the ground was strewed with flowers. And all the way, at regular distances, there were companies of dancers, and perfumes burning, with astonishing multitudes of people the whole way.

At the entrance into the city, a temporary castle was built for the occasion, having the arms of the Faria family in front, being *Sanguin, a tower argent; in base, a man torn in pieces.*

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At this place he was received by a reverend old man, attended by four mace-bearers, and after some ceremonies the old man made a long speech in praise of the family, concluding with a panegyric on his own actions, and bidding him welcome to the city. The orator then offered him, in the name of the city, five chests full of silver in bars, worth twenty thousand pieces of eight, which he refused, saying he would endeavour to deserve in some measure the honours which were heaped on him. From thence he walked on foot, passing through many splendid arches, to the church of our Lady, where he assisted at mass under a canopy, and heard a sermon full of his own praises. After this he was conducted by above 1000 Portuguese to a large open space before the house in which he was to reside, shaded by a variety of fine trees, the ground strewed with flowers and sweet herbs, where three long tables were splendidly decorated and richly covered with a sumptuous entertainment. When Antonio was seated, the whole multitude departed, except about 80 of the principal citizens who were to dine along with him, and 50 soldiers who attended, while the halberdiers stood at a distance to keep off the people. As soon as the company was seated, the music began to play, and eight beautiful maids came forwards playing on instruments and dancing, eight others being placed beside Antonio singing. The dishes were brought in by a number of fine women, and set upon the tables by men, the abundance and costliness of the entertainment being wonderful. After dinner the company adjourned to another place, where there was a bull-feast, with several wild horses among them, and at the death of each animal there followed dancing music and other entertainments.

De Faria continued here five months, entertained in great splendour, having dogs and horses to go a hunting, as the environs abounded in game. The time being come for going to the mines of *Quamgiparu*, Quiay Panjau who was to have accompanied him thither was carried off by sickness. After this another Chinese named *Similau* dissuaded Antonio from attempting the adventure of the mines, as attended with too much difficulty and danger, and proposed to him to undertake an expedition to the island of *Calempluy*, in which were the tombs of the ancient kings of China, which were said to contain great treasures. To this Antonio gave ear, as covetousness had great sway even upon his generous mind. Happy had

had it been for him if he had returned to India, satisfied with the victories he had already atchieved. About the middle of May 1542, he set sail accompanied by *Similau* in two galliots with 146 men, 52 of whom were Portuguese, and among these the priest *Diego Labato*. Next day they discovered the islands of *Nangnitur*, and then entered upon seas till then unknown by the Portuguese. Having crossed a gulf of 40 leagues, they discovered the high mountain of *Nangalaci*, and held on their course northwards. At the end of ten days they anchored in a river where they saw white people like the Chinese, but differing in language, and could never prevail to have any intercourse with them. After eight days sailing they entered the strait of *Silcapaquim*, in which they spent five days in sight of many populous towns. But this course appearing dangerous, they steered up the river *Humbepadam* by the advice of *Similau*, passing to the east of the mountain *Fangus*, and came thirteen days afterwards to the bay of *Buxipalem* in the latitude of 30°, which produces fish, serpents, and crocodiles of wonderous size, and many sea-horses. Farther on they came to the bay of *Calinclam*, surrounded with high mountains, whence four great rivers fall into the sea. They next sailed under the great mountain *Botinasora*, abounding in lions, rhinoceroses, tigers, ounces, and other wild beasts, and then past *Gangitanu*, inhabited by the *Gigahui*, a wild gigantic people, some *ten* and some *eleven spans* high, of whom they saw fourteen of both sexes. They have good complexions, being white and red, but very ill-favoured features. Antonio gave them some procelain dishes and silk, for which they seemed thankful, and brought some cows and deer in return, but their language could not be understood.

At length they arrived in the bay of *Nanking*, and six days afterwards to the great city of *Pamor*, whose bay was almost hid under three thousand vessels. Fearing danger here they stood off and came to *Tanquilem*, where Similau and 36 Chinese seamen ran away for fear; because Antonio, weary of the voyage, and finding that Similau could give no good account of where they were, threatened to kill him. Similau was not indeed ignorant, but he was so terrified by the ill usage of the Portuguese that he knew not what he said, and they were afraid that either he knew not the coast or meant to betray them. It was a great error to believe him at *Liampo*, and to use him ill at *Nanking* where they had most need of him. In fine the Portuguese gave themselves up for lost,

not

not knowing where they were till some of the natives informed them that they were only ten leagues from the island of *Calempluy*, on which they sore repented the ill usage they had given to *Similau*. Doubling Cape *Guinaytarau*, after a tedious voyage of two months and a half, they discovered the island of which they were in search in the middle of the river. This island is quite plain and seemed four miles round. Next morning Antonio sailed round it in his galliots, and found it surrounded by a wall of jasper so closely built that it seemed all one stone. The wall rose 19 feet above the surface of the water, and was terrassed on the inside. On the top of the wall was a *massy twist*, on which was a brass rail, having little columns at regular distances, on which were the statues of women having balls in their hands, all likewise of brass. At some distance from these were figures of iron, of monstrous shapes, that seemed to give each other their hands; and farther on were several curious arches of stones of various colours. On the inside there were afterwards seen a delightful assemblage of small groves of orange trees, among which were 366 chapels dedicated to the gods of the year. On one side was a great building, not all of a piece, but divided into seven parts, all over splendidly ornamented with gold.

In the evening Antonio entered the island by one of its eight gates, accompanied by sixty men, four of whom were Portuguese. On entering one of the chapels, they saw a man who seemed an hundred years of age, who fell down with fear; but, on recovering, rebuked the soldiers for taking the bars of silver from the tombs. Having received information of what was in the other chapels, Antonio went on board with a considerable quantity of silver taken from the first chapel, meaning to return next day to plunder them all. About midnight, lights were seen on the top of the great building, and numbers of bell were heard all over the island. Antonio went again on shore, though advised to make off as the alarm was given. He brought away two old men with some candlesticks and a silver idol, and was informed that the island would soon be relieved, as the first hermit had given the alarm; on which Antonio found that he had erred in not bringing away that old man as he was advised. He departed therefore from the island, much dissatisfied at having missed the acquisition of so much treasure by his own fault. After sailing a month, there arose so great a storm on the 5th of August, that his galliot was swallowed up. The other galliot perished a few

days

days afterwards, and only fourteen of the crew escaped. Thus perished the brave Antonio de Faria; a just judgment, doubtless, for the sacrilegious robbery he intended to have committed.

No less unfortunate was the end of the city of Liampo, where Antonio had been so nobly received, falling a sacrifice to the base and insatiable avarice of its inhabitants. Lancelot Pereyra, judge of that city, having lost a thousand ducats by some Chinese, went out with a body of troops to rob and plunder others in satisfaction of the debt. This unadvised and barbarous procedure brought the governor of the province against the city with 80,000 men, and in four hours burnt it to the ground, together with 80 ships that were in the port. Twelve thousand men were slain, among whom were 1000 Portuguese, and three millions of gold were lost. Thus scarce any thing was left of *Liampo* but the name; and thus what the Portuguese gained by their valour was lost by their covetousness. *Liampo* had above three thousand catholic inhabitants, almost the half of whom were Portuguese. Those who survived this cruel execution, obtained leave in 1547, by great presents, to settle in the province of *Chincheo*, in a village which began to flourish in consequence of a rich trade, but it came to the same end with the other.

Section III.

Transactions during the Government of Martin Alfonso de Sousa, from 1542 *to* 1543.

In the year 1542, but whether under the government of De Gama or De Sousa is uncertain, Antonio de Mota, Francisco Zeymoto, and Antonio Peixoto, while on a voyage to China, were driven by a storm among the islands of *Nipongi* or *Nifon*, called *Gipon* by the Chinese, and known in Europe by the name of *Japan*. They were well received in one of these islands, of which they had the honour to be the first discoverers, though accidentally. These islands of Japan are far to the eastward of all India, being even beyond China, and lie between the latitudes of 30° and 40° N [1]. These islands are

1 More rigidly from lat. 31° 28′ to 40° 30′ N. and between the longitudes of 127° 47′ and 142° 33′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

are numerous, the principal and largest island being that peculiarly called *Niphon*, *Nifon*, *Nipongi*, or *Japan*, which gives name to the group, and in which is the city of *Meaco* the imperial residence. According to the natives this principal island is 366 leagues in length, but by our computation only 266 [2]. The chief islands around the large one, are *Cikoko*, *Toksosi*, *Sando*, *Sisime Bacasa*, *Vuoki*, *Taquixima*, or *Takishima*, and *Firando* [3]. Fernan Mendez Pinto in his travels assumes the merit of this discovery to himself, pretending that he came to the island of *Tanixima*, by which I suppose he meant *Taquixima*, not by stress of weather, but by design, in the service of a pirate who had relieved him and his companions when cast away, naming Christopher Borallo and Diego Zeymoto as those who accompanied him. In both relations *three* names are mentioned as the discoverers of Japan, one only, *Zeymoto*, being the same in both, and both agree in the date of the discovery being in 1542. According to Pinto, the prince of the island of *Tanixima* was named *Nautaquim* who stood amazed on seeing the three Portuguese strangers, and uttered the following mysterious words: "These are certainly "the *Chinchicogies*, spoken of in our records; who, flying "over the waters, shall come to be lords of the lands where "God has placed the greatest riches of the world. It will be "fortunate for us if they come as friends!"

The first action of the new governor De Sousa was to diminish the pay of the soldiers. The saving of charges is a great means of gaining the favour of princes; *yet ministers never express their zeal by retrenching their own large allowances*, but by cutting off the small ones from the poor; and, as was natural, this alteration occasioned much discontent among the troops

2 Meaning probably a different denomination of measure. The island of Niphon measures 824 English miles in extreme length, from S. W. to N. E. in a somewhat bent line. Its breadth varies from 55 to 240 miles, averaging about 100; but it is extremely irregular, owing to many deep bays and considerable peninsulae. *Jedo* is now the capital and residence of the temporal sovereign, *Meaco* of the once spiritual sovereign, now reduced to chief priest of the national religion.—E.

3 The only islands of magnitude besides Niphon, are *Kiusiu*, which does not appear to have any representative in the text, and *Sicocf*, probably the *Cikoko* of De Faria. The other numerous islands are of little importance, and several of the names in the text cannot be referred to any of the islands. *Firando* and *Taquixima* remain unchanged, and the others cannot be traced. —E.

troops. At this time the queen of *Batecala*, a well-built city on the banks of a river, on the coast of Canara, in a fertile country, refused to pay her tribute, and entertained pirates in her port to the great prejudice of trade; on which account De Sousa went with 2000 men in 60 vessels of different kinds to reduce her to obedience. On entering the port of Batecala, where he demanded payment of the tribute, and that the pirate ships should be delivered up, the queen endeavoured to procrastinate till such time as she knew it would be necessary for the governor to retire with his armament to Cochin. But being aware of this artifice, the governor landed with 1200 men in two battalions, and ordered twenty light vessels to go up the river to attack the city on that side, while he assailed it on the land side. While marching through a wood, the governor was opposed by a body of musqueteers; but his troops drove them to the gates of the city, which they entered along with the fugitives, in spite of every opposition from the enemy who were encouraged by the queen in person. It was night when the Portuguese got possession of the city; and in the morning they began to plunder, not even sparing the Portuguese who were settled there. They even fell out among themselves, and came to blows, in which all were hurt and none enriched. The enemy noticed this contention among the Portuguese from a neighbouring hill to which they had retired, and endeavoured to take advantage of this circumstance, by discharging incessant flights of arrows into the town. On receiving orders from De Sousa to march against the enemy, the discontented troops exclaimed, "That the rich gentry might march if they would; but that they only came to make up by plunder for the pay of which they had been unjustly deprived." Gracia de Sa went out against the enemy with a few lances; but after several charges, almost the whole of the Portuguese shamefully took to flight, endeavouring in such haste to reimbark that several were drowned in the confusion. Indignant at this cowardice, the governor reproached them as not being the same brave men he had left in India only two years before. To this they answered, thinking he meant it as a reflection on his predecessor, "That the men were the same, but the governor was changed; and that this was the fruit of lessening their pay, to enable him to give gratuities to those who knew better how to beg favours than to deserve them." De Sousa retired to the ships for the night, but landed next day, when he utterly destroyed the city and

surrounding country with fire and sword, and made all the woods be cut down [4]. Unable any longer to resist, the queen purchased peace by submitting to a heavier subjection than before.

The king of Ormuz had fallen into arrears of his tribute, and was due 500,000 ducats which he was unable to pay; for the tribute had been successively raised from 12,000 ducats originally imposed by Albuquerque, to 100,000, so that from a tributary he became a slave, not having even a competent maintenance remaining. Finding him unable to discharge the debt, De Sousa proposed to him to make over the customs of Ormuz to the Portuguese, which he agreed to, that he might get rid of the oppression. But the Persians soon afterwards deprived them of this source of revenue, which they had unjustly appropriated to themselves.

In the year 1544, De Sousa fitted out a fleet of 45 sail, in which were embarked 3000 seamen and soldiers. The design of this armament was kept a profound secret, which was to rob the pagoda of *Tremele*, 12 miles inland from St Thomas of Meliapour, in the kingdom of Bisnagar, for which express orders had been given by King John, under pretence that India was wasted, as if any pretence could justify robbery. The design was however discovered, or as others say it was disappointed by contrary winds. Yet the governor was persuaded to plunder other pagodas, where it was thought there were equal riches. By the way, he sent a message to the king of Jafnapatam in the island of Ceylon, commanding him either to become tributary to the crown of Portugal, or to prepare for opposing the armament. The king agreed to pay 4000 ducats yearly, glad to get off so easily. A king called *Grande* near Cape Comorin, being in fear of the Portuguese, sent a present to the governor. De Sousa proceeded to a pagoda named *Tebelicate* [5], near *Calecoulam*, although the Portuguese were at peace with the king of that country, and went into it with a small number of his confidants, whence they brought out two casks so heavy that they loaded many men. These casks were reported to contain water, though some affirmed that it was gold and jewels; but the truth was never known. It has been alleged

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4 The cutting down of the woods mentioned in the text, probably refers to cocoa nut trees, on which the natives of the coast of India appear to have greatly depended for food.—E.

5 Called afterwards *Tebilicare*.

by some writers that nothing was found but a golden vessel worth 4000 crowns, in which the idol used to be bathed, and which was ordered to be restored by the king of Portugal, who was much displeased at the conduct of De Sousa on this occasion; as if it were a greater crime to rob the pagoda of *Tebilicare* without orders, than that of *Tremele* with orders. While the Portuguese were returning to their ships, the town and pagoda were set on fire, and they were attacked in a narrow defile by 200 Nayres, who killed 30 of them; but on getting into the open field, the Nayres were put to flight. No danger terrifies avarice. The Portuguese went on to another pagoda, from which a chest was brought out and opened publicly, and some silver money which it contained was distributed among the troops; but of so small account, that many believed the liberality was owing to that circumstance.

De Sousa was obliged to return in all haste to Goa, owing to the following circumstance, communicated to him by a message from Don Garcia de Castro. *Aceda Khan*, lord of the lands around Goa, intending to depose Adel Khan, prevailed on Don Garcia by means of presents to deliver up to him *Meale Khan* the brother of Adel Khan, pretending that he held the kingdom wrongfully. This gave just cause of complaint to Adel Khan, and occasioned considerable danger to the Portuguese. The governor listened to the arguments and offers of both sides; but inclined more to favour Aceda Khan, who offered to cede the kingdom of Concan, giving a revenue of about a million, then possessed by Abraham, a good man and a friend of the Portuguese. As this territory was very valuable, particularly from its neighbourhood to Goa, the governor declared in favour of Meale Khan, and prepared to possess himself of the Concan which was offered by Aceda Khan. This was a notorious act of injustice; and as De Sousa was naturally of a haughty disposition, none of his officers dared to remonstrate; but Pedro de Faria, then fourscore years of age, trusting to his quality and the great offices he had held, repaired late one night to the governors tent, and prevailed upon him to desist from so unjust an undertaking. Next day the governor abandoned his design, pretending various reasons of delay, and returned to Goa, carrying Meale Khan along with him.

At this time Aceda Khan died, who was the contriver of this discord, and Adel Khan descended the gaut mountains with

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a powerful army to reduce the rebels, recovering possession of the Concan in a few days. But as Adel Khan was still fearful of Meale Khan, he offered the lands of *Salsete* and *Bardez* to De Sousa, on condition of delivering him up, which were valued at 50,000 ducats of yearly revenue. De Sousa refused to give up this man who had confided in him for protection; but offered, if put in possession of these districts, that he would remove Meale to some place where he could give no disturbance to Adel Khan. These conditions were agreed to and performed by Adel Khan, but evaded by De Sousa, who sent Meale to Cananor, and brought him back to Goa. Some alleged that this was done to overawe Adel Khan, while others said it was meant as a bait to extort presents; and it was certain that some were actually sent.

In this treaty, Adel Khan had agreed that De Sousa was to be put into possession of the vast treasures which had been left by the rebel Aceda Khan, said to amount to ten millions of ducats, and which at his death had fallen into the hands of Khojah Zemaz-oddin, who persuaded De Sousa that it was only one million, and delivered that sum to him. Adel Khan afterwards gave notice to De Sousa of the vast fraud which had been used in the pretended delivery of the treasure; but all his efforts to secure the defaulter were in vain.

Sultan Mahmud, sovereign of Cambaya or Guzerat, was desirous of recovering possession of the castle built by the Portuguese at Diu, and of freeing himself by that means from the trammels which had been thrown in the way of the trade of his dominions. In the late treaty between him and the Portuguese, it had been stipulated, with the consent of the viceroy Don Garcia, that the government of Cambaya might erect a wall between the city of Diu and the castle. This wall was accordingly commenced; but as Emanuel de Sousa, who commanded in the castle of Diu, considered that the wall now building was of a very different description from a mere boundary, as intended in the treaty, and appeared to be destined for hostile purposes, he drove away the workmen, threw down the wall, and made use of the materials for strengthening the defences of the castle. Mahmud was highly offended at this procedure, and at the instigation of his great minister Khojah Zofar, he secretly used every possible means to stir up enemies to the Portuguese, endeavouring to form an union of the Indian princes to expel them not only from Diu but from all India.

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In the course of this year 1544, the great Khan of the Tartars invaded China and besieged *Peking* with a prodigious army, amounting to millions of men. A large detachment from this vast army, among which were 60,000 horse, was sent against the city of *Quamsi*, which was plundered, and an immense number of the inhabitants put to the sword. While on his return with this part of the army, *Nauticor* the Tartar general attempted to reduce the fortress of *Nixiancoo*, but was repulsed with the loss of 3000 men, on which he was disposed to desist from the enterprise, deeming the place impregnable. Among the prisoners taken at Quamsi were nine Portuguese, one of whom named George Mendez made offer to the Tartar general to put him on a plan for gaining the fortress of *Nixiancoo*, on condition that he and his companions were restored to liberty. The general agreed to his proposal, and gained the fort by the advice of Mendez, with the slaughter of 2000 Chinese and Moguls. In pursuance of his promise, the general obtained the liberty of the Portuguese from his sovereign, but prevailed on Mendez to continue in his service by a pension of 6000 ducats. The Tartar emperor was constrained to raise the siege of Peking and retire to *Tuymican* his residence in Tartary, after having closely invested the metropolis of China for almost seven months, with the loss of 450,000 men, mostly cut off by pestilence, besides 300,000 that deserted to the Chinese.

In 1545, Martin Alfonso de Sousa became exceedingly dissatisfied with his situation as governor-general in India, being threatened on every side by a combination of the native princes, and having no adequate means of defence either in men or money. Only a few days before the arrival of his successor, he declared to Diego Silveyra who was going to sail for Portugal, that if the king did not immediately send out a successor, he would open the patents of succession, and resign the government to whoever he might find nominated for that purpose. He was soon afterwards relieved by Don Juan de Castro, whose journal of the expedition into the Red Sea we have laid before our readers in the preceding chapter, and who arrived at Goa in August or September 1545, to assume the government of India.

SECTION IV.

Government of India by Don Juan de Castro, from 1545 *to* 1548.

KHOJAH ZOFAR, who was now chief minister and favourite to the king of Cambaya, though he continued to keep up a fair correspondence with the Portuguese, yet, with the perfidy so natural to a Moor, never ceased persuading his sovereign to endeavour to shake off the yoke by a second attempt to reduce the castle of Diu. For this purpose he collected a powerful army, yet endeavoured in the first place to attain his ends by the most infamous means of secret policy. With this view he gained over a Portuguese of a base character, named *Ruy Freire*, to poison the great cistern or reservoir of water, to set the magazine of the castle on fire, and to admit him by a concerted signal into the place. But this treacherous design was frustrated by the information of an Ethiopian, a Turk and a female slave, who revealed the plot to the commander, Don Juan Mascarenhas, who had succeeded Emanuel de Sousa. As Mascarenhas became aware of the storm that was gathering against him, he prepared to meet it as well as possible, and sent notice of his danger to the governor-general, Don Juan de Castro, and to all the neighbouring Portuguese commanders. The garrison in the castle of Diu at this time amounted only to 210 men: Of these Mascarenhas assigned 30 for the defence of each of the four bastions; his lieutenant had charge of a tower or bulwark over the gate with 20 men; other 20 were placed in a small detached work; and he retained 50 men as a body of reserve under his own immediate command, to act wherever the greatest danger might call for his presence.

By this time a considerable number of men were collected by the enemy in the city of Diu, among whom were 500 Turks sent from Mokha by the king of Zabid, and Khojah Zofar came on with all his power, resolving to attack the sea bastion by means of three castles well stored with cannon and ammunition, which were built upon a ship of vast size; within the castles were 200 Turks, who were intended to distract the attention of the defendants by continually pouring in all sorts of artificial fireworks. This device was however abortive, as Jacome

Jacome Leite went by night in two small vessels with twenty men, and though discovered he succeeded in setting the floating castle on fire, a great part of which blew up with all the Turks, and the remainder of the ship burnt with so great a flame that the enemy was seen in whole battalions running to quench the fire. Seeing the enemy in clusters, Jacome pointed his cannon among them and killed many: After this exploit, he proceeded to the mouth of the river, where he took some vessels loaded with provisions belonging to the enemy, with which he returned to the fort to the great admiration of the whole garrison, having seven of his men wounded in this gallant and successful exploit.

Though frustrated in this design, Khojah Zofar persisted in his intentions of besieging the castle, for which purpose he began to rebuild the wall which had been destroyed by De Sousa [1]. This could not be prevented, though many of the workmen were killed by the cannon of the fort, and being at last brought to perfection Zofar planted upon it sixty pieces of large cannon, besides many of a small size. One of these cannons was of such extraordinary magnitude that it shook the whole island every time it was discharged, and it was managed with much expertness by a renegado Frenchman in the service of Zofar. At this time Don Ferdinand de Castro, son to the governor arrived with a reinforcement. Mascarenhas having expressed a desire of acquiring some intelligence from the enemys camp, one Diego de Anaya Coutinno, a gentleman of note and of great strength, put on a helmet with a sword by his side and a spear in his hand, and let himself down from the wall under night. He soon discovered two Moors at some distance from the fort, one of whom he slew with his spear, and taking up the other in his arms ran with him to the gate of the fort, calling out for admission, and threw him in, to the great surprise and admiration of his companions. Coutinno had borrowed a helmet, which he had engaged his word to restore or die in its defence. It happened to fall off in the scuffle, and he did not miss it till demanded by its owner. He immediately let himself down again from the wall to look for the helmet, which he found and restored.

Shortly afterwards an extraordinary movement was observed in the besieging army, of which Mascarenhas was desirous to know

1 This second siege of Diu appears to have commenced about the beginning of March 1545.—E.

know the cause. On this account six men sallied out at night from the castle, and fell upon an advanced party of sixty Moors, some of whom they killed; but the rest awaking, and being joined by others, the Portuguese were forced to retreat after losing two of their number; but the remaining four brought in a prisoner along with them, who reported that the king of Cambaya was arrived from *Champanel* with 10,000 horse, on purpose to see the capture of the castle, which he was assured by Zofar must soon fall. This exploit so incensed the king and Zofar, that they pressed the siege with the utmost fury, and did much harm to the works of the castle by incessant discharges from their numerous artillery. But the renegado Frenchman, who managed their greatest gun, was slain by a chance shot, and the gunner who succeeded him was so ignorant that he did more harm to his own party than to the Portuguese. All the neighbourhood continually resounded with the incessant noise of the cannon, mixed with the cries and groans of dying men; when a ball from the fort happened to go through the kings tent, and sprinkled him all over with the blood of one of his favourites, who was torn to pieces close by him. This so terrified the king, that he immediately abandoned Diu, leaving the command of the horse to Juzar Khan a valiant Abyssinian.

Khojah Zofar continued to press the siege, and there was much slaughter and destruction on both sides; but this was more evident and prejudicial in the castle, owing to the small space and the weakness of the garrison. Mascarenhas on his part exerted every means for defence, always repairing to wherever there was most danger, as desirous of gaining equal honour with Silveyra who had so gallantly defended the same place only a few years before. He was no less fortunate in courageous women than Silveyra, as those now in the castle encouraged the men to fight valiantly, and both assisted and relieved them in the labour of repairing the walls. On one occasion that some Turks had got within the walls and had taken post in a house, one of these valiant females ran there with a spear and fought against the enemy, till Mascarenhas came up with his reserve and put them all to the sword. Zofar used every effort and device to fill up the ditches and to batter down the walls of the castle; but equal industry was exerted by the besieged to repair the breaches and to clear out the ditches, the prime gentry doing as much duty on those occasions as the private soldiers and masons; repairing every night

night such parts of the walls and bastions as had been ruined in the day.

Astonished to see all the defences thus restored, and angry at the obstinate resistance of so small a garrison, Zofar made a furious assault upon the castle, but had his head carried off by a cannon-ball. "In this violent death he fulfilled the prediction of his mother at *Otranto*, who having in vain endeavoured to prevail upon him to return into the bosom of the church, used to superscribe her letters to him in the following manner. *To Khojah Zofar my son, at the gates of hell.*" He was succeeded by his son *Rumi Khan*, who inherited his fortune and command, and was as eager as his father to reduce the castle of Diu. Being in great straits, Mascarenhas was under the necessity of applying to the governor-general at Goa and the commanders of the neighbouring garrisons for reinforcements, on which occasion a priest was employed, who run great danger, as the sea was at this season scarcely navigable: But then Portugal had some *decii* and *reguli*, while it now has only the grief of wanting such patriots [2].

In the mean time Rumi Khan and Juzar Khan gave a general assault, particularly directing their efforts against the bastions of St John and St Thomas, where they found a vigorous resistance and lost a prodigious number of men. Yet numbers at length prevailed, and the enemy gained a temporary possession of the bastion of St Thomas. The garrison adding fury to despair, made so desperate an effort to recover the bastion, that they made a wonderful slaughter of the numerous assailants who had penetrated their works, throwing headlong from the wall such as had escaped the sword, insomuch that the bastion and the ditch below were heaped with dead bodies. Rumi Khan spent the succeeding night in prayers and processions to propitiate Mahomet, and next morning renewed the assault with equal fury. But after mounting the two bastions, he was at length forced to retreat with the loss of near 2000 men, among whom was Juzar Khan the Abyssinian general, who was succeeded in his command by his uncle of the same name. In this action the Portuguese lost seven men. Several other assaults were given with similar success. In one of these the fire was so close and furious that several

2 It is hardly necessary to observe that this is the expression of De Faria in the *seventeenth* century, when Portugal groaned under the yoke of the Austrian sovereigns of Spain.—E.

several of the Portuguese who were clad in cotton garments had their clothes set on fire, on which they ran and dipt themselves in water, after which they returned to their posts. Such as happened to have skin coats escaped this danger; and as Mascarenhas noticed this circumstance, he caused the gilt leather hangings of his apartments to be made into coats for his soldiers.

As the enemy had raised a mount near the castle which overlooked the walls, whence they greatly annoyed the enemy, Don Juan and Don Pedro de Almeyda sallied out with an hundred men and destroyed that work, killing 300 Moors. At another time Martin Botello went out with ten men to endeavour to make some prisoners, to procure intelligence. This party fell upon a post of the enemy occupied by eighteen men, all of whom fled except one *Nubian*, who bravely endeavoured to defend himself against the whole eleven. Botello closed with him, and finding him hard to overcome while he touched the ground with his feet, raised him in his arms as Hercules did Anteus, and carried him to the fort by main strength. The assaults were frequently renewed, and the besieged were worn out with fatigue and reduced to the last extremity by famine, being forced to feed even upon naseous vermin. A crow or a vulture taken while feeding upon the dead bodies was so great a dainty for the sick that it sold for five crowns. Even the ammunition was almost spent. In this extremity, the enemy gave a fresh assault and forced their way into the bastion of St John, whence they were driven out. Scarcely had they retired when the bastion blew up with a vast explosion, carrying up 73 of the garrison into the air, ten of whom came down alive. Among these was Diego de Sotomayor, who fell into the fort with his spear still in his hand. One soldier fell in a similar manner among the enemy, and was immediately slain. *It was no fable that armed men were seen in the air on this occasion* [3]. Foreseeing the danger, as he believed from the retirement of the enemy so suddenly that they had secretly caused it to be undermined, Mascarenhas gave orders for the Portuguese soldiers to retire from the bastion; but one Reynoso prevented them from doing so, unaware of what was intended, upbraiding them for cowardice.

Thirteen

3 This is an evident allusion of De Faria to the ridiculous reports so often propagated among the Portuguese and Spaniards of those days, of heavenly champions aiding them in battle against the infidels.—E.

Thirteen thousand of the enemy immediately attacked the breach which was formed by the explosion, and were at first resisted only by five men, till Mascarenhas came up with fifteen more. Even the women came forward to assist in defending the breach: and the priest, who had returned from carrying advice to the neighbouring Portuguese forts, appeared carrying a crucifix aloft, and encouraging the men to behave themselves manfully. After a long and furious contest, the enemy retired on the approach of night, after losing 300 men, and Mascarenhas employed the whole night in repairing the breach. The enemy renewed their attacks every day, but with no better success, trusting to their vast superiority in numbers, that they would at last wear out and destroy the garrison. Rumi Khan began again to undermine the works, even piercing through rocks that were in the way; but Marcarenhas by means of a countermine disappointed his expectations, as the mine exploded back upon the enemy and killed many of their own men.

Don Alvaro de Castro, son to the governor-general, was at this time sent with supplies and reinforcements, and had to contend against the winds and waves through almost incredible storms, yet arrived at Bassen without loss. From thence Antonio Moniz Baretto with eight gentlemen crossed over to Diu in a boat, being the first reinforcement; who though few were no small comfort to the besieged by their bravery. Next came Luis de Melo with nine men; then Don George and Don Duarte de Menezes with seventeen; after them Antonio de Ataide and Francisco Guillerme with fifty each; and Ruy Freyre the factor of Chaul with twenty-four. With these reinforcements Mascarenhas fell upon the enemy who then possessed some of the works of the castle, and had even established themselves in the bastion of St James. The enemey had now lost 5000 men and the besieged 200, but having as many more left, scarcely half of whom were fit for duty, when Don Alvaro de Castro arrived with 400 men and a sufficient supply of ammunition, having taken by the way a ship belonging to Cambaya richly laden.

The joy of this relief was soon damped by the mutinous disposition of the soldiers brought by Don Alvaro; who fearful of the mines of the enemy, clamorously demanded to be led into the field against the enemy; and when the governor prudently refused compliance, they broke out into open mutiny in defiance of all discipline, then scarce known or at least

not

not respected by the Portuguese. Being in danger of perishing in the castle by his own men, Mascarenhas chose rather to die in the field among the enemy, and made a sally with almost 500 men in three bodies. At the first push the advanced post of the enemy was gained, and they were forced to retire to their main works. Those who had insolently compelled their commander to this extravagant measure, uow stood heartless at the foot of the trenches, while others who had taken no part in the mutiny acted courageously. After a severe reproof from Mascarenhas they took heart and mounted the works, but the whole army of the enemy attacking them, the Portuguese were forced to retire in disorder. The enemy followed up the runaways, and 5000 of them under Mojate Khan endeavoured to gain possession of the bastion of St Thomas, but were bravely repulsed by Luis de Sousa. In this action sixty men were slain on the side of the Portuguese, among whom were Don Alvaro de Castro, who was mortally wounded in the head. About this time likewise the enemy gained temporary possession of the bastion of St James and even turned its cannon against the garrison, but were driven out by Vasco de Cuna and Luis de Almeida, who had just arrived with a reinforcement. The latter went out soon afterwards with Payo Rodriguez and Pedro Alfonso in three caravels, and soon returned with two great ships belonging to Mecca and several other vessels, whose cargoes were worth 50,000 ducats.

In the beginning of October 1545, when the siege had lasted eight months, Don Juan de Castro set out from Goa with a powerful armament for its relief. As the fleet, consisting of above 90 vessels, was scattered during the voyage, Don Juan put in at *Baseen* to wait for its reunion, and sent in the mean time Don Emanuel de Lima with a squadron to scour the coast, who took several vessels. At length the Portuguese fleet made its appearance in the sea of Diu, to the great amazement and dismay of the enemy, who had recently received a supply of 5000 men from the king of Cambaya. Having landed his troops, it was resolved by Don Juan de Castro to march and attack the enemy, chiefly on the suggestion of the experienced Don Garcia de Sa. The Portuguese army was accordingly marshalled in the following order. Don Juan Mascarenhas, the valiant defender of the castle, led the van consisting of 500 men. Two other bodies of equal force were

led

led by Don Alvaro de Castro [4], and Don Emanuel de Lima. Don Juan de Castro led the reserve, composed of 1000 Portuguese and a body of Indian soldiers. Among the men were several Portuguese women in men's clothes, who went principally to assist those that might be wounded. The lieutenant-governor was left in charge of the fort with 300 men.

Having prepared for battle by the sacraments of the church, this small army marched out at break of day of the 11th November 1545, to attack the numerous forces of the enemy, who were strongly entrenched and defended by a powerful train of artillery. At this time two Portuguese gentlemen who had challenged each other, agreed that he who first mounted the works of the enemy should be deemed conqueror: both honourably strove to gain the victory, and both died gloriously in the attempt. After a severe conflict, in which the Portuguese sustained some loss, they at length mounted the works, and Mascarenhas and Don Alvaro de Castro, having each gained possession of a tower or bulwark, made room for the army drawing up in the open field in the rear of the hostile works. Twice was the ensign carrying the royal standard thrown down from the enemy's works, and twice remounted. Rumi Khan used every effort, backed by his numerous army, to drive the Portuguese from his entrenchments, but unsuccessfully. Being joined by Juzar Khan, who had been worsted by Mascarenhas, they united their troops and renewed their fight, and distressed the Portuguese exceedingly, when father Antonio de Cazal appeared in the ranks carrying a crucifix aloft on the point of a lance, encouraging the troops to behave courageously. By great and valiant exertions, after covering the field with dead and wounded Moors, Rumi Khan was constrained to retreat in disorder; but having rallied his troops, the Portuguese in their turn were thrown into disorder. Don Juan, however exerted himself to admiration, and restoring his men to order renewed the battle. At this time a stone or bullet broke off an arm from the crucifix, and the priest calling on the soldiers to avenge the sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that after incredible

4 This gentleman has been said only a little way before, to have been *mortally* wounded. He must only have been *severely* wounded on that former occasion; or perhaps it might have been Don Ferdinand, another son of the governor, who was killed.—E.

credible efforts they drove the enemy into the city with vast slaughter. Mascarenhas, Don Alvaro de Lima, and Don Juan de Castro, successively forced their way into the city with their respective battalions, by several avenues, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women shared the fate of the men, and even children were slain at their mothers breasts. In plundering the houses, gold, silver, and jewels were alone attended to by the soldiery, other things though of value being slighted as cumbrous.

Rumi Khan and the other officers of the enemy sallied with about 8000 men, against whom Don Juan de Castro, with the assistance of his son and Mascarenhas again engaged, and after a bloody battle gained a complete victory. In this last engagement, Gabriel Teixeyra killed the standard-bearer of the enemy, and dragged the standard of Cambaya about the field proclaiming victory. George Nunez brought out the head of Rumi Khan from among the dead, and presented it to Don Juan. Juzar Khan was wounded and made prisoner. In this great battle the enemy lost 5000 men, among whom, besides Rumi Khan, Azede Khan, Lu Khan, and other men of note were slain. The Portuguese, according to one account, lost 100 men, while others say only 34. Many thousands were taken, with forty pieces of cannon of extraordinary size, besides 160 others, and a prodigious quantity of ammunition. Free plunder was allowed to the troops, by which many acquired great riches and all were satisfied. Many of the Portuguese signalized their valour in this action. The governor-general acted the part of a valiant soldier, as well as that of a prudent general. Mascarenhas, after sustaining a siege of eight months, distinguished himself above all others. Of Don Alvaro de Castro, it is sufficient to say that he acted like his father. The ensign Barbado, though several times thrown down, as often remounted the works of the enemy. Father Antonio del Cazal, by presenting to view the *image of life* banished the *fear of death.* Many others distinguished their valour, some of whom survived and others were slain. The enemy confessed that, one day during the siege, they saw over the church in the castle a beautiful woman in the air, clothed in white, and so brilliantly illuminated with rays of light that they could not look upon her; and that this day there were some men in the field armed with lances who did them much harm. The king of Cambaya was so enraged with the loss

he had sustained in this siege, that he ordered twenty-eight Portuguese prisoners to be torn in pieces in his presence.

Great was the joy at Goa on the news being received of the events at Diu, which were carried thither by Diego Rodriguez de Azevedo, who likewise carried a message from Don Juan deCastro requesting the city to lend him 20,000 pardaos for the use of the army, sending a lock of his whiskers in pawn for the faithful repayment of the money. The city respectfully returned the proposed pledge, and sent him more money than he wanted, and even the ladies of Goa on this occasion sent him their earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and other jewels to be applied to the public service. But the governor punctually restored all exactly as sent, having been amply supplied by the capture of a rich ship of Cambaya. Having restored the castle to a better condition than before the siege, Don Juan de Castro sailed for Goa, leaving a garrison of 500 men in the castle under Don George de Menezes, with six ships to secure the coast. The city also was now better inhabited than ever, through the good usage of the governor to the Moors.

Don Juan de Castro returned from Diu to Goa on the 11th of April 1546, where he was received with universal demonstrations of joy, and was conducted into the city in a splendid triumph, prepared on purpose after the manner of the ancient Romans. The city gates and the houses of the streets he had to pass through were hung with silk, all the windows were thronged with women splendidly dressed, and every part of the city resounded with music and the din of cannon, all the ships in the bay being richly adorned with numerous flags and streamers. Don Juan entered the city under a splendid canopy; and at the gates his hat was taken off, and his brows adorned by a crown of laurel, of which likewise a branch was put into his hand. Before him went the priest, carrying the crucifix, as he had done in the late battle, and next to him was the royal standard. Juzar Khan followed with his eyes fixed on the ground, perhaps that he might not see the standard of his sovereign trailing in the dust, while those of the Portuguese floated triumphant in the air. After him came 600 prisoners in chains. In the front were all the captured cannon, and great quantities of arms of all sorts in carts artificially disposed. The governor walked upon leaves of gold and silver and rich silks, all the ladies as he passed sprinkling him from their windows with odoriferous waters, and strewing

him

him with flowers. On hearing an account of this triumph, queen Catharine said "That Don Juan had overcome like a Christian, but had triumphed like a heathen."

Scarcely was this triumph ended when the governor found it necessary to send a force of 120 horse, 800 foot, and 1000 Indians, to expel some troops sent by Adel Khan to possess the districts of Salsete and Bardes, because the conditions on which he had ceded these to the Portuguese had not been fulfilled. Diego de Almeyda, who commanded these troops, easily executed his commission, as 4000 men belonging to Adel Khan, who were stationed at *Cowlii* fled at his approach. Adel Khan however sent them back again, with 9000 additional men, together with a company of renegado Portuguese, commanded by Gonzalo Vaz Coutinno, who, to avoid the punishment due to his crimes, had deserted to the enemy. As Almeyda found himself too weak to resist this great force, he was forced to retire; on which the governor marched in person against the enemy with 3000 men in five battalions, and was soon afterwards joined by Francisco de Melo with about 1500 more. On the approach of this force the enemy retired to the fort of Ponda followed by the Portuguese army, on which occasion Don Alvaro de Castro, who led the van, gained possession of a ford defended by 2000 musqueteers. The main body of the enemy, twelve or thirteen thousand strong, were drawn up in good order about the fort, but fled at the first fire, leaving the fort entirely empty.

The victorious are sure to find friends. *Cidoza* king of Canara sent to congratulate Don Juan de Castro upon this victory, and to propose a new alliance with the Portuguese, which was accordingly concluded upon advantageous terms, as always happens upon such occasions. This kingdom of *Charnataca*, corruptly named *Canara*, had no sovereign prince before the year 1200, when one *Boca*, a shepherd, assumed the government, styling himself *Rao* which signifies emperor, a title that has been continued by all his successors. This king, in memorial of a victory gained by him over the king of Delhi, built the famous city of Visajanagur, corruptly called Bisnagar. The crown continued in his line till usurped by Narsinga, from whom the kingdom took that name, having been formerly called Bisnagar from that of the city. Afterwards king Malek sent also to confirm the peace between him and the Portuguese, more through hatred to Adel Khan who

who was defeated, than from love to the victorious Portuguese.

Hearing in 1546 that the king of Cambaya intended again to besiege Diu with a larger army than ever, Don Juan de Castro prepared with all diligence to relieve it, borrowing money from the city of Goa for the expences of the expedition; and on this occasion the women of Goa sent him their jewels by the hands of their young daughters, complaining that he had not used them before, and requesting him to do so now; but he sent all back accompanied with presents. Having fitted out 160 sail of various kinds of vessels with a large military force, Don Juan sailed for *Basseen* and thence to Surat, where Don Alvaro had arrived before the fleet, and had taken a work with several cannon from the Moors. Sailing thence to Baroch, the army of the king of Cambaya was seen covering the whole plain, to the amount of 150,000 men, with 80 large cannon in front. Don John was anxious to land with his small army of 3000 men to give battle to the king, but was dissuaded from the rash attempt by his most experienced officers. He went on therefore to Diu, where he appointed Luis Falcam to command the castle, as Mascarenhas was then about to return to Portugal. After this he went along the coast of the Guzerat dominions, landing in many places, and destroying every thing with fire and sword. The strong and beautiful cities of *Pate* and *Patane*, being abandoned by the inhabitants, were utterly destroyed; two hundred vessels were destroyed in their ports, and a prodigious booty was obtained. Dabul also, though in the dominions of Adel Khan, was treated in a similar manner, in revenge for the ravages commited by the orders of that sovereign in the districts of Salsete and Bardes, which were occupied by Calabate Khan at the head of 20,000 men.

As Calabate Khan seemed disposed to retain possession of these districts, Don Juan went against him with 1500 horse and 4000 foot; but the enemy fled in all haste to the gauts, leaving their tents and baggage behind. The Portuguese army pursued; and being resisted by Calabate Khan in person, with 2000 horse at a ford or pass, that general was unhorsed and slain by a Portuguese officer named Almeyda, after which the enemy were defeated with great slaughter. The cymeter, dagger, chain, and rings of the slain general were estimated at the value of 80,000 crowns. After this victory, Don Juan ravaged the whole country below the gauts belonging to Adel Khan,

Khan, destroying every thing before him, burning all the towns and woods, and carrying off the cattle and provisions. From this destructive expedition he returned to Goa, which he again entered in triumph.

About this time the king of Acheen in Sumatra, an irreconcilable enemy to the Portuguese, sent a fleet of sixty vessels against Malacca with 5000 soldiers, among whom were 500 men called *Orobalones* or *the golden bracelets*, from wearing that ornament in distinction of their bravery; but the principal force consisted of a regiment of Turkish janisaries commanded by a valiant Moor. This man landed in the night near Malacca, and it is said that the garrison was alarmed and put on their guard by a flock of geese, as the capitol was in ancient times. The garrison of Malacca was then very weak, yet the enemy were forced to reimbark, after burning two Portuguese ships then ready to sail. On returning from their intended attack on Malacca, the enemy took seven poor fishermen, whose noses, ears, and feet they cut off, and sent them in that mutilated condition to the commander at Malacca, George de Melo, with a letter written with their blood, challenging him to come out and fight them at sea. Melo was by no means disposed to accept this challenge, having a very inadequate force, and because he had only eight small vessels which lay aground in a state unfit for service. But the great St Francis Xavier, who was then in Malacca, prevailed on some merchants to be at the expence of fitting out these vessels, and upon Melo to go out against the enemy, promising that two galliots would come by a certain time to his aid. When the time was near expired, two galliots actually made their appearance and came into the harbour, though intended upon a different course. The saint went on board, and found that they were commanded by Diego Suarez de Melo, commonly called the *Gallego*, and his son Baltazar, whom he prevailed upon to join in the attack of the Acheenese. The ten small vessels were accordingly fitted out and manned by 230 men, and set sail in search of the enemy under the command of Don Francisco Deza. After ranging about for two months in search of the Acheen fleet, when at length about to return to Malacca, Deza found them in the river *Parles*, where he resolutely attacked them one Sunday morning, and, after an obstinate engagement, gained a complete victory, in which 4000 of the enemy were slain. Several of the Acheen ships were sunk, and almost all the rest taken, of which the Portu-

guese brought in twenty-five to Malacca, with 300 pieces of cannon and about 1000 firelocks, having only lost twenty-five men according to one account, while some said only four. St Francis was preaching at Malacca when this battle took place, and suddenly pausing in the middle of his discourse, he distinctly related all the particulars of the victory to his auditors, who were in great anxiety for the fate of their ships, having received no news of them during two months. His prophecy was verified a few days afterwards by their triumphant arrival.

Don Juan de Castro began his operations in January 1548, by the entire destruction of all that part of the western coast of India which belonged to Adel Khan. From the river *Charopa* two leagues from Goa, to that of *Cifardam*, which divides the dominions of Adel Khan from that of the Nizam, he spared neither living creature, vegetable, nor dwelling of any kind.

When the news of the glorious termination of the siege of Diu was received at Lisbon, the king sent out a greater fleet than usual to India, and honoured Don Juan with extraordinary favours for his good services. Besides a present in money, he continued him in the government, raising his rank from governor-general to the dignity of viceroy, and appointed his son Don Alvaro admiral of the Indian seas. But Don Juan was almost dead when these honours reached him, being sick of a disease which now-a-days kills no one, for even diseases die! He was heart-broken by the cowardly behaviour of a Portuguese force that had been sent to Aden, and the rash conduct of his son at Xael, in both of which they had suffered severe losses. Finding himself dying, he publicly asked pardon of many for having written against them to the king; and being unable to manage the affairs of government, he appointed a select council to supply his place. Calling the members into his presence, he said "Though he neither hoped nor wished to live, yet it behoved him to be at some expence while he remained alive; and having no money, he entreated they would order him a small supply from the royal revenues, that he might not die for want." Then laying his hand on a missal, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, he solemnly swore, "That he had on no occasion converted the money belonging to the king, or to any other person, to his own use; and that he had never engaged in trade to increase his own fortune." He desired that this his solemn declaration might be recorded.

He

He soon afterwards expired in the arms of St Francis Xavier, on the 6th of June 1548, in the 48th year of his age. All the treasure found in his private cabinet was three *ryals* and a *bloody scourge.*

Don Juan was an excellent scholar, being particularly skilled in Latin and the mathematics. During his government of India he did not allow himself to be actuated by pride, as others had done before and after him, and always valued and promoted his officers for their merits. He so much loved that every one should act becomingly, that seeing one day a fine suit of clothes on passing a tailors shop, and being told that it was intended for his son, he cut it in pieces, desiring some one to tell the young man to provide arms, not fine clothes.

Section V.

Transactions of the Portuguese in India, from 1548 *to* 1564, *under several Governors*[1].

Immediately on the death of Don Juan the first patent of succession was opened, in which Don Juan Mascarenhas was named; but he had gone to Lisbon to seek the reward of his gallant defence of Diu, which he now missed. The second named Don George Telo, who was also absent. In the third, Gracia de Sa was nominated to the succession, an officer of much experience in the affairs of India. Soon afterwards he received an embassy from Adel Khan to solicit peace, which was concluded much to the advantage of the Portuguese. The Zamorin, Nizam-al-mulk, Kothb-al-mulk king of Golconda, the Rajah of Canara, and several other princes of India sent splendid embassies to confirm the peace; and at length, Sultan Mahmud king of Guzerat or Cambaya, tired of the unfortunate war in which he had been long engaged with the Portuguese, made pacific overtures, and a treaty was concluded to the credit and advantage of the Portuguese.

In the course of this year, 1548, a bloody war broke out between the kings of Siam and Pegu on the following occasion: The king of Siam happened to possess *a white elephant*, a singular

1 The transactions of this period are of so little importance, and related in so desultory a manner, that in the present section we have only thought it necessary to give an abreviated selection.—E.

gular curiosity, much coveted by all the princes of the east, and the king of Pegu demanded that it should be given up to him in token of superiority. This was refused by the king of Siam, and the king of Pegu invaded Siam with a numerous army, reducing the king of Siam to such straits that he was willing to make peace on any conditions, except delivering up the white elephant, even agreeing to give up one of his own daughters, and to send a woman of noble birth yearly as an acknowledgement of vassalage. But as the terms were not performed, the king of Pegu again marched into the kingdom of Siam with a prodigious army of a million and a half of men and 4000 elephants. Above 2000 workmen preceded the king, and set up every night for his lodgment a stately wooden palace, richly painted and adorned with gold. On this march the king of Pegu constructed a prodigious bridge of boats over the rapid river *Menam*, a full league in length, for the passage of his army.

In the course of this march, the army of Pegu was obstructed by a strong entrenchment defended by 25,000 Siamese troops. Diego Suarez de Melo, who served in the army of Pegu with 180 Portuguese, went against this entrenchment with his own small battalion and 30,000 Peguers, and carried the work with a prodigious slaughter of the Siamese. The army of Pegu at length besieged the city of *Odia*, in which the king of Siam resided. Odia is eight leagues in circumference, and was surrounded by a strong wall on which 4000 cannon were mounted, and was farther defended by a wide and deep wet ditch, and by a garrison of 60,000 combatants, among whom were 50 Portuguese commanded by Diego Pereyra. After continuing the siege for some time, being unable to prevail on the Portuguese under Pereyra to desert the service of the king of Siam, the king of Pegu abandoned Odia, and besieged the city of *Camambee*, in which the treasures of Siam were deposited. That place was strongly fortified, and defended by 20,000 men with so much valour that the Peguers were again obliged to desist. At this time *Xemindoo* rebelled against the king of Pegu, who sent Diego Suarez against him with 200 Portuguese. Suarez pursued the rebel to the city of *Cevadi*, but Xemindoo slipped past him and took possession of the city of Pegu, where he was favoured by the inhabitants. The queen fled into the castle, where she was defended by twenty Portuguese, till the king came up with his army and put the rebels to flight. The army then entered

entered the city, and put all to the sword, men, women, and children, and every living thing, sparing those only who took refuge in the house of Suarez, which the king had ordered to be exempted from this military execution, and in which above 12,000 saved themselves. The plunder on this occasion was immense, of which three millions fell to the share of Suarez, who was so much in favour with the king, that he pardoned a Portuguese at his intercession who had supplied the rebels with ammunition.

The king of Pegu was soon afterwards murdered in the beautiful city of *Zatan* by the *Ximi* or governor of that place, who immediately had himself proclaimed king; but was in his turn taken and beheaded by the former rebel *Xemindoo*, who usurped the crown. One *Mandaragri*, who had married a sister of the former king, raised an army and claimed the crown in right of his wife; and having defeated that first rebel in battle, he fled to the mountains, where he married the daughter of a peasant, to whom he revealed his name and rank. She communicated this intelligence to her father, who delivered him up to the new king by whom he was beheaded. Being much displeased with the people of Pegu, Mandaragri built a new city near that place. He soon afterwards raised an immense army, with which he reduced many of the neighbouring provinces. But a new rebellion broke out at Pegu in his absence, by which the queen was forced to take refuge in the castle, where she chiefly owed her safety to about forty Portuguese, who defended her till the king came up and vanquished the rebels; after which he rewarded the brave Portuguese with riches and honour.

About this time likewise, the inhabitants of *Chincheo*, the *second* Portuguese colony in China, being in a flourishing condition, became forgetful of the sad fate of *Liampo*, formerly mentioned, which had been destroyed through their insolence and cupidity. Ayres Coello de Sousa, who was judge of the orphans and *proveditor* for the dead, committed many villanies to get hold of 12,000 ducats belonging to an Armenian merchant who had died there, and of 8000 ducats from some Chinese merchants, under pretence that this sum was due by them to the deceased. By these and other insolencies, the Chinese were so provoked that they destroyed *Chincheo*, as they had formerly done Liampo, only 30 Portuguese escaping out of 500 who lived there. These and some other Portuguese

guese went over to the island of *Lampazau*; and they afterwards, in 1557, obtained leave to settle in the island of *Goaxam*, where they built the city of *Macao*.

While endeavouring to devise means for the relief of the soldiers, who were in great want, Gracia de Sa died suddenly in July 1549, at 70 years of age, being much regretted for his prudence, affability, and integrity. On the patents of succession being opened, George Cabral was found first in nomination. This officer was a man of good birth and known worth, and had gone a short while before to assume the command at Basseen. He was very unwilling to assume the government, as it deprived him of the command which he was to have held for four years, and was afraid that another would soon come from Portugal to supersede him in the supreme authority; but his lady Donna Lucretia Fiallo, prevailed upon him to accept the honour to which he seemed so averse, and which she ardently desired; and he accordingly returned to Goa to assume the high office. Cabral deserved to have long enjoyed the post of governor-general, and Portuguese India was indebted to his wife for the short period of his rule. Soon after his installation, news was brought that the Turks were fitting out an hundred sail at Suez to transport an army to India; on which Cabral diligently prepared to meet the storm, by collecting ships from the different ports.

At this time the zamorin and the rajah of Pimienta entered into a league against the rajah of Cochin. The rajah of Pimienta took the field with 10,000 Nayres, and was opposed by the rajah of Cochin with his men, assisted by 600 Portuguese troops under Francisco de Sylva, who commanded in the fort at Cochin. Sylva pressed for an accommodation, which was consented to by the rajah on reasonable terms; but the treaty was broken off by the rash and violent conduct of Sylva. The armies engaged in battle, in which the rajah of Pimienta was mortally wounded and carried off the field, upon which his troops fled and were pursued into their city with great slaughter, and the royal palace set on fire. This was considered as a heinous affront by the Nayres of Pimienta, who rallied and fell with such fury on the victors that they were forced to a disorderly retreat, in which Sylva and above fifty Portuguese were slain. About 5000 of the Pimienta Nayres, who had taken an oath to revenge the death of their rajah or to die in the attempt, made an irruption into the territory of Cochin where they did much damage; and while engaged with the

 Cochin

Cochin troops, Henry de Sousa marched against them with some Portuguese troops, and defeated them with great slaughter. The joy occasioned by this victory was soon damped by the approach of the zamorin at the head of 140,000 men. The zamorin encamped with 100,000 of these at *Chembe*, while the tributary or allied Malabar princes with the other 40,000 took post in the island of *Bardela*.

Upon the first advice of this invasion, Cabral collected the armament which had been destined against the Turks, consisting of above 100 sail of different kinds, with 4000 soldiers. He sent on Emanuel de Sousa with four ships, ordering him with these and the force already at Cochin to use every effort to confine the Malabar princes to the island of Bardela, till he should be able to get there with the main army, which orders he effectually executed. Having destroyed *Tiracole*, *Coulete*, and *Paniane*, Cabral landed at Cochin, where his army was increased to 6000 men, and where the Rajah was ready with 40,000 of his subjects. Being ready to attack the island, the Malabar princes hung out a white flag for a parley, and even agreed to put themselves into the hands of the governor on promise of their lives; but they delayed, and Cabral resolved to attack them next day. When next day came, he was again hindered by a violent flood. And the next day after, when on the point of performing one of the most brilliant actions that had ever been done in India, he was stopt by the sudden arrival at Cochin of Don Alfonso de Noronha as viceroy of India; who would neither allow him to proceed, nor would he execute what was so well begun, but allowed the Malabar princes to escape with their whole army[2].

While Cabral remained at Cochin, waiting for an opportunity to embark for Portugal in the homeward bound ships, there was a report one night about the middle of February 1550, that 8000 sworn Nayres were on their march to assault the city. He hastened to the gates with Emanuel de Sousa, intending to march against the enemy at day-break; but being hindered by the council of Cochin, he remained with a competent force to defend the city, and sent Emanuel with the native troops and 1500 Portuguese against the invaders, who were doing every thing that rage and malice could suggest in a

2 We only learn incidentally from De Faria that this happened in the year 1550.—E.

a neighbouring town. After a desperate engagement, the *amoucos* or devoted Nayres were defeated with great slaughter with the loss of 50 Portuguese. Cabral embarked well-pleased with this successful exploit against the sworn Nayres, and was well received in Portugal, as he justly merited, though contrary to the usual custom of that court.

This year there was born at Goa, of Canarin parents, a hairy monster like a monkey, having a round head and only one eye in the forehead, over which it had horns, and its ears were like those of a kid. When received by the midwife, it cried with a loud voice, and stood up on its feet. The father put it into a hencoop, whence it got out and flew upon its mother; on which the father killed it by pouring scalding water on its head, and could scarcely cut off the head it was so hard. He burnt it. But when the story came to be known, he was punished for the murder, and the body was exposed to public view [3].

Don Alfonso de Noronha was promoted to the viceroyalty of India from being governor of Ceuta, but was subjected to the control of a council, by whose advice he was ordered to conduct the goverment of India. He had orders from court to send back to Portugal all the *new Christians or converted Jews*, many of whom had gone out to India with their families. It had been better to have banished them from both countries. The new viceroy was received at Goa with universal joy, more owing perhaps to the general dislike towards him who lays down authority than from love for him who takes it up. The Arabs of *Catifa* in the Persian Gulf had admitted the Turks to take possession of the fort in that city, to the great displeasure of the King of Ormuz, on whom it had been dependent, and who therefore applied for aid to the viceroy to reduce the refractory or revolted vassals. The king of Basrah had also been expelled from his kingdom by the Turks, yet kept the field with an army of 30,000 men, and sent for assistance from the viceroy, to whom he offered leave to erect a fort at his capital, and to grant many valuable privileges to the Portuguese. The viceroy accordingly sent his nephew, Antonio de Noronha, to the assistance of these two kings with 1200 men

3 This silly story has been retained, perhaps very unnecessarily. It is perhaps an instance of embellishment founded on the love of the marvellous, and the whole truth may lie in a very narrow compass "*an infant coming into the world covered with hair*," while all the rest is fiction.—E.

men in nineteen vessels. Antonio was joined at Ormuz by 3000 native troops, in conjunction with whom he besieged Catifa, which was defended by 400 Turks. After a brave but unavailing resistance, the garrison fled by night, but were pursued and routed. As the general of the troops of Ormuz was unwilling to engage for the future defence of this fort, it was undermined for the purpose of destroying it; but being unskilfully managed, the mine exploded unexpectedly, and forty of the Portuguese were buried under its ruins. Noronha then sailed to the mouth of the Euphrates, on purpose to assist the king of Basrah; but he was induced to believe, by a cunning Turkish pacha, that the king of Basrah meant to betray him, on which he ingloriously returned to Ormuz, where he learnt the deceit when too late.

The sultan of the Turks was so much displeased with the Portuguese for what they had done at Catifa and attempted at Basrah, that he sent an expedition against Ormuz of 16,000 men, commanded by an old pirate named *Pirbec*. The Turk in the first place besieged Muscat for near a month, and at length obliged the garrison to capitulate; but broke the articles and chained the captain and sixty men to the oars. He afterwards proceeded against Ormuz, where Don Alvaro de Noronha commanded with nine hundred men in the fort, where he had provided ammunition and provisions for a long siege, and into which the king with his wife and children and some of the chief people of the court had gone for shelter. The Turk landed his men and raised batteries against the fort, which he cannonaded incessantly for a whole month; but finding that he lost many of his men and had no prospect of success, he plundered the city, and went over to the island of Kishom, to which many of the principal people of Ormuz had withdrawn, where he got a considerable booty and then retired to Basrah. The viceroy had been informed of the danger to which Ormuz was exposed, and fitted out a fleet in which he embarked in person for its relief; but hearing at Diu, on his way to the Persian Gulf, that Ormuz was out of danger, he sailed back to Goa. On his return unsuccessful from Ormuz, *Pirbec* was beheaded for having acted beyond his instructions, and *Morad-beg* was sent in 1553 with fifteen gallies to cruise in the Persian Gulf against the Portuguese. An encounter took place between this Turkish squadron and one belonging to the Portuguese under Don Diego de Noronha, which ended without material loss on either side; but the Turks

Turks were forced to take shelter in the Euphrates, where the water was too shallow to admit the Portuguese galleons. In the course of this year 1553, *Luis Camoens*, the admirable Portuguese poet, went out to India, to endeavour to advance his fortune by the sword, which had been so little favoured by his pen.

About this time new troubles took place at Diu in consequence of the death of Sultan Mahmud, king of Guzerat or Cambaya. Like Mithridates, he had accustomed himself to the use of poison, to guard against being poisoned. When any of his women happened to be near their delivery, he used to open them to take out their children. Being one day out hunting accompanied by some of his women, he fell from his horse and was dragged by the stirrup, when one of his women boldly made up to his horse and cut the girth with a cymeter; in requital for this service he killed her, saying "that a woman of such courage had enough to kill him." He was at length murdered by a page in whom he had great confidence. For tyrants always die by the hands of those in whom they repose most trust. He was succeeded by a child who was his reputed son; but the nobility of the kingdom, offended by the insolence of Madrem-al-mulk who acted as governor of the kingdom, rebelled in several places. Abex Khan, who commanded in the city of Diu, was one of these, and in consequence of some disagreement between his soldiers and the Portuguese garrison, Don Diego de Almeyda made an assault on the city with 500 men, in which many of the Moors were slain and their houses plundered. Though late, Abex Khan saw his error, and made proper concessions. Soon afterwards, when Don Diego de Noronha succeeded Almeyda in the command of the castle of Diu, fresh troubles broke out at Diu, which were not appeased till a good many men had been slain on both sides, chiefly owing to the rashness and obstinacy of Diego de Noronha, for which he was afterwards excluded from the appointment to the viceroyalty of India.

In 1554 Don Alfonso de Noronha was superseded in the government of Portuguese India by Don Pedro de Mascarenhas, who was 70 years of age when appointed viceroy. Soon after his arrival at Goa, some of the great subjects of Adel Khan, king of Visiapour, made proposals for raising Meale Khan, who had long resided at Goa, to the musnud, and offered to cede the Conçan to the crown of Portugal, in re-

ward

ward for assistance in bringing about that revolution. That province, which produced a million of yearly revenue, was so great a bait, that the enterprise was engaged in without consideration of its difficulties. Meale Khan was immediately proclaimed king of Visiapour, and a force of 3000 Portuguese infantry with 200 horse and a body of Malabars and Canarins was immediately sent to reduce the fort of *Ponda;* after which, leaving his family in Goa as hostages for the faithful performance of the treaty, Meale Khan was conducted thither by the viceroy and placed at the head of his new subjects Leaving Ponda under the charge of Don Antonio de Noronha, with a garrison of 600 men, the viceroy returned to Goa, where he soon afterwards died, having enjoyed the viceroyalty of India only ten months.

On the death of Mascarenhas, which happened some time in 1555, Francisco de Barreto succeeded to the government by virtue of a patent of succession. He immediately proceeded to Ponda to support the cause of Meale Khan, who was soon afterwards taken prisoner, and the Portuguese were utterly disappointed in the hopes of profiting by this intended revolution.

In the beginning of 1556, Juan Peixoto sailed with two gallies for the Red Sea, to examine if the Turks were making any preparations at Suez for attacking the Portuguese in India. Finding every thing quiet, he landed unperceived during the night in the island of Swakem, whence he carried off a considerable booty and many prisoners, and returned to Goa with much honour.

About this time the king of *Sinde* sent an embassy to the governor general, desiring assistance in a war against one of his neighbours, and 700 men were dispatched for that purpose in 28 vessels under the command of Pedro Barreto, who arrived safe at Tatta in the *delta* of the Indus, the residence of the king of Sinde. The prince immediately visited the Portuguese commander, and sent notice of his arrival to the king his father who was absent in the field against the enemy. As the king made peace with his enemy, Barreto desired leave to depart, and required that the Portuguese should be reimbursed for the expences of the expedition, as had been agreed upon by the ambassador who solicited it. Receiving an unsatisfactory answer, Baretto landed his men and entered the city, where he slew above 8000 persons, destroyed to the value of above eight

eight millions in gold[4], and loaded his vessels with the richest booty that had ever been made in India, without losing a single man. He afterwards spent eight days destroying every thing within reach on both sides of the river. On this occasion one Gaspar de Monterroyo, going accidentally into a wood, killed a monstrous serpent thirty feet in length and of prodigious bigness, which had just devoured a bullock. Thus victorious over men and monsters, Barreto returned to Chaul, whence he and Antonio Pereyra Brandam went and destroyed Dabul in revenge for the injury done by Adel Khan to the Portuguese possessions on the coast.

In the year 1557, Nazer-al-mulk, the general of Adel Khan, invaded the districts of Salsete and Bardes with 2000 horse and 81,000 foot. Francisco Barreto, the governor-general, went against him with 3000 Portuguese infantry, 1000 Canarins, and 200 horse, and defeated him in the plain country near Ponda. In the district of Bardes, Juan Peixoto was opposed to another general of the enemy named Murad Khan, and being mnch incommoded by a Portuguese renegado who had fortified himself, assaulted and routed him twice with considerable slaughter. As the governor-general had retired to Goa after his late victory, Nazer-al-mulk returned to the flat country and intrenched his army near Ponda. About the same time an officer of Adel Khan waded the ford of *Zacorla* into the island of *Choram* with 500 men, and did considerable damage; but on the arrival of assistance from other parts was repulsed with considerable loss, and Francisco de Mascarenhas was left for the defence of the island with 300 men. Being desirous to secure the promontory of Chaul, the governor asked leave to fortify that place from Nizam Shah[5], who not only refused permission, but sent 30,000 of his own men with orders to build there an impregnable fort. On this the governor went there in person with 4000 Portuguese troops besides natives, and a pacific arrangement was entered into, but without liberty to build the fort. A miracle was seen at this place, as the Moors had been utterly unable to cut down a small

4 On many occasions, as here, De Faria, or his translator, gives no intimation of the species of coin to which he alludes.—E.

5 Named Nizamuxa in De Faria, and perhaps the same prince called Nizamaluco on former occasions, whom we have always designated Nizam al Mulk. The Indian officers named in the text a little before Nazer al Mulk and Murad Khan, are called Nazar Maluco and Moatecan by De Faria, whose orthography of eastern names is continually vicious.—E.

small wooden cross fixed upon a stone, or even to remove it by the force of elephants. Likewise about this time a Portuguese soldier bought for a trifle from a *jogue* in Ceylon, a brown pebble about the size of an egg, on which the heavens where represented in several colours, and in the midst of them the image of the holy Virgin with the Saviour in her arms; this precious jewel fell into the hands of Franciso Barreto, who presented it to Queen Catharine, and through its virtues God wrought many miracles both in India and Portugal.

About the end of the government of Franciso Barreto, Joam III. king of Portugal died, in whom ended the good fortune of the Portuguese. In 1558 the regency, during the minority of King Sebastian, sent out Don Constantin de Braganza as viceroy to India. Don Constantin was younger brother of Theodosius duke of Braganza, and was only 30 years of age when appointed to that high office. He arrived at Goa in the beginning of September 1558, with four ships and 2000 men, having performed the voyage with unusually favourable weather; and, contrary to the usual practice, he assumed the government without affronting in any way the person whom he superseded. Soon after his arrival he went upon an expedition against Daman, which had been ceded to the former governor by the king of Guzerat, but which was still retained by Side Bofata, who was in rebellion against his own prince. On the arrival of the Portuguese armament, Bofata abandoned the city and fort, which the viceroy took possession of, as a post of importance to secure the district of Basseen, and converted the mosque into a Christian church. Bofata encamped at a place named *Parnel*, two leagues from Daman, whence with 2000 horse he infested the Portuguese in their new possession; but was driven from his encampment by Antonio Moniz Barreto, leaving thirty-six pieces of cannon, several cart-loads of copper money, and other plunder. The viceroy behaved with such liberality and discretion, that he soon attracted abundance of inhabitants to this new acquisition, and reduced the neighbouring island of *Balzar*, which he deemed necessary for the security of Daman, of which he gave the command to Don Diego de Noronha with a garrison of 1200, appointing Alvaro Gonzales Pinto to command in Balzar with 120 men and some cannon.

In 1560, the viceroy went against Jafnapatam in the island of Ceylon, because the king of that place, who was likewise lord of the isle of Manar, persecuted the Christians, and had usurped

usurped the throne from his brother, who fled to Goa, and was there baptised by the name of Alfonso. After some considerable successes, and having even forced the king of Jafnapatam to cede the island of Manar, and to submit to the vassalage of Portugal, the viceroy was obliged to desist from the enterprise with considerable loss, but retained the island of Manar, where he built a fort. Among the treasure belonging to the king of Jafnapatam, taken in this expedition, was an idol, or relic rather, which was held in high estimation by all the idolaters on the coast of India, and, in particular, by the king of Pegu, who used to send ambassadors yearly with rich presents, merely to get a *print* of the precious relic. This holy relic was nothing more than the tooth of a white monkey; and some say that the cause of its being so much admired was owing to the rarity of the colour, like the white elephant of Siam. Others say that the monkey was held in such veneration for having discovered the wife of an ancient Indian king who had eloped from her husband. Some again alleged that it was the tooth of a man who had performed that service. However this may have been, when the king of Pegu heard that this tooth was in possession of the viceroy, he made an offer of 300,000 ducats for it, and it was believed his zeal would extend to a million if the bargain was well managed. Most of the Portuguese were for taking the money, and some wished to be employed in carrying the tooth to Pegu, expecting to derive great profit by shewing so precious a treasure by the way. But in a meeting of the principal clergy and laity of Goa, held on purpose, it was determined that the tooth should be destroyed; and it was accordingly pounded in a mortar in presence of the assembly, and reduced to ashes. All men applauded this act; but, not long afterwards, *two teeth* were set up instead of one.

Madrem al Mulk, king of Cambaya, desirous of recovering Daman, was ready to march against that place with a numerous army; but Don Diego de Noronha, getting intelligence of the design, contrived to persuade Cedeme Khan, lord of Surat, that the expedition was intended against him. Cedeme Khan, giving credit to this fiction, went to visit his brother-in-law, Madrem al Mulk, and persuaded him, with the principal leaders of his army, to visit him in the city of Surat, where he killed them all, and falling upon the camp put the Guzerat army to the rout with great slaughter. Zingis Khan, the son and successor of Madrem al Mulk, marched with a

numerous

numerous army to Surat to revenge the death of his father. Cedeme Khan abandoned the city and retired into the fort, where he was besieged by Zingis Khan, and reduced to great extremity; but hearing that his dominions were invaded by a new enemy, Zingis Khan patched up an agreement with Cedeme Khan, and returned to defend his own country. Soon afterwards, Don Diego de Noronha, commandant of Daman, died poor, having expended all his substance in the service of his king and country. Don Antonio de Noronha, who was afterwards viceroy, used to say "That a man must be mad who practised that kind of liberality." Now-a-days all men are very wise in that respect.

Some time afterwards, Cedeme Khan sent notice to the viceroy, that Zingis Khan was again marching against Surat, which he was in no condition to defend, and offered to deliver up the fort at that place to the Portuguese, on condition of being carried with his family and treasure to such place as he should appoint. The viceroy accordingly sent fourteen ships under the command of Don Antonio de Noronha to Surat, accompanied by Luis de Melo, who was appointed to succeed Diego de Noronha in the command of Daman. Coming to Surat, they forced their way up the river through showers of bullets, and landing with only 500 Portuguese troops, defeated Zingis Khan, who had an army of 20,000 men, but were unable to drive him from the city of Surat. Cedeme Khan however refused to deliver np the fort of Surat according to agreement, alledging that his own men would kill him if he did so. This is very likely; for, on the retirement of Antonio to Goa, Cedeme Khan was forced to make his escape from his own people, and, being made prisoner by Zingis Khan, was put to death. *Caracen*, who succeeded Cedeme Khan, contrived to patch up an agreement with Zingis Zhan, who left him in possession of Surat.

The conduct of Don Constantin de Braganza gave so much satisfaction to King Sebastian, that he offered to continue him as viceroy of India for life; but on his refusal, Don Francisco de Cotinho, count of Redondo, was appointed his successor. This nobleman, who was no less distinguished for his witty sayings than for his conduct in peace and war, arrived at Goa in the beginning of September 1561. Nothing worth relating happened during his government of India, which lasted two years and five months, except the ordinary occurrences of

petty

petty wars on the Malabar coast, in Ceylon, Malacca, and the Moluccas, not worth relating. In his time, the famous poet *Camoens* was in Goa, where he had been favoured by the two last viceroys. The former governor, Francisco Barreto, had imprisoned and banished him for getting into debt, and other youthful extravagancies; and, being given up to the law by the count towards the end of his government, he was thrown into prison. We shall afterwards see him deceitfully carried to Sofala, and there sold as a slave. About the end of February 1564, the viceroy died suddenly, much lamented by all, being a great lover of justice, and so happy in his witticisms that all pleasant sayings were fathered upon him.

SECTION VI.

Continuation of the Portuguese Transactions in India, from 1564 *to the year* 1571.

ON the death of the count of Redondo, Juan de Mendoza late governor of Malacca succeeded to the command in India with the title of governor. A short while before his accession, some Malabar pirates had committed hostilities on the coast of Calicut upon the Portuguese; and when complaints were carried to the zamorin, he alleged that these had been done contrary to his authority by rebels, and that the Portuguese where welcome to punish them at their pleasure. The late viceroy had accordingly sent Dominic de Mosquita to make reprisals, who took above twenty sail of Malabar vessels, the crews of which he barbarously put to death. Immediately after the accession of Mendoza to the government an ambassador was sent to him from the zamorin, complaining of the conduct of Mosquita; when the governor, in imitation of the answer given on a similar occasion by the zamorin, said that it had probably been done by Portuguese rebels whom he might punish if taken. As Mosquita came to Goa while the Calicut ambassadors were still there, the governor thought it expedient to apprehend him in their presence; but as soon as they were departed, he released Mosquita and rewarded him. His conduct, however, soon afterwards occasioned a long war with the zamorin. Mendoza only enjoyed the government

ment for six months, as, in the beginning of September 1564, Don Antonio de Noronha arrived at Goa with the title of viceroy.

It is the received opinion in India, that the apostle St Thomas was slain at *Antenodur*, a mountain about a league and half from Meliapour, where were two caves into which he used to retire for prayer and meditation. The nearest of these caves now belongs to the jesuits, and the other has been coverted into a church dedicated to our Lady of the Mount. According to the legend, the apostle being one day at prayers in the former of these caves, opposite to a cleft which let in the light, a bramin thrust in a spear at the hole and gave the saint a mortal wound, part of the spear breaking off and remaining in his body. The saint had just strength enough remaining to go into the other cave, where he died embracing a stone on which a representation of the cross was engraved. His disciples removed his body, and buried it in the church which he had built, where the body was afterwards found by Emanuel de Faria and the priest Antonio Penteado, who were sent thither on purpose by king Emanuel. When, in the year 1547, the Portuguese were clearing out the cave or oratory in which the apostle died, a stone was found which seems to have been that he clung to at his death. This stone is about a yard long and three quarters broad, of a grey colour with some red spots. On its middle there is a carved porch, having letters between two borders, and within two banisters, on which are two twisted figures resembling dogs in a sitting posture. From their heads springs a graceful arch of five borders, between every two of which are knobs resembling beads. In the hollow of this arch or portal is a pedestal of two steps, from the upper of which rises a branch on each side, and over these, as if hung in the air, is a cross, said to resemble that of the military order of Alcantara; but in the print the ends resemble three crescents with their convex sides outwards and their points meeting, like those in many old churches in Europe. Over all is a dove on the wing, as if descending to touch the cross with its beak.

When, in the year 1551, this oratory was repaired and beautified, this stone was solemnly set up and consecrated; and when the priest was reading the gospel, it began to turn black and shining, then sweated, and returned to its original colour, and plainly discovered the red spots of blood, which

were before obscure. The letters on this stone could not be understood till the year 1561, when a learned bramin said they consisted of 36 hieroglyphic characters, each containing a sentence, and explained them to this effect: "In the time "of the son of Sagad the gentile, who reigned 30 years, the "*one only* GOD came upon earth, and was incarnate in the "womb of a virgin. He abolished the law of the Jews, *whom* "*he punished for the sins of men* [6], after he had been thirty-"three years in the world, and had instructed *twelve* servants "in the truth which he preached. A king of three crowns "*Cheralacone*, *Indalacone*, *Cuspindiad*, *and Alexander*, king "of *Ertinabarad*, with *Catharine* his daughter, and many vir-"gins, with six families, voluntarily followed the law of *Thomas*, "because the law of truth, and he gave them the sign of the "cross to adore. Going up to the place of *Antenodur*, a "bramin thrust him through with a lance, and he died em-"bracing this cross which was stained with his blood. His "disciples carried him to *Maiale*, where they buried him in "his own church with the lance still in his body. And as "we, the above mentioned kings, saw this, we carved these "letters." Hence it may be inferred, that *Maiale* was the ancient name of *Meliapour*, now called *St Thomas*. This stone afterwards sweated sometimes, which, till the year 1561, was a good omen, but has since been a bad one.

There were likewise found three brass plates, about a span long and half a span broad, shaped like scutcheons, having rings on the top. On one side was engraven a cross and peacock, the ancient arms of Meliapour, and on the other side certain characters which were explained by another learned bramin to the following effect: "*Boca Rajah* son of *Campula* "*Rajah*, and grandson of *Atela Rajah*, who confesses one "GOD without beginning, creator of all things, who is "greater than the beast *Chigsan*, and one of five kings who "has conquered ninety and nine, who is strong as one "of the eight elephants that support the world, and hath "conquered the kingdoms of Otia, Tulcan, and Canara, cut-"ting his enemies to pieces with his sword." This is the inscription on one of these plates. The others contain grants of

6 Probably Mr Stephens may have mistranslated this passage, which might be more appropriately read, *who put him to death for the sins of men*. This clumsy legend of St Thomas may amuse our readers; but probably derives its principal features from the contrivances of the Jesuits.—E.

of lands to St Thomas, directed by the king to himself, and calling him *Abidarra Modeliar;* whence it may be inferred, that these kings reigned at the time when Christ was crucified. One of these grants begins thus: "After the year 1259, in "the first year called *Icarana Rachan*, and on the 12th day "of the new moon of the good year, I give in alms to the "saint *Abidarra Modeliar*," &c. The other begins in this manner: "This is a token of alms-deeds to purchase Paradise. "All kings that perform them shall obtain much more than "they give; and he who disannuls them shall remain 60,000 "years with the worms in hell," &c.

It has been disputed by what road St Thomas came into India. The heathen history says, that he and Thaddeus being in Mesopotamia, they parted at the city of Edessa, whence St Thomas sailed with certain merchants to the island of Socotora where he converted the people, and then passed over to Mogodover Patana, a city of Paru, in Malabar, where he built a church. When at this place, a heathen, who had struck St Thomas in the king's presence, going to fetch water had his hand bitten off by a tiger; and running to the palace to tell his misfortune, a dog followed him with the hand in his mouth, on which the saint set on his hand again, so that no mark remained. He went afterwards to Calicut, where he converted king *Perimal.* There is an account that he went to the Moguls country, where Chesitrigal then reigned, whence going into China, he returned through Thibet into India, and went to Meliapour, where he ended his days.

In the year 800, a rich Armenian Christian, named Thomas Cananeus, arrived at Mogodover or Patana. Having acquired the favour of the king by his presents, he received a grant of Cranganor and the city of Patana, in which there were scarcely any vestiges remaining of the church there established by St Thomas. On these foundations the Armenian built a new church, and another at Cranganor, which he dedicated to St Thomas, and which is still standing on the outside of the Portuguese fort. He likewise built two other churches, one dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and the other to St Cyriacus. All of these have been erroneously ascribed to St Thomas, when in fact they were the works of Thomas Cananeus, the Armenian. It may reasonably be believed that the temple or pagoda, into which Vasco de Gama entered, as he went from Calicut to the palace of the zamorin, may have been one of these churches, because the image of the Virgin was there called

called Mary by the heathens. It is believed that one of the the three kings who went to Bethlem, at the nativity of our Lord, was king of Malabar. The heathens celebrate yearly a festival in honour of St Thomas, for the preservation of their ships, because formerly, every year, many of them used to be lost while sailing to Parvi.

From this long digression we return to the government of the viceroy Don Antonio de Noronha, who arrived in the beginning of September 1564, as formerly mentioned. In consequence of the cruelties exercised on the Moors of Malabar by Mesquita, as formerly mentioned, those of Cananor had besieged the Portuguese fort at that place, and had destroyed above thirty vessels which were under its protection. After a siege of some endurance, the Portuguese fleet destroyed many of the paraos belonging to the enemy, while the besieged garrison of Cananor killed great numbers of their assailants, besides cutting down above 40,000 palm trees [7] to the infinite injury of the natives, who depend upon these trees as their principal sustenance. The natives were so exasperated at this that, collecting forces from all the surrounding districts, to the amount of 90,000 men, they assaulted and even scaled the walls of the fort and city; but after fighting from day-break to sunset, during which time they lost about 5000 men, they were forced to retire to their camp, resolving to protract the siege, or rather to convert the siege into a strict blockade. In the farther prosecution of this war, the Portuguese utterly destroyed the city belonging to Adderajao [8], who commanded the besieging enemy, and cut down a large wood of palm trees, making great slaughter of the enemy, without any loss on their own side, so that the natives were constrained to raise the siege.

About this time the fort of Daman, towards the frontier of Guzerat, was threatened by a detachment of 3000 Mogul horse. Juan de Sousa stood immediately on his defence, and sent advice to the viceroy and the neighbouring commanders of his danger, trusting however to the strength of his defences, and

7 Assuredly cocoa-nut trees. This explains a circumstance repeatedly mentioned on former occasions, of the Portuguese anxiously cutting down the woods in their war with the natives on the coast of India.—E.

8 From the name of the commander of the enemy, probably *Adde Rajah*, and other circumstances, they were most likely *Nayres*, and other native Malabars, though called Moors in the text of De Faria.—E.

and particularly to a pallisade or *bound hedge*, which he had made of the plant named *lechera* or the *milk plant*, which throws out when cut a milky liquor which is sure to blind any one if it touches their eyes. On receiving reinforcements, De Sousa marched out against the Moguls, who were encamped about three leagues from Daman; but they fled precipitately, leaving their camp and baggage, in which the Portuguese found a rich booty.

During the year 1566, the trade of India was reduced to a very low ebb, owing to a desolating war in the rich and extensive kingdom of Bisnagar, which then reached from the frontiers of Bengal to that of Sinde. The kings of the Decan, Nizam al Mulk, Adel Khan, and Cuttub Shah, envious of the power and grandeur of the king of Bisnagar, entered into a league to partition his dominions among themselves, and took the field with 50,000 horse and 300,000 foot. To repel this formidable invasion, the king of Bisnagar, who was then ninety-six years of age, met his enemies with an army double their numbers. At first the confederates seemed to have the worst of the war; but fortune favoured them in the end, and the ancient king of Bisnagar was defeated and slain. The confederates spent five months in plundering the capital of Bisnagar, although the natives had previously carried off 1550 elephants loaded with money and jewels to the value of above an hundred millions of gold, besides the royal chair of state, which was of inestimable value. Among his share of the plunder Adel Khan got a diamond as large as an ordinary egg, with another of extraordinary size though smaller, and other jewels of prodigious value. The dominions of the old king were partitioned by the victors among his sons and nephews.

In the year 1567, the great poet Camoens being extremely poor though he had served sixteen years in India, was prevailed upon to go to Sofala along with Pedro Barreto, who was going there with the command, and promised to do great things for him; but after waiting long and receiving nothing, Camoens resolved to return to Portugal in a ship which put in at Sofala, in which was Hector de Silveyra and other gentlemen. Barreto, however, opposed his departure, having promised him promotion without any intentions of doing so, but only to procure his company for his own gratification, and now detained him under pretence of a debt of two hundred ducats

ducats. Silveyra and the other Portuguese gentlemen paid this money and brought Camoens away, so that it may be said, that the person of Camoens and the honour of Barreto were both sold for that money. Camoens arrived at Lisbon in 1569, at which time the plague raged in that city; so that in flying from one plague our great and famous poet fell into another.

In 1568, Don Antonio de Noronha was succeeded as viceroy of India by Don Luis de Ataide, count of Atougaia, who arrived at Goa in the October of that year. At this time Itimi Khan held the administration of the kingdom of Guzerat, having by great artifice persuaded the chiefs that his own son was son of the former king; but the kingdom was in great confusion. One Rustum Khan had usurped Baroch, in which he was besieged by the Moguls, and being in alliance with the Portuguese, a force was sent to his assistance, which succeeded in obliging the Moguls to raise the siege; but Rustum now forgot his promises, and refused to become tributary. At Surat the government had been usurped by one Agalu Khan, who was loading two large ships at that port without licence from the Portuguese viceroy; on which the commander of the Portuguese fort at Daman seized both ships, which were valued at 100,000 ducats. Nunno Vello de Pereyra, who had gone from Daman to clear the bay of Cambaya from pirates that infested the Portuguese trade, burnt two villages and several vessels, and carried away many prisoners. He then landed with 400 men, and went against a body of Moguls who had taken post on the mountain of Parnel, about three leagues from Daman, a place almost impregnable by its situation and the strength of its works. Although unacquainted with the strength of the place or the number of its defenders, who exceeded 8000 men, Nunno immediately began to climb up the steep ascent, whence the enemy rolled down great stones upon the assailants. The soldiers however clambered up on their hands and knees, and reached the first entrenchment which they carried after a vigorous opposition; but were forced to retire from the fort after a desperate assault, in which the Portuguese lost seven men. In their retreat the Portuguese carried off a considerable quantity of provisions, with fifty horses and several camels and oxen, and were pursued on their retreat by 500 of the enemy, 100 of whom were cavalry. From Daman, to which he had retreated, Nunno

 marched

marched again against the enemy, having now 100 Portuguese and 50 native horse, with 650 foot, half Portuguese and half native, and three pieces of cannon. In this new attempt, they had to climb the mountain by roads never trod before, and against considerable opposition from the enemy, who had five pieces of cannon. After three days of severe labour and almost continual fighting, in which he lost eight men, six of whom were slain and two made prisoners, Nunno at length gained the summit of the mountain, and planted his cannon against the fort, which he battered with such fury, that the enemy abandoned it on the sixth night, and the fort was razed.

In the year 1580, a dangerous war broke out in India against the Portuguese, by a confederacy which had been negotiating for five years with wonderful secrecy. The confederated princes were Adel Khan, Nizam al Mulk, the Zamorin, and the king of Acheen, and they flattered themselves in the hope of extirpating the Portuguese from India, making themselves so sure of success, that they agreed beforehand on the division of their expected conquests. Adel Khan was to have Goa, Onor, and Barcalor; Nizam al Mulk to have Chaul, Daman, and Basseen; and Cananor, Mangalor, Cochin, and Chale were to become the share of the Zamorin. At the same time, the king of Acheen was to attack Malacca, that the Portuguese, assailed at once on every important point, might be incapable of sending succours to the different places. Adel Khan was so confident of success, that he had assigned the different offices at Goa among his chiefs, and had even allotted among them certain Portuguese ladies, who were celebrated for their beauty.

In pursuance of this league, Adel Khan took the field to besiege Goa, and Nizam al Mulk marched against Chaul. In this great emergency, it was recommended by many to abandon Chaul for the greater security of Goa; but the viceroy undauntedly resolved to defend both. Don Francisco Mascarenhas was sent with six hundred men in four gallies and five small vessels for the relief of Chaul, about the beginning of September, and the viceroy took proper precautions for the defence of Goa. The pass of Benastarim was committed to the care of Ferdinand de Sousa y Castellobranco with 120 men. Paul de Lima had charge of Rachol with sixty, and fifteen hundred native troops were distributed in different parts of

of the island under approved commanders. At this time there were only 700 Portuguese troops in Goa, which were kept as a body of reserve, wherever their services might be most wanted. The defence of the city was confided to the monks and clergy, to the number of 300, assisted by 1000 slaves. Juan de Sousa with 50 horse was ready to give assistance where wanted. Don George de Menezes had the defence of the river with 25 vessels; and the viceroy, having procured ammunition and provisions from all quarters, took post about the middle of December on the bank of the river.

These measures of defence were hardly completed, when several bodies of the enemy were seen descending from the *gauts*, and taking up a camp at Ponda, under the command of Nori Khan, general of the army of Adel Khan. About the end of December, Nori Khan advanced from Ponda, and encamped facing the pass of Benastarim, where he pitched the royal tents of Adel Khan, who spent eight days in descending the gauts, so vast was the army which now came against Goa. At night, so many fires were lighted up to illuminate the passes of the mountain, that, though at a great distance, the multitudes of the enemy could be distinctly seen from the island. The army of Adel Khan, on this occasion, amounted to 100,000 fighting men, of whom 35,000 were horse, with 2140 war-elephants, and 350 pieces of cannon, most of which were of an extraordinary size; and some barks were brought upon mules to be launched into the river to assist in getting into the island. The chief commanders of this vast army were Nori Khan, Rumer Khan, and Coger Khan; the former of whom commanded in chief under the king, and the other two had charge of advanced posts on the side of the river. Their encampment was so extensive and regularly arranged that it resembled a regularly built city. Adel Khan took up his quarters at Ponda with 4000 horse, 6000 musqueteers, 300 elephants, and 220 pieces of cannon. Rumer Khan, Coger Khan, and Mortaz Khan were stationed near the mouth of the *Ganja* channel, with 3000 horse, 130 elephants, and nine cannon. Nori Khan commanded opposite the island of *Juan Lopez* with 7000 horse, 180 elephants, and eight large cannon. Camil Khan and Delirru Khan faced the pass of Benastarim with 9000 horse, 200 elephants, and 32 pieces of battering artillery. Solyman Aga took post on a

a hill above Benastarim with 1500 horse and two field-pieces. Anjoz Khan, opposite the island of *Juan Rangel*, with 2500 horse, 50 elephants, and six cannon. Xatiarviatan in sight of *Sapal*, with 1500 horse, six elephants, and six cannon. Daulate Khan, Xetiatimanaique, Chiti Khan, and Codemena Khan faced the pass of Agazaim with 9000, 200 elephants, and 26 cannon. The rest of the army, with innumerable followers, covered the mountains to a vast extent, sufficient to strike terror into the boldest spirits.

Having carefully examined the dispositions of the enemy, and naturally considering the means he possessed for defence, now somewhat increased by the arrival of reinforcements from different quarters, the viceroy made a new distribution of his force to various posts, his force in all amounting to 1600 men; besides several small armed vessels, which were directed to guard the river, and to relieve the several posts as occasion offered or required[9]. The enemy spent their first efforts against the fort at the pass of Benastarim, where they did considerable damage by the constant fire of their heavy guns; but whatever injury they did during the day was repaired in the ensuing night. Such was the extent of their cannonade, that only in one small post, occupied by Alvaro de Mendoza with ten men, 600 bullets were picked up, some of which were two spans diameter. The Portuguese were unable to answer with any thing like a correspondent fire, but, being well directed, their shot did great execution, and the small armed vessels plied from place to place with much diligence, doing great injury with their small guns. One night an officer of the enemy was seen with a great number of torches passing a height opposite the fort of Benastarim, having a number of young women dancing before him. On this occasion, Ferdinand de Sousa caused a cannon to be so exactly pointed among them, that the officer, with several of his torch-bearers and two couple of the dancers were seen to fly into the air. As this was the time for dispatching the homeward-bound trade to Portugal, the governor was anxiously advised to stop that fleet, as it would deprive him of 400 men, who might be of great use in defending Goa; but ambitious of acquiring greater glory by conquering

9 In the original, there is a long enumeration of twenty-four several posts, with the names of the officers commanding each, and the numbers in their respective detachments; all here omitted as uninteresting.—E.

quering every difficulty, he ordered the ships to sail at their usual time, alleging that their cargoes were much wanted in Portugal, and that he trusted he should have a sufficient force remaining to defend the seat of government.

The Portuguese had often the boldness to cross over and attack the enemy in their posts in the mainland, whence they brought away many prisoners and many heads of those they slew, with various arms and standards. On one occasion, Don George de Menezes who commanded the armed vessels, and Don Pedro de Castro who landed with 200 Portuguese, made so great slaughter that the viceroy sent two carts loaded with heads to the city, to animate the inhabitants with this barbarous proof of the energy of the defence. One night Gaspar and Lancelot Diaz penetrated four or five miles up the country with eighty men, burnt two villages with many detached houses, and brought away many prisoners, many heads of the slain enemy, and much cattle. At another time these two brothers, with one hundred and thirty men, attacked the quarters of Coger Khan and Rumer Khan, where they made great havock, and destroyed all the preparations they had made for passing over into the island of Juan Lopez. The enemy were astonished at the exploits performed by such small numbers, and still more so when they learnt that the viceroy had sent off Don Diego de Menezes with his squadron to the Malabar coast, and Don Ferdinand de Vasconcellos with four gallies and two small vessels, on an expedition to destroy Dabul.

Don Ferdinand burnt two large ships belonging to Mecca at that place, where he likewise landed and destroyed several villages, and would even have done the same to Dabul if he had not been opposed by his officers. On his return to Goa he attacked the quarters of Anjoz Khan, which were three miles from the post of the viceroy. He forced an entrance with great slaughter of the enemy; but his men falling into confusion for the sake of plunder, the enemy rallied and fell upon them, so that they were constrained to seek their safety in flight, with some loss, while Don Ferdinand was weakened with loss of blood and wearied by the weight of his armour, so that he was surrounded and slain. On this occasion 40 of the Portuguese were slain, and the ship of Don Ferdinand was taken by the enemy; but the viceroy sent Don George de Menezes with 100 men, who set the ship on fire, and brought away her guns.

At

At this time the zamorin made proposals for renewing the peace, either in hopes of deriving some advantage during the present state of affairs, or of covering his real designs of hostility; but the viceroy replied, that he would not yield a single point of difference, and even persisted in that resolution, although the queen of *Quarcopa* declared war at Onor. Even under all the difficulties of his situation, the viceroy sent succours to Onor to opose this new enemy, to the great astonishment of Adel Khan, who thought the force in Goa had been already too small for defence against his numerous army. At this time likewise, the viceroy sent reinforcements to the Moluccas and Mozambique, both of which places were much straitened by the enemy. The grand object of the enemy was to get across into the island of Goa, for which purpose the great general Nori Khan began to construct a bridge, in which he employed a vast number of workmen; but the viceroy fell upon them and made great havock, destroying all their preparations and materials. It was reported that Adel Khan designed to go over into the island in person, and that he was extremely desirous to get possession of a fine horse belonging to the viceroy, for which he had formerly offered a large sum of money. On this being made known to the viceroy, he sent the horse as a present to Adel Khan, with a complimentary message, saying "that it would give him much satisfaction to see his majesty on the island." Adel Khan accepted the horse, and caused him to be bedded with silken quilts, under a canopy of cloth of gold, to be covered with embroidered damask, and all his caparisons to be ornamented with massy gold, while his provender was mixed with preserves and other dainties. But the horse was soon afterwards killed by a cannon-ball.

After the siege had continued above two months to the beginning of March, during which time many of the buildings in the island had been beaten down by the cannon of the enemy, who had lost numbers of their men, Adel Khan began to despair of success, especially as the Portuguese were now considerably increased in strength by the arrival of several squadrons from different places. He wished, therefore, for peace, yet was loath to propose it himself; but the viceroy was acquainted with his most secret councils, as he used all possible means to procure intelligence from the hostile camp, where he had in his pay several renegado Portuguese who

served

served under Adel Khan, and had even corrupted the favourite wife of Adel Khan. He so converted these secret advices to advantage, that he contrived to get a treaty of pacification begun without its appearing who was its author, and at length even Adel Khan stooped to make proposals. Still, however, the siege was continued unto the month of April, at which time considerable reinforcements arrived at Goa, under Don George de Menezes, who brought back 1500 men from the Moluccas, and Lorenzo de Barbuda from Cochin. At one time, 3000 of the enemy began to enter the island of Juan Lopez, but were repulsed with great slaughter by 120 men under two Portuguese commanders. In many expeditions from the island, the Portuguese attacked the various posts of the enemy on the main-land, mostly by night, ruining the works they had thrown up, burning the villages, and destroying great numbers of their men. Yet though Adel Khan had hardly any hopes of ultimate success, he caused gardens to be laid out at his quarters, and made such other demonstrations as if he had resolved to dwell in his present camp till Goa were reduced.

Winter being near at hand, Adel Khan determined upon a great effort to gain possession of the island; for which purpose 9000 men were brought to the pass of *Mercantor*, which had not been fortified by the Portuguese as the river was very wide at that place. Fortunately the Portuguese heard the sound of a great drum in that direction, which is never beat but when the king marches in person; upon which they ran thither and saw Adel Khan on the opposite side encouraging his men. Advice of this was immediately conveyed to the viceroy, who sent several parties to defend the pass, and marched thither himself, sending orders for assistance to the various posts and quarters. In spite of every opposition, five thousand of the enemy got over under the command of Solyman Aga, a Turk who was captain of the guards of Adel Khan. By the time the viceroy got to the place, he had collected a force of 2000 men, with which he immediately attacked the enemy. The battle continued the whole of the 13th of April from morning to night, and from the morning of the 14th to that of the following day. During all this time, Adel Khan surveyed the engagement from the opposite side of the river, often cursing his prophet and throwing his turban on the ground in his rage; and at length had the mortification of seeing his troops entirely defeated,

defeated, with the loss of Solyman Aga and 4000 men, while the Portuguese scarcely lost twenty. Though in public he vowed never to stir from before Goa still it was taken, he privately made overtures for peace, in which he even ridiculously demanded the surrender of Goa. About this time, the viceroy secretly entered into a treaty with Nori Khan, the grand general of Adel Khan, whom he instigated to kill the king, offering to support him in assuming the crown, or at least in acquiring a preponderating influence in the government under the successor. Nori Khan agreed to these proposals; but when the conspiracy was ripe for execution it was detected, and Nori Khan, with all his adherents, were secured.

When the siege had continued to the middle of July, the viceroy endeavoured to stir up other princes to invade the dominions of Adel Khan, that he might be constrained to abandon the siege. Both he and the king were desirous of peace, but both endeavoured to conceal their wishes; the viceroy giving out that he cared not how long the king continued the siege, and the king pretending that he would persevere till he gained the place. At length, towards the end of August 1571, when the summer or fine weather had begun, and when the enemy might still better have been able to keep the field, and to recommence active operations, the number of the hostile tents could be seen plainly to decrease, then the cannon were drawn off from the posts of the enemy, and at last the men entirely disappeared; Adel Khan having abandoned the siege without coming to any accommodation, after a siege of ten months, in which he lost 12,000 men, 300 elephants, 4000 horses, and 6000 draught bullocks, partly by the sword and partly by the weather.

Exactly at the same time when Adel Khan invested Goa, Nizam al Mulk sat down before Chaul. Being suspicious of each other, the two sovereigns kept time exactly in their preparations, in the commencement of their march, and in all their subsequent operations. Farete Khan the general of Nizam al Mulk sat down before Chaul with 8000 horse, 20 elephants and 20,000 foot, on the last day of November 1570, breaking ground with a prodigious noise of warlike instruments of music. At this time Chaul was under the command of Luis Fereiyra de Andrada, an officer well deserving of such a charge, who long laboured under great want of almost every necessary for conducting the defence, supplying these defects

defects by his own genius and the valour of his men, till reinforced by Don Francisco Mascarenhas, who brought him 500 men in four gallies and provisions. Desirous of distinguishing himself before the arrival of Nizam his sovereign, Farete Khan resolved upon giving an assault, in which he employed his elephants with castles on their backs, and with scythes tied to their trunks. The fight lasted three hours; but the Moors were repulsed with great slaughter, both by sea and land, and forced to retire to the church of Madre de Dios. Nothing remarkable happened after this till the commencement of the year 1571, when some Moors were observed gathering fruit in an orchard at a short distance from the garrison, on which Nuno Vello went out against them with only five soldiers and killed one of the Moors. Both parties were gradually increased till the enemy amounted to 6000 men, and the Portuguese to 200; but notwithstanding this disparity of force, the Portuguese drove that vast multitude to flight and slew 180 of them, only losing two of their own number.

In the beginning of January 1571, Nizam al Mulk came before Chaul with his whole army, now consisting of 34,000 horse, 100,000 infantry, 16,000 pioneers, 4000 smiths, masons, carpenters, and other trades, and of sundry different nations, as Turks, Chorassans, Persians, and Ethiopians, with 360 elephants, an infinite number of buffaloes and bullocks, and 40 pieces of cannon, mostly of prodigious size, some of which carried balls of 100, some of 200, and some even of 300 pounds weight. These cannon had all appropriate names, as the cruel, the butcher, the devourer, the furious, and the like [10]. Thus an army of 150,000 men sat down to besiege a town that was defended merely by a single wall, a fort not much larger than a house, and a handful of men. Farete Khan took up his quarters near the church of Madre de Dios with 7000 horse and 20 elephants; Agalas Khan in the house of Juan Lopez with 6000 horse; Ximiri Khan between that and upper Chaul with 2000 horse; so that the city was beset from sea to sea. The Nizam encamped with the main

10 These names are of course to be considered as translations of the native or Persian names. That named *the furious* in the text, is called the *Orlando furioso* in the translation of De Faria by Stevens; but it is not easy to guess how the subjects of the Nizam should have known any thing of that hero of Christian romance.—E.

main body of the army at the farther end of the town, where the ground was covered with tents for the space of two leagues; and 5000 horse were detached to ravage the district of Basseen.

At the commencement of the siege the Portuguese garrison was a mere handful of men, and the works being very slight no particular posts were assigned, all acting wherever their services were most wanted. Soon afterwards, the news of the siege having spread abroad, many officers and gentlemen flocked thither with reinforcements, so that in a short time the garrison was augmented to 2000 men. It was then resolved to maintain particular points besides the general circuit of the walls. The monastery of St Francis was committed to the charge of Alexander de Sousa; Nunno Alvarez Pereyra was entrusted to defend some houses near the shore; those between the Misericordia and the church of St Dominic were confided to Gonzalo de Menezes; others in that neighbourbourhood to Nuno Vello Perreyra; and so in other places. In the mean while it was generally recommended at Goa that Chaul ought to be abandoned, but the viceroy thought otherwise, in which opinion he was only seconded by Ferdinand de Castellobranco, and he immediately sent succours under Ferdinand Tellez and Duarte de Lima. Before their arrival, Zimiri Khan, who had promised the Nizam that he would be the first person to enter Chaul, vigorously assaulted the ports of Henry De Betancour and Ferdinand de Miranda, who resisted him with great gallantry, and on receiving reinforcements repulsed him with the slaughter of 300 of his men, losing seven on their side.

The enemy erected a battery against the monastery of St Francis where the Portuguese had some cannon; and as the gunners on both sides used their utmost endeavour to burst or dismount the opposite guns, the bullets were sometimes seen to meet by the way. On the eve of St Sebastian, the Portuguese made a sally upon some houses which were occupied by the Moors, and slew a great number of them without the loss of one man. Enraged at this affront and the late repulse, the enemy made that same night an assault on the fort or monastery of St Francis with 5000 men, expecting to surprise the Portuguese, but were soon undeceived by losing many of their men. This assault lasted with great fury for five hours; and as the Portuguese supected the enemy were

were undermining the wall, and could not see by reason of the darkness, one Christopher Curvo thrust himself several times out from a window, with a torch in one hand and a buckler in the other to discover if possible what they were doing. During this assault those in the town sent out assistance to the garrison in the monastery, though with much hazard. When morning broke and the the assailants had retired, the monastery was all stuck full of arrows, and the dead bodies of 300 Moors were seen around its walls, while the defenders had not lost a single man. The enemy renewed the assault on this post for five successive days, and were every time repulsed by the Portuguese with vast slaughter, the garrison often sallying out and strewing the field with slain enemies. It was at length judged expedient to withdraw the men from this place into the town, lest its loss might occasion greater injury than its defence could do service. Seventeen of the Portuguese were here slain. One of these used to stand on a high place to notice when the enemy fired their cannon, and on one occasion said to the men below; "If these fellows should now fire *Raspadillo*, a cannon 18 feet long to which that name was given, it will send me to sup with Christ, to whom I commend my soul, for it points directly at me." He had hardly spoken these words when he was torn in pieces by a ball from that very gun. On getting possession of the monastery of St Francis, the Moors fired a whole street in the town of Chaul, but on attempting to take post in some houses, they were driven out with the loss of 400 men. At this time Gonzalez de Camera went to Goa for reinforcements, as the garrison was much pressed, and brought a relief in two galleys.

About this period the 5000 men that had been detached by the Nizam to ravage the district of Basseen attempted to get possession of some of the Portuguese garrisons. Being beaten off at Azarim and Daman, they invested Caranja, a small work between Chaul and Daman on the water-side, and almost an island, as it is surrounded by several small brooks. It was at this time commanded by Stephen Perestrello with a garrison of only 40 men, but was reinforced on the reappearance of the enemy by Emanuel de Melo with 30 more. With this small band of only 70 soldiers, Perestrello sallied out against the enemy, and with such success, that after covering the little island with dead bodies, the rest fled leaving their cannon

cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions.

In the mean time the Moors continued to batter Chaul without intermission for a whole month with 70 pieces of large cannon, every day expending against its weak defences at least 160 balls. This tremendous cannonade did much damage to the houses of the town, in which many of the brave defenders were slain. On one occasion six persons who were eating together were destroyed by a single ball. This furious battery was commenced against the bastion of the holy cross, and was carried on for a considerable way along the defences of that front of the town, levelling every thing with the ground. The besieged used every precaution to shelter themselves by digging trenches; but the hostile gunners were so expert [11] that they elevated their guns and made their balls plunge among those who considered themselves in safety. Observing that one of the enemies batteries beyond the church of St Dominic never ceased its destructive fire, Perestrello detached 120 men under Alexander de Sousa and Augustino Nunnez, who drove the enemy after a vigorous resistance from the battery with great slaughter, and set their works on fire, and levelled them with the ground, without sustaining any loss. Among the arms taken in this successful sortie was a cymeter inscribed, *Jesus save me*.

Having ruined the defences of the town, the enemy attacked several large houses in which they endeavoured to establish themselves, but were repulsed from some of these with considerable loss, while the defenders lost but one man. On attacking the house of Hector de Sampayio, which was undermined by the Portuguese with the intention of blowing it up when occupied by the enemy, some fire accidentally communicated to the mine during the conflict, and blew it up while still occupied by the Portuguese, by which 42 of their soldiers were destroyed, and without injury to the Moors, who planted their colours on the ruins. Ximiri Khan made an assault by night with 600 men upon the bastion of the holy cross, in which Ferdinand Pereyra was posted with 30 men, who was

11 To expert modern gunners it would be an easy matter so discharge as many balls in *one day*, as were expended in this siege in a whole month. De Faria mentions that an expedient was fallen upon by which the danger from the plunging fire was avoided, but gives us no intimation of its nature.---E.

reinforced by Henry de Betancourt with a few more. The assailants were beaten off and five of their colours taken which they had planted on the work. In this action Betancourt fought with his left hand, having previously lost the right; and Dominic del Alama, being lame, caused himself to be brought out in a chair. April 1571 was now begun, and the enemy were employed in constructing new works as if determined to continue the siege all winter. Alexander de Sousa and Gonzalo de Menezes were appointed to head a sally upon these new works, but their men ran out without orders to the number of 200, and made a furious assault upon the enemy, whom they drove from the works after killing fifty of them and losing a few of their own number. The two commanders hastened to join their men, and then directed them to destroy the works they had so gallantly won. Perplexed with so many losses, the Nizam made a general assault under night with his whole army, attacking all the posts at one time, every one of which almost they penetrated; but the garrison exerted themselves with so much vigour that they drove the Moors from every point of attack, and in the morning above 500 of the enemy were found slain in and about the ruined defences, while the Portuguese had only lost four or five men. About this time the defenders received a reinforcement of above 200 men from Goa, Diu, and Basseen, with a large supply of ammunition and provisions; but at this time they were much afflicted by a troublesome though not mortal disease, by which they became swelled all over so as to lose the use of their limbs.

Having ineffectually endeavoured to stir up enemies against the Portuguese in Cambaya on purpose to prevent relief being sent to the brave defenders of Chaul, the Nizam used every effort to bring his arduous enterprize to a favourable conclusion. The house of Nuno Alvarez Pereyra being used as a strong-hold by the Portuguese, was battered during forty-two days by the enemy, who then assaulted it with 5000 men. At first the defenders of this post were only forty in number, but twenty more came to their assistance immediately, and several others afterwards. The Moors were repulsed with the loss of 50 men, while the Portuguese only lost one. The house of Nuno Vello was battered for thirty days and assaulted with the same success, only the Portuguese lost ten men in its defence. Judging it no longer expedient to defend this house, it

it was undermined and evacuated, on which the enemy hastened to take possession and it was blown up, doing considerable execution among the enemy, but not so much as was expected. The summer was now almost spent; above 6000 cannon-balls had been thrown into the town, some of which were of prodigious size, and the Nizam seemed determined to continue the siege during the winter. About 200 Portuguese, appalled by the dangers of the siege, had already deserted; but instead of them 300 men had come from Goa, so that the garrison was even stronger than before. On the 11th of April, Gonzalez de Camara made a sortie upon 500 Moors in an orchard, only fifty of whom escaped.

Fortune could not be always favourable to the besieged. By a chance ball from the enemy, one of the galleys which brought relief was sunk downright with 40 men and goods to the value of 40,000 ducats. But, next day, Ferdinand Tellez made a sally with 400 men, and gained a victory equal to that of Gonzalez de Camara, and brought away one piece of cannon with some ammunition, arms, and other booty. This action was seen by the Nizam in person, who mounted his horse and threatened to join in it in person, for which purpose he seized a lance, which he soon changed for a whip, with which he threatened to chastise his men, and upbraided them as cowards. The Portuguese were now so inured to danger that nothing could terrify them, and they seemed to court death instead of shunning it on all occasions. Some of them being employed to level some works from which the enemy had been driven near the monastery of St Francis, and being more handy at the sword than the spade, drew upon themselves a large party of the enemy of whom they slew above 200, yet not without some loss on their side. About this time Farete Khan, one of the Nizams generals, made some overtures towards peace, but without any apparent authority from his sovereign, who caused him to be arrested on suspicion of being corrupted by the Portuguese, though assuredly he had secret orders for what he had done. Indeed it was not wonderful that the Nizam should be desirous of peace, as he had now lain seven months before Chaul to no purpose, and had lost many thousand men; neither was it strange in the Portuguese to have the same wish, as they had lost 400 men besides Indians.

When the siege had continued to the begining of June the attacks

attacks and batteries were carried on by both sides with as much obstinacy and vigour as if then only begun. The house of Nunno Alvarez was at this time taken by the enemy through the carelessness of the defenders, and on an attempt to recover it 20 of the Portuguese lost their lives without doing much injury to the enemy. The Moors in the next place got possession of the monastery of St Dominic, but not without a heavy loss; and then gained the house of Gonzalo de Menezes, in which the Portuguese suffered severely. The hostile batteries kept up a constant fire from the end of May to the end of June, as the Nizam had resolved to make a breach fit for the whole army to try its fortune in a general assault. On the 28th of June, every thing being in readiness, the Nizams whole army was drawn out for the assault, all his elephants appearing in the front with castles on their backs full of armed men. While the whole army stood in expectation of the signal of assault, an officer of note belonging to the enemy was slain by a random shot from one of the Portuguese cannon, which the Nizam considered as an evil omen, and ordered the attack to be deferred till next day. On this occasion six of the garrison ventured beyond the works and drew a multitude of the enemy within reach of the Portuguese fire, which was so well bestowed that 118 of the enemy were slain and 500 wounded, without any loss on the side of the defenders.

About noon on the 29th of June 1571, the Nizam gave the signal of assault, when the whole of his men and elephants moved forwards with horrible cries and a prodigious noise of warlike instruments. The Portuguese were drawn up in their several posts to defend the ruined works, and Don Francisco Mascarenhas, the commander in chief[12], placed himself opposite the Nizam with a body of reserve to relieve the posts wherever he might see necessary. The day was darkened with smoke, and alternately lighted up with flames. The slaughter and confusion was great on both sides. Some of the colours of the enemy were planted on the works, but were soon taken or thrown down along with those who had set them up. The elephants were made drunk by the nayres who

12 At the commencement of this siege, according to De Faria, Luis Ferreyra de Andrada commanded in Chaul, and Mascarenhas is said to have brought a reinforcement of 600 men; it would now appear that he had assumed the command.—E.

who conducted them that they might be the fiercer; but being burnt and wounded, many of them ran madly about the field. One that was much valued by the Nizam, having his housings all in flames, plunged into the sea and swam over the bar, where he was killed by a cannon ball from one of the Portuguese vessels. The Moors continued the assault till night, unable to gain possession of any of the works, and then drew off, after losing above 3000 men, among whom were many officers of note. On the side of the Portuguese eight gentleman were slain and a small number of private soldiers.

Next day the Moors asked leave to bury their dead, and a truce was granted for that purpose. While employed in removing their dead, some of the Moors asked the Portuguese, *What woman it was that went before them in the fight, and if she were alive?* One of the Portuguese answered, *Certainly she was alive for she was immortal!* On this the Moors observed that it must have been *the Lady Marian*, for so they call the blessed Virgin. Many of them delared that they saw her at the house of Lorenzo de Brito, and that she was so bright that she blinded them. Some of them even went to see her image in the churches of Chaul, where they were converted and remained in the town. The Nizam was now seriously disposed for peace, and the Portuguese commander equally so, yet neither wished to make the first overture. At length however advances were made and a treaty set on foot. Farete Khan and Azaf Khan were commissioners from the Nizam, while Pedro de Silva and Antonio de Teyva were deputed by the Portuguese commander in chief, and Francisco Mascarenhas by the captain of the city. Accordingly a league offensive and defensive was concluded in the name of the Nizam and the king of Portugal, which was celebrated by great rejoicings on both sides and the interchange of rich presents. This however might easily have been accomplished without the effusion of so much blood. The Nizam now raised his camp and returned to his own dominions.

The zamorin of Calicut, who was one of the contracting parties in this extensive confederacy for driving the Portuguese from India, performed his part of the agreement very coldly. After Goa and Chaul had been besieged for near a month, instead of sending his fleet to sea according to his engagements, he sent to treat with the viceroy for a separate peace, either on purpose to mislead him, or in expectation of gaining

gaining some advantages for himself in the present emergency. Few princes follow the dictates of honour, when it interferes with their interest. When this affair was laid before the council at Goa, it was their unanimous opinion to agree to peace with the zamorin even on hard terms; but the viceroy was determined to lose all or nothing, and declared he would make no peace unless on such terms as he could expect when in the most flourishing condition. Finding his designs fail, the zamorin sent out a fleet about the end of February under the command of *Catiproca*, who made his appearance before Chaul with 21 sail, having on board a large land force, of which above 1000 were armed with firelocks. Though the harbour of Chaul was then occupied by a considerable number of Portuguese galleys and galliots, Catiproca and his fleet entered the harbour under night without opposition. The Nizam was much pleased with the arrival of this naval force, and having ordered a great number of his small vessels named *calemutes* to join the Malabar fleet, he prevailed on Catiproca to attack the Portuguese ships, which were commanded by Lionel de Sousa. They accordingly made the attempt, but were so warmly received by De Sousa and his gallies as to be beat off with considerable loss. The Nizam, who had witnessed this naval battle from an adjoining eminence, used every argument to prevail upon Catiproca to make another attempt, but to no purpose; for after remaining twenty days in the harbour, he stole away one night, and got away as fortunately as he had got in.

While on his return, Catiproca was applied to by the queen of Mangalore to assist her in surprizing the Portuguese fort at that place, which she alleged might be easily taken. Catiproca agreed to this, in hopes of regaining the reputation he had lost at Chaul. He accordingly landed his men secretly, and made an attempt under night to scale the walls. While his men were mounting the ladders some servants of Antonio Pereyra, who commanded in that fort, were awakened by the noise, and seeing the enemy on the ladders threw out of a window the first thing that came to hand, which happened to be a chest of silver, with which they beat down those who were on the ladder. Pereyra waking with the noise, threw down those who had mounted, and the rest fled carrying his chest of silver on board their ships. While passing Cananor, Don Diego de Menezes fell upon the Malabar squadron, which he totally routed and drove up the river

Tiracole,

Tiracole, where every one of the ships were taken or destroyed, the admiral Catiproca slain, his nephew Cutiale made prisoner, and the chest of money belonging to Pereyra recovered.

Even by the fitting out of this unfortunate fleet, the zamorin did not fulfil the conditions of the confederacy against the Portuguese, as each of the high contracting parties had engaged to undertake some considerable enterprize against them in person; but he had been hitherto deterred by the presence of Diego de Menezes with a squadron in their seas, who burned several of his maritime towns and took many of his ships. Towards the end of June 1571, Diego de Menezes having withdrawn from the coast with his squadron, and when Adel Khan and the Nizam were both about to desist from their enterprizes upon Goa and Chaul, the zamorin took the field with an army of 100,000 men, most of them armed with firelocks, with which he invested the fort of *Chale* about two leagues from Calicut, which was then under the command of Don George de Castro. Having planted forty pieces of brass cannon against the fort and straitly invested it with his numerous army so as to shut out all apparent hope of relief, a small reinforcement under Noronha was unable to penetrate; but soon afterwards Francisco Pereyra succeeded by an effort of astonishing bravery to force his way into Chale with a few men.

Advice being sent to the viceroy of the dangerous situation of Chale, Diego de Menezes was sent with 18 sail to carry supplies and reinforcements to the besieged. De Menezes got to Chale with great difficulty about the end of September, at which time the besieged were reduced to great extremity, having not above 70 men able to bear arms out of 600 persons then in the fort. The relief of the fort seemed impracticable, as the mouth of the harbour was very narrow, and was commanded on all sides by numbers of cannon on surrounding eminences. Diego resolved however to surmount all difficulties. A large ship was filled with sufficient provisions to serve the garrison for two months, and carried likewise fifty soldiers as a reinforcement. One galley preceded to clear the way and two others followed the large ship to defend her against the enemy. By this means, but with incredible difficulty and danger, the relief was thrown in, but it was found impossible to bring away the useless people from the fort as had been intended. Thus, by the valour and good fortune

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of the viceroy, this formidable confederacy was dissipated, which had threatened to subvert the Portuguese power in India, and their reputation was restored among the native princes.

SECTION VII.

Portuguese Transactions in India from 1571 *to* 1576.

At this period Sebastian king of Portugal made a great alteration in the government of the Portuguese possessions in the east, which he deemed too extensive to be under the management of one person. He divided them therefore into three separate governments, which were designated respectively, India, Monomotapa, and Malacca. The first, or India, extended from Cape Guardafu, or the north-east extremity of Africa on the Indian ocean, to the island of Ceylon inclusive. The second, or Monomotapa, from Cape Corrientes to Cape Guardafu; and the third, or Malacca, from Pegu to China both inclusive. To the command of the first, or India, Don Antonio de Noronha was sent with the title of viceroy. Francisco de Barreto was appointed to Monomotapa, and Antonio Moniz Barreto to Malacca, both stiled governors. It will be necessary therefore to treat of these governments separately, though by this we must necessarily in some measure neglect the consideration of regular chronology in the distribution of events. We begin therefore with the viceroyalty of Noronha.

Don Antonio de Noronha arrived at Goa in the beginning of September 1571, having lost 2000 men by sickness out of 4000 with whom he sailed from Lisbon. Don Luis de Ataide, who surrendered to him the sword of command, was a nobleman of great valour and military experience, and so free from avarice that instead of the vast riches which others brought from India to Portugal, he carried over four jars of water from the four famous rivers, the Indus, Ganges, Tigris, and Euphrates, which were long preserved in his castle of Peniche. After serving both in Europe and Africa, he went out to India, where at twenty-two years of age he was knighted on Mount Sinai by Don Stefano de Gama. Returning to Portugal, he went ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. and was present in the battle in which that emperor defeated

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the Lutherans under the Landgrave and the Duke of Saxony. He behaved so bravely in that battle, that the emperor offered to knight him; but having already received that honour on Mount Sinai, he could not again accept the offer, on which the emperor declared in public that he envied that honour beyond the victory he had just gained. On his return to Lisbon from administering the government of India with such high reputation, he was received with much honour by King Sebastian, yet was afterwards much slighted, as Pacheco had been formerly by King Emanuel, as will be seen afterwards, when appointed a second time to the viceroyalty.

The first attention of the new viceroy was bestowed for the relief of Chale, to which Diego de Menezes was sent with 1500 men; but he came too late, as the fort had been already surrendered to the zamorin upon conditions. This surrender had been made by the commander Don George de Castro, contrary to the opinion of the majority of his officers, overcome by the tears and entreaties of his wife and other ladies, forgetting that he who was now eighty years of age ought to have preferred an honourable death to a short and infamous addition to his life. Neither was this his only fault, for the provisions had lasted longer if he had not committed them to the care of his wife, who dissipated them among her slaves. Owing to this unforeseen event, Diego de Menezes could only conduct the people who had surrendered at Chale to Cochin. He then divided his fleet with Matthew de Albuquerque, and cleared the seas of pirates.

When Norhonha accepted the viceroyalty of India, now so much lessened by the division into three governments, his great aim was to acquire riches, as he was poor, and had several children. With this view he endeavoured to prevail on Antonio Moniz Barreto, the newly appointed governor of Malacca, to be satisfied with a smaller force than had been ordered for him on going to assume that government, alleging that India was not then in a condition to give what was promised; but Moniz refused to go unless supplied with the force agreed on, as the posture of Malacca was then too dangerous to admit of being governed by a person who considered his reputation, unless supported by a considerable force. Moniz therefore wrote home to Portugal, complaining against the viceroy, and malicious whispers are for the most part gratefully received by princes and ministers: and the Portuguese ministry, on the sole information of Moniz, committed the

weakest

weakest act that ever was heard of, as will appear in the sequel: *Unhappy is that kingdom whose sovereign is a child.*

About this time Akbar Shah [1], emperor of the Moguls had acquired the sovereignty of Cambaya or Guzerat. Sultan Mahmud the heir of the late king had been left under the tuition of three great men, Ali Khan, Itimiti-Khan, and Madrem-al-Mulk, each of whom envious of the others endeavoured to acquire the entire direction of the young king. He, considering himself in danger, fled from Madrem-al-Mulk to the protection of Itimiti Khan, the worst of all his guardians, who immediately offered to deliver up the king and kingdom to the great Mogul, on condition of being appointed viceroy or Soubah in reward of his treachery. Akbar accordingly marched to *Amedabad*, where the traitor delivered up to him the young king, and the Mogul was seated on the musnud or throne of Guzerat without drawing a sword. Not satisfied with this great acquisition, Alkbar resolved to recover the town and districts of Basseen and Daman, which had formerly belonged to Cambaya, and were now possessed by the Portuguese; and as this intention became known to Luis de Almeyda who commanded at Daman, he sent notice to the viceroy, who immediately sent him succours and prepared to follow there in person, going accordingly from Goa about the end of December 1571, with nine gallies, five gallions, eight galliots, and ninety smaller vessels. On his arrival with this large armament in the river of Daman, the Mogul, who was encamped at the distance of two leagues from that place, was so much dismayed by the power and military reputation of the Portuguese, that he sent an ambassador to the viceroy to treat of peace. The viceroy received the Mogul ambassador in his gallery with great state, and after listening to his proposals sent Antonio Cabral along with him to Akbar, on which a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties. The viceroy then returned to Goa, and the great Mogul settled the government of his new kingdom of Guzerat, cutting off the head of the traitor Itimiti Khan, a just reward of his villany.

The king of Acheen was one of the Indian princes who had entered into the grand confederacy against the Portuguese, and had agreed to lay siege to Malacca, but did not execute his

1 Named by De Faria, Gelalde Mamet Hecbar Taxa; probably a corruption of Gelal 'oddin Mahomet Akbar Shah.—E.

his part of the league till about the middle of October 1571, when he appeared before Malacca with a fleet of near 100 sail, in which he had 7000 soldiers with a large train of artillery and a vast quantity of ammunition. Landing on the night of his arrival, he set fire to the town of *Iller*, which was saved from total destruction by a sudden and violent shower of rain. He next endeavoured to burn the Portuguese ships in the harbour; but failing in this and some minor enterprizes he sat down before the city, intending to take it by a regular siege, having been disappointed in his expectations of carrying it by a *coup de main.* At this time Malacca was in a miserable condition, excessively poor, having very few men and these unhealthy and dispirited, having suffered much by shipwreck, sickness, and scarcity of provisions, not without deserving these calamities; for Malacca was then *the Portuguese Nineveh in India,* I know not if it be so now. In this deplorable situation, incessantly battered by the enemy, cut off from all supplies of provisions, Malacca had no adequate means and hardly any hopes of defence. In this extremity Tristan Vaz accidentally entered the port with a single ship, in which he had been to Sunda for a cargo of pepper. Being earnestly intreated by the besieged to assist them, he agreed to do every thing in his power, though it seemed a rash attempt to engage a fleet of 100 sail with only ten vessels, nine of which were almost rotten and destitute of rigging. Among these he distributed 300 naked and hungry wretches; and though confident in his own valour, he trusted only in the mercy of God, and caused all his men to prepare for battle by confession, of which he set them the example.

He sailed from Malacca with this armament about the end of November 1571, and soon discovered the formidable fleet of the enemy in the river *Fermoso.* Giving the command of his own ship to Emanuel Ferreyra, Tristam Vaz de Vega went sword in hand into a galliot, to encourage his men to behave valiantly by exposing himself to the brunt of battle along with them. On the signal being given by a furious discharge of cannon, Tristan instantly boarded the admiral ship of the enemy, making great havock in her crew of 200 men and even carried away her ensign. Ferdinand Perez with only 13 men in a small vessel took a galley of the enemy. Ferdinand de Lemos ran down and sunk one of the enemies ships. Francisco de Lima having taken another set her on fire, that he might be at liberty to continue the fight. Emanuel

Ferreyra

Ferreyra sank three vessels, unrigged several others, and slew great numbers of the enemy. In short, every one fought admirably, and the whole hostile fleet fled, except four gallies and seven smaller vessels that were burnt or sunk. Seven hundred of the enemy were taken or slain, with the loss only of five men on the side of the victors. The Portuguese ships waited three days in the river to see if the enemy would return, and then carried the joyful news to Malacca, where it could hardly be believed[2].

Sometime in the year 1573, four ships arrived at Goa from Portugal, under the command of Francisco de Sousa, who immediately on landing went to the archbishop Don Gaspar, to whom he delivered a packet from the king. The royal orders contained in this packet were read by a cryer in the archiepiscopal church, and announced that Don Antonio de Noronha was deposed from the dignity of viceroy, to whom Antonio Moniz Barreto was immediately to succeed with the title of governor. By another order, Gonzalo Pereyra was appointed to the government of Malacca, in default of whom Don Leonis Pereyra was substituted, and accordingly succeeded as the other was dead.

Advice was now brought to Goa that Malacca was again in danger, as the king of Acheen was before it a second time, assisted by the queen of *Japara*. On this intelligence, Moniz desired Leonis Pereyra to set out for his government, and Leonis demanded of him to be supplied with the same force which Moniz had formerly required from Noronha; yet Moniz, without considering what he had himself wrote on that subject to the king, and that India was now free from danger, refused his request. Leonis, to leave the new governor no excuse for his conduct, would even have been satisfied with a much smaller force than that formerly required by Moniz, but even that was refused him, and he went away to Portugal refusing to assume the government of Malacca. About the end of this year 1573, orders came from Portugal for the trial and execution of Don George de Castro for surrendering Chale to the zamorin. He was accordingly beheaded publicly: Yet in the year following a commission was sent out from Portugal for employing him in another command.

Scarcely had India begun to enjoy some respite after the late

2 Though not mentioned by De Faria, the king of Acheen appears to have raised the siege of Malacca after this naval victory.—E.

late troubles, when the queen of Japara sent her general Quiaidaman to besiege Malacca with 15,000 chosen natives of Java, in a fleet of 80 large galleons and above 220 smaller vessels. Tristan Vaz de Vega happened to be then at Malacca, and was chosen by common consent to assume the command, Francisco Enriquez the former commandant being dead. Tristan Vaz sent immediate notice to Goa of his danger; on which Moniz issued orders to all the neighbouring places to send succours, and began to fit out a fleet for its relief. In the mean time the Javanese army landed and besieged Malacca. Vaz sent Juan Pereyra and Martin Ferreyra with 150 men to drive the enemy from a post. After killing 70 of the enemy, they levelled the work and brought off seven pieces of cannon. Pereyra afterwards burnt 30 of their galleons, and destroyed some great engines which they had constructed for attacking a bastion. Two other officers in a sortie burnt the pallisades which the enemy had erected for straitening the garrison and defending their own quarters. After this, Pereyra going out of the river with the Portuguese vessels, besieged the besiegers, and at *Jor* took a large quantity of provisions that were going to the Javanese army. Upon these repeated misfortunes, the Javanese embarked in great consternation, and withdrew under night; but were pursued by Pereyra, who cut off many of their vessels in the rear. Almost half of this great army perished by the sword or sickness in this siege, which lasted three months.

Hardly was the army of the queen of Japara gone from Malacca when the king of Acheen arrived before it with 40 gallies, and several ships and smaller vessels, to the number of 100 in all, with a great train of artillery. Tristan Vaz gave orders to Juan Pereyra in a galley, Bernardin de Silva in a caravel, and Ferdinand de Palares in a ship, having each 40 men, to go out of the harbour on purpose to protect a convoy of provisions then in its way to Malacca, of which the city was in great want. The fleet of the enemy immediately attacked them, and soon battered all three ships to pieces. Seventy-five of the Portuguese were slain or drowned on this occasion, forty were made prisoners, and only five saved themselves by swimming. Only 150 men now remained in Malacca, of whom 100 were sick or aged. Being in want both of men and ammunition Tristan Vaz was under the necessity of remaining very quiet; but the enemy fearing he was preparing some stratagem against them, raised the siege in a panic

panic of terror when they might easily have carried the city, after remaining before it from the beginning to the end of January 1575. The priests, women and children of the distressed city had implored the mercy of God with sighs and tears; and next to God, the city owed its safety to the courage of Tristan Vaz, and to his generosity likewise, as he spent above 20,000 ducats in its defence.

At this period Juan de Costa cruised upon the Malabar coast with two gallies and twenty-four other vessels. The town of Gaipar near Bracalore being in rebellion, he landed there and set the town on fire after killing 1500 of the inhabitants. He likewise cut down the woods [3] in revenge for the rebellion of the natives. After this he destroyed an island belonging to the zamorin in the river of Chale, and ruined the city of Parapangulem belonging to the same sovereign, where the heir of the kingdom was slain with 200 of his followers. At *Capocate* 300 of the natives were slain with the loss of two only of the Portuguese. The town of *Nilacharim* near mount Dely was destroyed by fire. In the intervals between these exploits on the land, several vessels belonging to the enemy were taken, by which the fleet was supplied with slaves and provisions.

At this period, after long petty wars occasioned by the injustice and tyranny of the Portuguese, they were expelled from the Molucca islands, and their fort in the island of Ternate was forced to surrender to the king, who protested in presence of the Portuguese that he took possession of it in trust for the king of Portugal, and would deliver it up to any one having authority for that purpose as soon as the murder of his father was punished [4].

In the year 1576, Antonio Moniz Barreto was succeeded in the government of India by Don Diego de Menezes; but it may be proper to suspend for a time our account of the affairs of India, to give some account of the transactions in Monomotapa under the government of Francisco Barreto and his successor Vasco Fernandez Homem.

SECTION

3 Probably the groves of cocoa-nut trees are here alluded to.—E.

4 A great number of trifling incidents in the misgovernment and tyranny of the Portuguese in the Moluccas, have been omitted at this and other parts the history of Portuguese Asia in our version.—E.

SECTION VIII.

Transactions of the Portuguese in Monomotapa, from 1569 *to the end of that separate government*[1].

ON the return of Francisco Barreto from the government of India in 1558, as formerly mentioned, he was appointed admiral of the gallies, in which employment he gained great honour in the memorable action of *Pennon;* and on his return to Lisbon, king Sebastian, who had determined upon making the division of the Portuguese governments in the east already mentioned, appointed Barreto to that of Monomotapa[2], with the additional title of *Conqueror of the Mines.* The great inducement for this enterprise was from the large quantities of gold said to be found in that country, and particularly at *Manica* in the kingdom of *Mocaranga.* Francisco Barreto sailed from Lisbon in April 1569, with three ships and 1000 soldiers. He might easily have had more men if the vessels could have contained them, as the reports of gold banished all idea of danger, and volunteers eagerly pressed forwards for the expedition, among whom were many gentlemen and veterans who had served in Africa.

On his arrival at Mozambique, Barreto went to subdue the king of *Pate,* who had revolted against the Portuguese authority. In his instructions, Barreto was ordered to undertake nothing of importance without the advice and concurrence of Francisco de Monclaros, a Jesuit, which was the cause of the failure of this enterprise. It was a great error to subject a soldier to the authority of a priest, and a most presumptuous folly in the priest to undertake a commission so foreign to his profession. There were two roads to the mines, one of which was through the dominions of Monomotapa, and the other by way of Sofala. Barreto was disposed to have taken the latter, but Monclaros insisted upon the former, and carried his point against the unanimous votes of the council

1 In De Faria no dates are given of these transactions, except that Barreto sailed from Lisbon in April 1569.—E.

2 In modern geography the country called Monomotapa in the text is known by the name of Mocaranga, while Monomotapa is understood to be the title of the sovereign. It is sometimes called *Senna* by the Portuguese, from the name of a fort possessed by them in the interior.—E.

council of war; so that the first step in this expedition led to its ruin. But before entering upon the narrative of events, it may be proper to give some account of the climate, quality, and extent of the country.

From Cape Delgado in lat. 10° 10′ S. to Mozambique in 14° 50′, the coast is somewhat bent in the form of a bow, in which space are the islands of Pajaros, Amice, Mocoloe, Matembo, Querimba, Cabras, and others, with the rivers Paudagi, Menluane, Mucutii, Mucululo, Situ, Habe, Xanga, Samoco, Veloso, Pinda, Quisimaluco and Quintagone, with the bays of Xanga and Fuego, and the sands of Pinda. From Mozambique in lat. 14° 50′ S. to the port or bay of Asuca in 21° 30′, the coast falls off to the westwards, opposite to the *Pracel de Sofala* or great bank of *Pracel*, on the coast of Madagascar, the dangerous *Scylla* and *Charibdis* of those seas. On this coast are the rivers Mocambo, Angoxa, or Bayones, Mossige, Mojuncoale, Sangage, and others, with many islands, and the ports of Quilimane and Luabo; the rivers Tendanculo, Quiloe, Sabam, Bagoe, Miaue, and Sofala, with the opposite islands of Inbausato, Quiloane, Mambone, Molimon, and Quilamancohi. Between Cape Bosiqua or St Sebastian in lat. 21° 40′ S. and Cape Corientes in 24° S. is the great bay of Sauca, into which falls the river Inhambane, where there is a great trade for ivory. From the frequent recurrence of the soft letters *L* and *M* in these names, it may be inferred that the language of that country is by no means harsh.

From the mouth of the Cuama or Zambeze in the east, the empire of Monomotapa extends 250 leagues into the interior of Africa, being divided by the great river Zambeze, into which falls the *Chiri* or *Chireira*, running through the country of *Bororo* [3], in which country are many other large rivers, on the banks of which dwell many kings, some of whom are independent, and others are subject to Monomotapa. The most powerful of the independent kings is he of Mongas, bordering on the Cuama or Zambeze, which falls into the sea by four mouths between Mozambique and Sofala. The first or most northerly of these mouths is that of *Quilimane*, ninety leagues from Mozambique; the second or *Cuama* is five leagues farther south;

3 According to modern maps, the Zambeze divides the empire of Mocaranga, the sovereign of which is called Monomotapa, from the empire of the Bororos; and the river Chireira or Manzara on the south of the Zambeze, which it joins, is entirely confined to the country of Mocaranga.—E.

south; the third *Luabo* five leagues lower; and the fourth named *Luabol* five leagues more to the south. Between these mouths are three large and fertile islands; the middle one, named *Chingoma*, is sixty leagues in circumference. This great river is navigable for sixty leagues upwards to the town of *Sena*, inhabited by the Portuguese, and as much farther to *Tete*, another Portuguese colony [4]. The richest mines are those of *Massapa*, called *Anfur* [5], the *Ophir* whence the queen of Sheba had the riches she carried to Jerusalem. In these mines it is said, that one lump of gold has been found worth 12,000 ducats, and another worth 40,000. The gold is not only found among the earth and stones, but even grows up within the bark of several trees as high as where the branches spread out to form the tops. The mines of Manchica and Butica are not much inferior to those of Massapa and Fura, and there are many others not so considerable. There are three fairs or markets which the Portuguese frequent for this trade of gold from the castle of *Tete* on the river Zambeze. The first of these is *Luanze*, four days journey inland from that place [6]. The second is *Bacuto* [7] farther off; and the third *Massapa* still farther [8]. At these fairs the gold is procured in exchange for coarse cloth, glass beads, and other articles of small value among us. A Portuguese officer, appointed by the commander of Mozambique, resides at Massapa with the permission of the emperor of Monomotapa, but under the express condition of not going into the country, under pain of death. He acts as judge of the differences that arise there. There are churches belonging to the Dominicans at Massapa, Bacuto, and Luanze.

The origin, number, and chronology of the kings of Monomotapa are not known, though it is believed there were kings here

4 Sena is 220 English miles from the sea; Tete is 260 miles higher up: so that this great river is navigâble for 480 miles, probably for small vessels only.—E.

5 Massapa is the name of a Portuguese fort or settlement on the river *Mocaras*, a branch of the *Chireira*, in the interior of Mocaranga. Anfur or Fura is a mountain about 100 miles from Massapa, said to contain rich gold mines.—E.

6 Luanze is about 100 miles south from Tete, on one of the branches of the Chireira.—E.

7 Bacuto is 40 miles south of Luanze.—E.

8 Massapa is about 45 miles S.S.W. from Buento or Bacuto, or 170 miles in that direction from Tete.—E.

here in the time of the queen of Sheba, and that they were subject to her, as she got her gold from thence. In the mountain of Anfur or Fura, near Massapa, there are the ruins of stately buildings, supposed to be those of palaces and castles. In process of time this great empire was divided into three kingdoms, called *Quiteve*, *Sabanda*, and *Chicanga*[9], which last is the most powerful, as possessing the mines of Manica, Butua, and others. It is believed that the negroes of Butua, in the kingdom of Chicanga, are those who bring gold to Angola, as these two countries are supposed to be only one hundred leagues distance from each other[10]. The country of Monomotapa produces rice and maize, and has plenty of cattle and poultry, the inhabitants addicting themselves to pasturage and tillage, and even cultivating gardens. It is divided into 25 kingdoms or provinces, named Mongas, Baroe, Manica, Boese, Macingo, Remo, Chique, Chiria, Chidima, Boquizo, Inhanzo, Chiruvia, Condesaca, Daburia, Macurumbe, Mungussi, Antiovaza, Chove, Chungue, Dvia, Romba, Rassini, Chirao, Mocaranga, and Remo-de-Beza.

The emperor[11] has a large wooden palace, the three chief apartments of which are, one for himself, another for his wife, and the third for his menial servants. It has three doors opening into a large court, one appropriated for the queen and her attendants, one for the king and the servants attached to his person, and the third for the two head cooks, who are great men and relations of the king, and for the under-cooks who are all men of quality below twenty years of age, as none so young are supposed to have any commerce with women, or otherwise they are severely punished. After serving in the palace, these young men are preferred to high employments. The

9 Quiteve is that kingdom or province of Mocaranga, now named Sofala from the river of that name by which it is pervaded. Sabanda is probably the kingdom or province of Sabia, on the river of that name, the southern province of Mocaranga. Chicanga is what is now called Manica, the southwest province of Mocaranga, the king or chief of which province is named Chicanga.—E.

10 The Butua of the text is probably the kingdom of Abutua of modern maps, in the interior of Africa, directly west from the northern part of Mocaranga. The distance between Abutua and the eastern confines of Benguela, one of the provinces of Angola or Congo, is about 800 or 900 miles.—E.

11 The chief of Mocaranga is named Monomotapa, which latter is often used as the name of the country. His residence is said to be at Zimbao near the northern frontiers, between the Portuguese forts of Sena and Tete.—E.

The servants within the palace, and those without, are commanded by two captains or high officers, resembling the *Alcalde de los Donzeles*, or governor of the noble youths, formerly at the court of Spain. The principal officers of the crown are, the *Ningomoaxa* or governor of the kingdom, *Mocomoaxa* or captain-general, *Ambuya* or high steward, whose office it is to procure a successor, when the *Mazarira* or principal wife of the king dies, who must always be chosen from among the sisters or nearest relations of the king. The next great officer is the *Inbantovo* or chief musician, who has many musicians under his charge; the *Nurucao*, or captain of the vanguard; *Bucurumo*, which signifies the king's right hand; *Magande*, or the chief conjurer; *Netambe*, or chief apothecary, who has charge of the ointments and utensils for sorcery; and lastly, the *Nehono* or chief porter. All these offices are discharged by great lords. They use no delicacy in cookery, having all their meats roasted or boiled; and they eat of such articles as are used by the Europeans, with the addition of rats and mice, which they reckon delicacies, as we do partridges and rabbits.

The king has many wives, nine of whom only are reckoned queens, and are all his sisters or near relations; the rest being the daughters of noblemen. The chief wife is called *Mazarira*, or the mother of the Portuguese, who frequently make presents to her, as she solicits their affairs with the king, and he sends no messengers to them but accompanied by some of her servants. The second queen is called *Inahanda*, who solicits for the Moors. The others *Nabuiza*, *Nemangore*, *Nizingoapangi*, *Navembo*, *Nemongoro*, *Nessani*, and *Necarunda*. Every one of these lives apart in as great state as the king, having certain revenues and districts appointed for their expences. When any of these die, another is appointed to her place and name, and they have all the power of rewards and punishments, as well as the king. Sometimes he goes to them, and, at other times they come to him; all of them having many female attendants, whom the king makes use of when he thinks proper.

The principal nation of Monomotapa is called the *Mocarangi*, and of which the emperor is a native. They are by no means warlike, and their only weapons are bows, arrows, and javelins. In regard to religion, they acknowledge one only God, and believe in a devil or evil spirit, called *Muzuco*, but they have no idols. They believe that their deceased kings go

go to heaven, and invoke these under the appellation of *Musimos*, as the saints are invoked by the catholics. Having no letters, their only knowledge of past events is preserved by tradition. The lame and blind are called the king's poor, because they are charitably maintained by him; and when any of these travel, the towns through which they pass are obliged to maintain them and furnish them with guides from place to place, an excellent example for Christians. The months are divided into three weeks of ten days each, and have several festivals. The first day of each month is the festival of the new moon; and the fourth and fifth day of every week are kept as festivals. On these days all the natives dress in their best apparel, and the king gives public audience to all who present themselves, on which occasion he holds a truncheon about three quarters of a yard long in each hand, using them to lean upon. Those who speak to him prostrate themselves on the ground, and his audience lasts from morning till evening. When the king is indisposed, the *Ningomoaxa*, or governor of the kingdom, stands in his place. No one must speak to the king, or even go to the palace, on the eighth day of the moon, as that day is reckoned unlucky. On the day of the new moon, the king runs about the palace with two javelins in his hand, as if fighting, all the great men being present at this pastime. When this is ended, a pot full of maize, boiled whole, is brought in, which the king scatters about, desiring the nobles to eat, and every one strives to gather most to please him, and eat it greedily as if it were the most savoury dainty. Their greatest festival is held on the new moon in May, which they call *Chuavo*. On this day all the great men of the empire, who are very numerous, resort to court, where they run about with javelins in their hand, as in a mock fight. This sport lasts the whole day, at the end of which the king withdraws, and is not seen for eight days afterwards, during all which time the drums beat incessantly. He then reappears on the ninth day, and orders the noble for whom he has least affection to be slain, as a sacrifice to his ancestors, or the *Muzimos*. When this is done, the drums cease, and every one goes home. The *Mumbos*[12] eat human flesh, which is publicly sold in the shambles. This may suffice for the customs of the natives in the empire of Monomotapa, as it would be endless to recount the whole.

After

12 This savage race are said to inhabit on the north western frontiers of Mocaranga.—E.

After some stay at Mozambique, Barreto set out on his expedition for the mines of Monomotapa, with men, horses, camels, and other necessaries for war, and with proper tools for working the mines which he expected to conquer. He sailed up the river *Cuama*, called *Rio de los buenos Sennales*, or river of Good Signs, by the first discoverers, and came to *Sena* or the fort of *St Marzalis*, according to the desire of father Monclaros; whence he proceeded to the town of *Inaparapala*, near which is another town belonging to the Moors, who, being always professed enemies to the Christians, began to thwart the designs of the Portuguese as they had formerly done in India. They even attempted to poison the Portuguese army, and some of the men and horses actually died in consequence; but the cause being discovered by one of the Moors, they were all put to the sword, their chiefs being blown from the mouths of cannon, the informer only being pardoned. After this Barreto sent an embassy to the king, desiring permission to march against the chief of the *Mongas*, who was then in rebellion, and from thence to continue his march to the mines of *Butua* and *Mancica*. The first of these requests was a piece of flattery to obtain leave for the other, as the province of the Mongas lay between Sena and the mines, and it was necessary to march thither by force of arms. The king gave his consent to both requests, and even offered to send 100,000 of his own men along with the Portuguese; but Barreto declined any assistance, wishing to have the whole honour of the war to himself, and thinking by that means to gain favour with the king. He accordingly marched with 23 horse and 560 foot armed with muskets; and after a march of ten days, mostly along the rapid river Zambeze, in which the troops suffered excessively from hunger and thirst, the enemy were descried covering the hills and vallies with armed men. Though the multitude of the enemy was so great that the extremity of their army could not be seen, Barreto marched on giving the command of the van to Vasco Fernandez Homem, while he led the rear in person, the baggage and a few field pieces being in the centre. On coming up to engage the cannon were removed to the front and flanks.

The enemy were drawn up in the form of a crescent; and as the Portuguese marched to the charge, an old woman came forward to meet them scattering some powder towards them, having persuaded the enemy that she alone would gain the victory by virtue of that powder. Barreto understood the meaning

meaning of this superstitious act, having seen similar things in India, and gave orders to level a field piece at the notorious witch, which was so well pointed that she was blown to atoms, at which the *Kafrs* were astonished, as they believed her immortal. The enemy however advanced, but without any order, either from ignorance or because they relied on their immense numbers, and discharged clouds of arrows and darts against the Portuguese; but finding that the musqueteers slew them by hundreds at every discharge, they took to flight, and great numbers of them were slain in the pursuit. Barreto continued his march for the city of the Mongas, and was opposed by another multitude similar to the former which was put to flight with equal facility, above 6000 of the Kafrs being slain with the loss of only two Portuguese soldiers. The city was abandoned by the enemy and taken possession of by Barreto without opposition, in which he entrenched his small army. Next morning a multitude of Kafrs as large as either of the former appeared to assail the Portuguese; but being again routed with prodigious slaughter, a messenger arrived to beg for peace. Barreto answered that he would wait upon the king, when all matters might be adjusted. He accordingly marched next day, and having encamped in a convenient place, a new embassy came from the king to solicit peace. While the Kafr ambassadors were conferring with Barreto, one of the camels belonging to the Portuguese happened to break loose and came up to where Barreto was, who stopped it till those who were seeking for it came up. The Kafr ambassadors had never before seen a camel, and were astonished to see it come up to the governor, at whom they asked many questions concerning the strange animal. Taking advantage of their ignorance and credulity, Barreto told them that those animals fed only on human flesh, devouring all that were slain in battle; and that this camel had come to him from the rest to desire that he would not make peace as they would then have no food. Astonished at this intelligence, they intreated him to desire the camels to be satisfied with good beef, and they would immediately supply him with great numbers of cattle. He granted their request and marched on, still in much distress for provisions.

At this time news was brought of some transactions at Mozambique which rendered his presence there necessary, on which he assigned the command of the army to Vasco Fernandez Homem, and departed for Mozambique. Antonio

Pereyra

Pereyra Brandam had committed certain crimes at the Moluccas, for which on his return to Portugal he was banished into Africa, on which he requested Barreto to take him to Mozambique, which he did accordingly, and even gave him the command of the fort at that place. Though eighty years of age, Brandam wished to secure himself in the command of the fort by sending false informations to the king against Barreto his benefactor. By some means these papers were intercepted and sent to Barreto, who on his arrival at Mozambique immediately shewed them to Brandam, who fell on his knees and asked pardon in the most humble manner. Barreto forgave him, but deprived him of the command over the fort at Mozambique, which he committed to the charge of Lorenzo Godino, and returned to prosecute the expedition in Monomotapa.

On his arrival at Sena, where Homem had halted with the army, Monclaros accosted him in a violent manner, commanding him to desist from that wild enterprise of conquering the mines, in which he had imposed on the king, declaring that he should be held responsible for all who had died or might die in future in this wild and impracticable design. It is certain that Barreto was not the promoter of this intended conquest, and that Monclaros was actually to blame for the miscarriage; yet Barreto took the insolence of this proud priest so much to heart that he died in two days without any other sickness. Assuredly the Jesuit had more to answer for on account of the death of the governor, than he for the unfortunate result of the expedition, which was all owing to the arrogant ignorance of the Jesuit in forcing it into a wrong direction. Thus fell, by the angry words of a priest, a great man who had escaped from many bullets among the Indians, from numerous darts and arrows of the Mongas, and from the malice of a villain. King Sebastian greatly lamented his untimely end, which he expressed by giving an honourable reception to his body when brought to Lisbon.

After the death of Barreto, a royal order was found among his papers by which Vasco Fernandez Homem was appointed his successor. By the persuasions of Monclaros, who was now disgusted with the expedition of Monomotapa, Homem returned with the troops to Mozambique, abandoning the projected conquest of the mines. At that place some judicious persons, and particularly Francisco Pinto Pimentel, urged him to resume the execution of the orders which had been given

given by the king to Barreto, and he determined upon resuming the enterprise for the conquest of Monomotapa; but as Monclaros was now gone back to Portugal, he found himself at liberty to take the route for the mines through Sofala, as Barreto wished to have done originally. Landing therefore at Sofala, he marched directly inland towards the mines of *Manica* in the kingdom of *Chicanga*, bordering *by the inland* with the kingdom of *Quiteve* which is next in power to Monomotapa[13]. To conciliate the king of *Quiteve*, Homem sent messengers with presents to request the liberty of passing through his dominions, but being jealous of his intentions, that king received his propositions very coldly. Homem advanced however, having nearly a similar force with that which accompanied Barreto on the former expedition into the kingdom of Monomotapa, and several bodies of Kafrs that attempted to stop his progress were easily routed with great slaughter. Finding himself unable to defend himself against the invaders by force of arms, the king of Quiteve had recourse to policy, and caused all the people and provisions to be removed from the towns, so that the Portuguese suffered extreme distress till they arrived at *Zimbao*[14], the residence of the king, whence he had fled and taken refuge in inaccessible mountains. Homem burnt the city, and marched on to the kingdom of *Chicanga*, where he was received by the king rather through fear than love, was supplied with provisions, and allowed a free passage to the mines. At these the Portuguese vainly expected that they would be able to gather gold in great abundance; but seeing that the natives procured only very small quantities in a long time and with much difficulty, and being themselves very inexpert in that labour, they soon abandoned the place which they had so long and anxiously sought for, and returned towards the coast, parting from

13 In modern geography, which indeed is mainly ignorant of the foreign possessions of the Portuguese, the dominion of Sofala on both sides of the river of that name, extend about 320 miles from east to west, in lat. 20° S. from the Mozambique channel, by about 100 miles in breadth. The commercial station of Sofala belonging to the Portuguese is at the mouth of the river; and about 220 miles from the sea is a town called Zimbao of Quiteve. Manica the kingdom of Chicanga is an inland district to the west of the kingdoms of Sofala and Sabia; all three dependent upon Monomotapa.—E.

14 This Zimbao of Quiteve is to be carefully distinguished from a town of the same name in Monomotapa. The former is nearly in lat. 20° S. on the river of Sofala, the latter is about 16° 20′ S. near the river Zambezi or Cuama.—E.

from the king of Chicanga in much friendship. Thus, though disappointed in their main design of acquiring rich gold mines, the ease with which they had penetrated to the place evinced how great an error had been formerly committed by subjecting Barreto to the direction of Monclaros, who had led him by a tedious and dangerous way merely to gratify his own extravagant humour.

Homem returned to the kingdom of Quiteve, and the king of that country now permitted him to march for the mines of *Maninnas*[15], on condition that the Portuguese should pay him twenty crowns yearly. Homem accordingly marched for the kingdom of *Chicova*[16], which borders upon the inland frontier of Monomotapa towards the north, having heard that there were rich mines of silver in that country. Having penetrated to Chicova, he inquired among the natives for the way to the mines; and as they saw that it was in vain for them to resist, while they feared the discovery of the mines would prove their ruin, they scattered some ore at a place far distant from the mines, and shewing this to the Portuguese told them that this was the place of which they were in search. By this contrivance the Kafrs gained time to escape, as the Portuguese permitted them to go away, perhaps because they were unwilling the natives should see what treasure they procured. Homem accordingly caused all the environs to be carefully dug up, and after a vast deal of fruitless labour was obliged to desist, as provisions grew scarce. Thus finding no advantage after all his fatigues and dangers, Homem marched away towards the coast with part of his troops, intending to return to his government at Mozambique, and left Antonio Cardoso de Almeyda with 200 men to continue the researches for some time for the treasures that were said to abound in that country. Cardoso suffered himself to be again deceived by the Kafrs who had before imposed upon Homem, as they now offered to conduct him to where he might find a vein of silver. But they led him the way of death rather than of the mines, and killed him and all his men after defending themselves with incredible bravery.

Thus

15 No such place is laid down in modern maps, but rich gold mines are mentioned in Mocaranga near mount *Fura*, which is nearly in the route indicated in the text, between Sofala or Quiteve and Chicova.--E.

16 Chicova is a territory and town of Mocaranga or Monomotapa, in lat. 19° N. at the north-west boundary of that empire on the Zambeze; and is said to abound in mines of silver.--E.

Thus ended the government and conquest of Monomotapa shortly after its commencement, under two successive governors, who lost their object almost as soon as it was seen. The first killed by a few rash words, and the second expelled by a prudent stratagem. Yet peace and trade continued between the Portuguese and the empire of Monomotapa. These actions of Barreto and Homem took place during the time when Luis de Ataide, Antonio de Noronha, and Antonio Moniz Barreto [17], were governors of India; but we have never been able to ascertain when the former died and the latter abandoned the projected conquest of the mines.

SECTION IX.

Continuation of the Portuguese Transactions in India, from 1576 to 1581; when the Crown of Portugal was usurped by Philip II. of Spain, on the Death of the Cardinal King Henry.

IN 1576 Ruy Lorenzo de Tavora went out as viceroy of Portuguese India; but dying on the voyage, at Mozambique, Don Diego de Menezes assumed the government in virtue of a royal patent of succession. Nothing extraordinary happened during his government of nearly two years, when he was superseded by the arrival of Don Luis de Ataide count of Atougaia as viceroy of India for the second time. Ataide had been appointed general in chief of the Portuguese forces by king Sebastian, who had resolved to bury the glory of his kingdom in the burning sands of Africa; and finding his own youthful impetuosity unable to conform with the prudent councils of the count, he constituted him viceroy of India as a plausible means of removing him. The count arrived at Goa about the end of August 1577, where he immediately fitted out a mighty fleet which struck terror into all the neighbouring princes. After continuing the war for some time against Adel Khan, a peace was concluded with that prince.

Soon afterwards news was brought to India of the melan-

17 The commencement of the government of Barreto has been already stated as having taken place in 1569. Antonio Moniz Barreto governed India from 1573 to 1576: Hence the consecutive governments of Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandez Homem in Monomotapa could not be less than *four* or more than *seven* years.—E.

choly catastrophe which had befallen king Sebastian in Africa, and that the Cardinal Don Henry had succeeded to the throne; but he soon afterwards died, and the kingdom of Portugal came under the direction of a council of regency consisting of five members. The viceroy Don Luis died soon afterwards at Goa in the beginning of the year 1580, after governing India this second time for two years and seven months. He seemed to have had a presentiment of his death; for being applied to for leave to bury his cousin Antonio Botello beside his brother Don Juan de Ataide, he refused it, saying that he had long designed that situation for himself. He was a man of most undaunted courage, of which the following instance may be adduced. At the attack of *Onore*, he sailed in a brigantine sitting in a chair, having a famous musician beside him playing on the harp. When the balls from the enemy began to whistle past the ears of the musician he stopt playing, on which the count desired him to proceed as the tune was excellent. One of the gentlemen near him, seeing his unconcernedness, requested him to expose himself less to the danger, as if he were slain all would be lost: "No such thing, answered he, for if I am killed there are men enough who are fit to succeed me."

On his death, which appears to have happened in March 1580, he was succeeded as governor by Ferdinand Tellez de Menezes, pursuant to a patent of succession sent out by the regency in the year before. On this occasion the new governor was installed with as much demonstration of joy as if there had been no cause of sorrow among the subjects of Portugal for the melancholy state of their country. While the affairs of Portugal were in a miserable state of distraction, those of Visiapour were in no better condition, in consequence of the death of Adel Khan without heirs, in the 23d year of his reign and 50th of his age. Being adicted to unnatural practices, a youth of eighteen years of age who had too much honour to submit to his base desires, stabbed him as he was endeavouring to allure him to comply with his brutal purposes. Ibrahim Khan, the son of Shah Tamas, one of two brothers whom Adel Khan had put to death, succeeded to the sovereignty; but was soon afterwards seized by a powerful Omrah, named Quisbalc Khan, who made himself master of the city of Visiapour. Soon afterwards the Ethiopian guards revolted under three leaders of their own choice, Acala Khan, Armi Khan,

Khan, and Delarna Khan, the last of whom secured the other two and usurped the whole power.

About this time new instructions came from the regency of Portugal, announcing that Philip II. of Spain had been admitted as king of Portugal, and enjoining the governor and all the Portuguese in India to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign.

At this period *Mirazenam Pacha*, a native of Otranto, and born of Christian parents, was governor of all that part of Arabia which is called *Yemen* by the natives, and resided in *Sanaa* or *Zenan*, a city in the inland part of Yeman or Arabia Felix, 60 leagues north of Mokha [1]. Sanaa stands upon a hill encompassed with a good wall, and is thought to have been founded by Ham the son of Noah, and to have been the residence of the famous queen of Sheba. The fruitful province in which it stands was called by the ancients *Siria Mumifera*, because it produces frankincense, myrrh, and storax. Being desirous to plunder *Maskat* near Cape Ras-al-gat, Mirazenam sent three Turkish gallies on that errand under Ali Beg, who took possession of Maskat, whence most of the Portuguese residents saved themselves by flight, leaving their goods to be plundered by Ali Beg. The fugitives took refuge in *Mataro*, a town only a league distant, whence they went to *Bruxel*, a fort about four leagues inland, belonging to *Catani* the sheikh or chief of a horde or tribe of Arabs. The Arab officer who commanded there received the Portuguese with much kindness and hospitality, and protected them till the departure of Ali Beg, when they returned to Maskat. On learning the ruin of Maskat, Gonzalo de Menezes, who then commanded at Ormuz, sent Luis de Almeyda with a squadron consisting of a galleon, a galley, and six other vessels, with 400 good men, to attack Ali Beg. But Almeyda neglected the orders of his superior, and sailed to the coast of the *Naytaques*, intending to surprise and plunder the beautiful and rich city of *Pesani* [2]. But the inhabitants got notice of their danger and fled, after which Almeyda dishonourably plundered the city, to which he set fire, together with near fifty sail

1 Sanaa is about 80 marine leagues, or 278 English miles N. E. from Mokha, and 30 leagues, or about 100 miles nearly north from Makulla, the nearest port of Arabia on the Indian ocean.—E.

2 Perhaps Posino on the oceanic coast of Makran, one of the provinces of Persia, is here meant, nearly north from Maskat, on the opposite coast of the entrance towards the Persian Gulf.—E.

sail of vessels which were in the bay. He did the same thing to *Guadel* or *Gader*, a city not inferior to Pesani, and to *Teis* or *Tesse* belonging to the barbarous tribe of the *Abindos* who dwell on the river *Calamen* in *Gedrosia* [3], and who join with the *Naytaques* in their piracies.

SECTION X.

Transactions of the Portuguese in India, from 1581 *to* 1597 [1].

DON Francisco Mascarenhas, count of Santa Cruz, was the first viceroy sent out to India after the revolution by which Philip II. of Spain acquired the sovereignty of Portugal. The honour and advantages conferred upon him on receiving this important office were greater than had ever been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. He well deserved all rewards of honour and profit, having served with great reputation in India, particularly in the brave defence of Chaul, with an incompetent garrison, and hardly any fortifications, against the power of the Nizam, who besieged it with 150,000 men. Yet his advancement on this occasion proceeded more from the policy of the king of Spain than the merit of Mascarenhas, to endeavour to gain the hearts of the Portuguese in India by his bounty. On his arrival at Goa in 1581, the new viceroy found that all the Portuguese had already submitted to the government of the king of Spain, so that he had only to attend to the usual affairs of his viceroyalty.

Sultan Amodifar, the lawful king of Guzerat, after being long kept prisoner by the Mogul who had usurped his kingdom, made his escape by the assistance of some women and came in disguise to a Banian at Cambaya, by whom he was

3 Gedrosia the ancient name of that province of Persia on the Indian Ocean between the mouth of the Persian Gulf and the Indus, now called Mekran or Makran.—E.

1 We have here omitted from de Faria several long and confused dissertations on subjects that will be treated of more satisfactorily in the sequel of this work, from better sources of information. These are, 1. Of the religion of Hindostan. 2. Of the empire of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia. 3. Of Japan. 4. Of China. 5. Of the traditions respecting the preaching of Christianity in India by St Thomas. Likewise, in the sequel of the Portuguese transactions in India from de Faria, we have omitted a vast deal of uninteresting events, confining our attention only to such as are of some relative importance.—E.

was conveyed to *Jambo*, a person who had secured himself in a portion of the kingdom of Guzerat in the late revolution. Jambo not only acknowledged Amodifar as his legitimate sovereign, but procured the submission of many other chiefs and great men, so that he was soon at the head of a large army, in which there were above 30,000 horse, and in a short time Amodifar recovered possession of almost all Guzerat, either by force or consent. In hopes of profiting by these confusions, and in particular expecting to acquire possession of Surat, the viceroy went with 40 sail to Chaul, whence he sent some intelligent agents to Baroach, which was then besieged by Amodifar, the wife and children of Cotub oddin Khan having taken refuge in that place. These agents had instructions to treat secretly both with Amodifar and the wife of Cotub, without letting either of them know the correspondence with the other, that the Portuguese interest might be secured with the party that ultimately prevailed. But a large Mogul army invaded Guzerat and recovered possession of the whole country, so that the negociations of the viceroy fell to nothing, and he returned to Goa. While absent from that city, the subjects of the new king of Visiapour, provoked by the insolences of Larva Khan the favourite minister, wished to set up Cufo Khan the son of Meale Khan, who had been long kept prisoner at Goa; but on this coming to the knowledge of Larva Khan, he contrived, by means of an infamous Portuguese, named Diego Lopez Bayam, to inveigle Cufo Khan into his power, who thinking to gain a crown was made prisoner by Larva Khan and deprived of his eyes.

After Don Francisco de Mascarenhas had enjoyed the viceroyalty for three years, Don Duarte de Menezes came out in 1584 as his successor. His first measure was to restore peace at Cochin, where a revolt was threatened by the natives in consequence of the Portuguese having usurped the management of the custom-house to the prejudice of the Rajah; but an accommodation was now entered into, and the people appeased by restoring matters to their ancient footing. The *naik* of Sanguicer, a place dependent upon the king of Visiapour, having converted his place of residence into a nest of pirates, to the great injury of the Portuguese trade on the coast of Canara, an agreement was entered into with the king of Visiapour for his punishment; the governor of Ponda named Kosti Khan being to march against him by land with 40,000 men, while the Portuguese were to attack the naik by sea.

sea. This was accordingly executed, and the naik being driven to take refuge in the woods, implored mercy, and was restored to his ruined district.

Some years before the present period a prodigious inundation of Kafrs or Negro barbarians from the interior of Africa invaded the country of Monomotapa, in multitudes that were utterly innumerable. They came from that part of the interior in which the great lake of *Maravi* is situated, out of which springs the great rivers whose source was formerly unknown. Along with this innumerable multitude, a part of whom were of the tribes called *Macabires* and *Ambei*, bordering upon Abyssinia, came their wives, children, and old people, as if emigrating bodily in search of new habitations, from their own being unable to contain them. They were a rude and savage people, whose chosen food was human flesh, only using that of beasts in defect of the other; and such was the direful effect of their passage through any part of the country, that they marked their way by the utter ruin of the habitations, leaving nothing behind but the bones of the inhabitants. When these failed them, they supplied their craving hunger by feeding on their own people, beginning with the sick and aged. Even their women, though ugly and deformed, were as hardy and warlike as their husbands, carrying their children and household goods on their backs, and going armed with bows and arrows, which they used with as much courage and dexterity as the men. These barbarians used defensive armour, and even employed the precaution of fortifying their camp wherever they happened to halt. While passing the castle of *Tete* upon the Zambeze in the interior of Mocaranga, Jerome de Andrada who commanded the Portuguese garrison sent out against them a party of musketeers, and in two encounters killed above 5000 of them, while the multitude fled in the utmost dismay, having never before experienced the effects of fire arms. Passing onwards from thence, the barbarous multitude came to the neighbourhood of Mozambique, destroying every thing in their course like an inundation of fire; and as the situation appeared inviting to one of their chiefs named *Mambea*, who commanded about 6000 warriors, he built a fort and some towns on the main, about two leagues from Mozambique. As the fort of Cuama, where Nuno Vello Pereyra commanded, was much incommoded by the neighbourhood of these barbarians, he sent out Antonio Pimentel against them with 400 men, four only of whom were Portuguese,

guese, who falling unexpectedly on the barbarians slew many of them and burnt the fort; but retiring in disorder, the enemy fell upon Pimentel and his men, all of whom they slew except three Portuguese and a small number of negroes. All the slain were devoured by the victorious Kafrs, except their heads, hands, and feet.

The country about Mozambique is full of orchards and fruit trees, especially citrons, lemons, and oranges, and has all kinds of wild and tame beasts like those in Europe, together with prodigious numbers of elephants. The principal food of the people is maize. The woods mostly consist of ebony, being a very lofty tree with leaves like those of our apple trees, and fruit resembling medlars, but not eatable, the whole stem and branches being thickly covered with thorns. The bark is as susceptible of fire as tinder, and when one of these trees is cut down it never springs up again. There is another sort of a yellowish colour, which is reckoned valuable. The best manna is produced in this country. Among the fish of this river is one equally voracious with the crocodile, from which no man escapes that gets within their reach, but they never injure women. One of these of a prodigious size was caught having gold rings in its ears, which was supposed to have been done as some species of witchcraft or incantation by the Kafrs to clear the river from these dangerous animals. In confirmation of this opinion, we read in an Arabian author named *Matude*, giving an account of prodigies, that about the year 863 a brazen crocodile was found under the ruins of an Egyptian temple, on which certain characters or symbolical letters were impressed, and when this image was broken in pieces the crocodiles of the Nile began again to devour men.

During the viceroyalty of Don Duarte de Menezes fresh troubles broke out in the kingdom of Visiapour, in consequence of which the Moguls invaded the country, and after laying it waste to a great extent possessed themselves of many of its towns cities and districts. The occasions of these troubles was this: The king being ill of a contagious distemper, his two favourite ministers, Acede Khan and Calabate Khan, kept him concealed in the palace, so that no person was allowed to see him. The prince and the people had recourse to arms, in order to force these tyrants to admit them into the kings presence; on which they persuaded the infirm king that the prince wished to depose him, so that the king went to war against the prince, and defeated him with great slaughter,

 upon

upon which the Moguls were called in to their assistance, and used the opportunity to plunder the country and appropriate it to themselves.

Towards the close of the viceroyalty of Don Duarte de Menezes, Raju who had usurped the sovereignty of Ceylon, determined upon making a conquest of the Portuguese fortress of Columbo, with a view of expelling them from that island. For this purpose he collected an immense army, in which were 50,000 soldiers, 60,000 pioneers, and nearly as many artificers of various descriptions, with 2200 elephants, 40,000 oxen, 150 pieces of cannon, and 50,000 intrenching tools, axes, shovels, spades, and mattocks, with an innumerable quantity of spare arms and ammunition; among which were two wooden castles built upon enormous carriages, each of which had nine wheels. Added to all which he had nearly 500 craft of different kinds. Before proceeding upon this expedition, he deemed it proper to consult the idols respecting its success; and on this occasion he secretly placed men behind the idols, who answered to his supplications for a favourable termination to his great design, *If you would take Columbo you must shed innocent blood!* The people were astonished at this familiar and direct intercourse between their idols and their prince; and he, pretending obedience to the divine commands which they had all heard, caused 500 children to be taken from the arms of their mothers, all of whom were sacrificed, and the idols sprinkled with their blood.

After all his preparations were completed, he marched with his prodigious army and invested Columbo, choosing the ground which he deemed most advantageous, as the garrison was not sufficiently strong to contend with him in the field. Joam de Britto, who then commanded in Columbo, had sent intimation of his danger to the other Portuguese possessions, and had arranged every thing for defence as well as he could. To defend the place against the vast army by which he was now assailed, he had only 300 Portuguese, a third of whom were useless, as being old men or children; besides whom he had 700 armed natives and slaves. This incompetent force he posted to the best advantage around the walls, which were far too extensive, reserving 50 picked men to attend upon himself to give relief wherever it was most needed. After the commencement of the siege, Raju spent a whole month in draining a lake which secured one side of Columbo from being assailed, and as the Portuguese had several boats on the

lake, there were frequent skirmishes in which the enemy suffered considerable loss. The side of the fort which had been covered by the lake was much weakened by the drawing off its water, which had been its chief defence on that side. In consequence of the advices sent by Brito to the commanders of the neighbouring forts, reinforcements were prepared at different quarters. The first relief, consisting of 40 men, was sent by Juan de Melo the commander of Manaar, under the command of his nephew Ferdinand de Melo, who likewise brought a supply of ammunition; and Ferdinand was posted with his men to strengthen the defence upon the side towards the drained lake.

On the 4th of August before day-light [2], Raju advanced in silence to give the first assault, but was discovered by the lighted matches of his musqueteers. The enemy applied their scaling ladders at the same time to the three bastions of St Michael, St Gonzalo, and St Francisco, while 2000 pioneers fell to work below to undermine the works. Many of the assailants were thrown down from their ladders on the heads of the workmen employed below, while numbers of the enemy who were drawn up in the field before the town were destroyed by the cannons from the walls. Everywhere both within and without, the fort resounded with the cries of women and children, and the groans of the wounded, joined to the noise of the cannon and musquetry and the shrill cries of elephants, which, forced to the walls by their conductors, were driven back smarting with many wounds, and did vast injury in the ranks of the besiegers. Such was the multitude of the enemy that they did not seem lessened by slaughter, fresh men still pressing on to supply the places of the killed and wounded. Brito was present in every place of danger, giving orders and conveying relief, and after a long and arduous contest, the enemy at length gave way, leaving 400 men dead or dying at the foot of the walls. During this assault, some Chingalese who had retired into the fort to escape the tyranny of Raju, fought with as much bravery as the Portuguese. Twice afterwards, Raju made repeated attempts to carry the place by escalade, but was both times repulsed with much slaughter. After

2 The date of the year is omitted by De Faria, who, always rather negligent of dates, now hardly ever gives any more light on this subject than the years in which the respective viceroys and governors assumed and laid down their authorities. The siege therefore must have happened between 1584 and 1588, during the government of Duarte de Menezes.—E.

After which he repaired his entrenchments, and prepared to renew the assaults.

After the commencement of the siege Diego Fernandez Pessoa came from Negapatnam with a ship of his own, and Antonio de Aguilar brought another ship, by means of which the besieged were much encouraged. Don Joam de Austria the *Modeliar* of Candea [3], and the *Arache* Don Alfonzo, did at this time eminent service against the enemy; and a soldier of vast strength, named Jose Fernandez, having broken his spear, threw several of the enemy behind him to be slain by those in his rear. On learning the danger of Columbo, the city of Cochin fitted out six ships for its relief, with a supply of men and ammunition, which were placed under the command of Nuno Alvarez de Atouguia. Before their arrival, Raju gave another general assault by sea and land, in which the danger was so pressing that even the religious were forced to act as officers and soldiers to defend the walls, and the enemy were again repulsed with great slaughter. Immediately after this the relief arrived under Atouguia from Cochin, and nearly at the same time arrived from St Thomases and other places several ships brought by private individuals of their own accord; and in September six ships and a galley arrived with reinforcements from Goa under Bernardin de Carvallo. On the arrival of such numerous reinforcements, Raju, giving up all hopes of carrying the place by assault, endeavoured to undermine the walls; but this attempt was effectually counteracted by Thomas de Sousa, who found out a way of destroying the miners while engaged in the work.

Foiled in all his attempts to gain possession of Columbo, Raju now endeavoured to attain his end by treachery, and prevailed on some of his wizards to pretend discontent, and desert to the town, that they might poison the water in the garrison *and bewitch* the defenders. Being suspected, these men were put to the torture, on which they confessed their intentions, and were put to death. "While one of the wizards was on the rack, he uttered certain mysterious words which deprived the executioners of their senses, and left them struggling under convulsions for twenty-four hours." Treachery failing, Raju had again recourse to open force, and ordered his

3 It will be afterwards seen in the particular history and travels in Ceylon, that this person was the native sovereign of the the central region or kingdom of Ceylon, called Candy or Candea from the name of the capital, who had acquired the name in the text in baptism.—E.

his fleet to attack that of the Portuguese comanded by Thomas de Sousa; but two of the Ceylon ships were sunk and two taken, in which most of the men were slain, and those who survived were hanged at the yard arms. In this naval battle 300 of the enemy were slain, with the loss of two men only on the side of the Portuguese. Raju was so enraged at the bad success of this naval attack, that he ordered two of his principal sea-officers to be beheaded. Soon after this a ship arrived with ammunition sent by the viceroy, and the enemy made another assault by night on the works, in which, as in all the others, they were beat off with great slaughter. After this, Juan de Gamboa arrived in a galley with a reinforcement of 150 men; and De Brito finding himself now confident in the strength of his garrison, sent out Pedro Alfonzo with a squadron to destroy the towns on the coast belonging to the enemy. In this expedition, the towns of Belicot, Berberü, and Beligao were plundered and burnt, and the Portuguese in their haste to get possession of the pendents and bracelets of the women barbarously cut off their hands and ears. After making prodigious havock in many other places, Alfonzo returned to Columbo with much spoil and many prisoners.

At this time sickness attacked the garrison of Columbo, and threatened to do more for Raju than all his force had been able to effect. The disease, which began in the neighbouring towns and spread to Columbo, baffled every attempt of the physicians for its cure. On opening some who died of it, the entrails were found impostumated, which was supposed owing to uncommon heat and drought, which had prevailed that year beyond any other in remembrance of the people. By the application of *cold and dry* remedies the disease decreased. In the begining of January [4] Raju made two other attempts to gain Columbo by assault, in the last of which the bastions of St Sebastian, St Gonzalo, and St Jago were in great danger, but the enemy were repulsed in both with great slaughter. In the meanwhile the fleet was again sent out under the command of Thomas de Sousa, who ravaged the coast of Ceylon, and destroyed the villages of Çoscore, Madania, Guinderem, Gale, Beligao, Mature, and Tanavar. To this last place the idolaters had imagined the Portuguese arms could never penetrate, as protected by the supposed

4 Probably of the year 1588, as the death of the viceroy, who died in that year, is soon afterwards mentioned by De Faria.—E.

supposed sanctity of a pagoda in its neighbourhood. This pagoda was situated on a hill near the town, and appeared from sea like a city. It was above a league in circumference, ornamented with numerous domes, all of which were covered with copper splendidly gilt. In this pagoda there were above 1000 idols in the several chapels or large cloisters; the temple being surrounded with streets full of shops for the supply of the pilgrims and votaries who resorted thither from all quarters. Taking possession of this temple, Sousa cast down and destroyed all the idols, demolished all the curious workmanship of the pagoda, and carried away every thing that could be removed, after which he killed some cows in its most sacred recesses, which is the greatest possible profanation in the opinion of the idolaters.

Among the prisoners taken at Cascore was a young woman who happened to be a bride. When the ships were about to weigh anchor, a young man came hastily to the place where the young woman was, and embraced her with much affection. By means of an interpreter, it was learned that this man was her destined husband, who had been absent when the town was attacked, and came now to offer himself for a slave rather than live free in separation from the woman of his affections. When this was told to Sousa, he determined not to part such true lovers, and ordered them to be both set at liberty; but they were so much affected by this act of generosity, that they requested to remain in his service. They lived afterwards in Columbo, where the man faithfully served the Portuguese on many occasions.

Scarcely had Sousa returned to Columbo from this last expedition, when Raju decamped, and began to march away, but the Portuguese fell upon the rear of his army, and cut off many of his men. In the course of this siege, some say that Raju lost 10,000 men, while others restrict the loss to half of that number. Besides the destruction of many towns, villages, and ships, burnt, plundered, and destroyed, the cannon, prisoners, and booty taken during this siege from the enemy were of considerable value. By these losses, and his inability to gain possession of Columbo with so large an army, Raju lost much reputation among the neighbouring princes, who waited the success of his preparations to declare for either side. The loss on the side of the Portuguese during this siege, consisted of 140 men slain, 30 only of whom were Portuguese; but 500 died of the sickness formerly mentioned.

On

On the day after the siege was raised, Don Paul de Lima came to Columbo with a powerful reinforcement from the viceroy. Eight days were spent in levelling the works which Raju had thrown up, after which the damage done to the fort was repaired, and it was furnished with a garrison of 600 men, plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition. Soon after receiving the joyful news of the glorious and successful defence of Columbo, the viceroy, Duarte de Menezes, died of a violent sickness in the beginning of May 1588, to whom succeeded Emanuel de Sousa Coutinno, in virtue of a patent of succession, being every way well qualified for the office by his singular bravery and thorough experience in the affairs of India.

In the homeward fleet of this season Don Paul de Lima embarked for Portugal in the ship called the St Thome, of which Stefano de Vega was captain. While off the coast of Natal the ship sprung a leak in the stern during a storm, and though all the rich commodities with which she was freighted were thrown overboard, it was found impossible to keep her afloat. In this extremity 120 persons took to the boat, and had hardly put off when the ship was swallowed up by the waves. Finding the boat overloaded, it was found necessary to throw some of the people into the sea. At length the boat reached the shore, on which *ninety-eight* persons landed, several of whom were men of note with their wives, and some friars, one of whom after confessing the people who remained in the ship wished to have staid with them that he might aid their devotions to the last. After landing, the women put themselves into mens habits, after the Indian manner, for the greater ease in travelling, and the whole company set off on their march in good order, a friar going before carrying a crucifix on high. The place where they landed was on that part of the coast of *Natal* called by the Portuguese the country of the *Fumos*, but by the natives the country of *Macomates*, being inhabited by Kafrs of that name. It is in the latitude of 27° 20′ S. beyond the river of *Semin Dote*, 50 leagues south of the bay of *Lorenzo Marquez* [5]. All the lands of the Fumos

5 If the latitude in the text could be depended on, this shipwreck seems to have taken place on the coast now occupied by the *Hambonaas*, near the small river *Bagasie*, 85 miles south from the entrance into *Delagoa* bay. The river of Semin Dote is probably that now called *Mafumo*, which agrees with the country of *Fumos* in the text; and the bay of Lorenzo Marquez may

Fumos belongs to the king of *Virangune* [6], and extends 30 leagues into the interior, bordering on the south with the country of *Mocalapata*, which again extends to the river *St Lucia*, in lat. 28° 15′ S. and to the kingdom of *Vambe*, which contains a great part of the *Terra de Natal* [7]. From thence to the Cape of Good Hope, the natives have no king, being ruled only by *ancozes* or chiefs of villages. Next to the kingdom of *Virangune* to the north is that of *Innaca*, towards the N. E. to the point of the bay of *St Laurence*, in lat. 25° 45′ S. opposite to which are two islands, named *Choambone* and *Setimuro*, the latter of which is uninhabited, and is the station of the Portuguese who resort to this bay to purchase ivory. About this bay many great rivers fall into the sea, as those named *Beligane*, *Mannica*, *Spiritu Santo*, *Vumo*, *Anzate*, and *Angomane* [8]. *Anzate* runs along the edge of vast inaccessible mountains, covered with herds of elephants, and inhabited by a gigantic race of people [9]. In the latitude of 25° S. the river *De los Reyes*, or *Del Ouro*, likewise named the river *Inhampura* falls into the sea, to the west of which in the interior are the kingdoms of *Innapola* and *Mannuco*. From this place to Cape Corientes, the sea makes a great bay, along which inhabit the *Mocaranges*, a nation much addicted to thieving [10]. Opposite to Cape St Sebastian are the islands of *Bazaruto* or *Bocica*, and not far from it the kingdom of *In-*

may possibly be *Delagoa*, though only 28 leagues north from the latitude of the text, but there is no other bay of any importance for 400 miles farther along this coast.—E.

6 In modern maps, the country along the south side of the river *Mafumo*, is said to be the dominions of *Capellah*.—E.

7 To the south of the *Hambonaas* at Delagoa bay, the coast of Natal is inhabited by the *Tambookies* and *Koussis*. The river St Lucia still remains in our maps in the latitude indicated, but the other names in the text are unknown in modern geography.—E.

8 Of these rivers only that of *Manica*, called likewise *Spiritu Santo*, retains the name in the text. That circumstance and the latitude indicated, point out Delagoa bay as that called St Lawrence by De Faria; unless we may suppose St Lawrence bay includes the whole bend inwards of the coast from Cape Corientes to point St Lucia on the coast of Natal, and that Delagoa bay, in the bottom of this large sweep, is that formerly called the bay of Lorenzo Marquez.—E.

9 No trace of Anzate can be found in modern maps.—E.

10 The text in this place is assuredly erroneous, as the Mocaranges have been formerly described by De Faria as the ruling nation in Monomotapa, which runs along the great bay of Sofala to *the north* of Cape Corientes.—E.

nabuze which reaches to the river *Innarigue*[11]. After which is the country of *Pande*, bordering on *Monnibe*, which last extends to *Zavara* in the interior. Near these are the kingdoms of *Gamba* and *Mocuraba*, which last is near Cape Corientes[12].

After suffering much from hunger thirst and fatigue, the survivors from the San Thome arrived at the town of *Manica*, where they were courteously received by the king, who offered them permission either to live in his town or in the island where we have formerly said the Portuguese used to reside during their trade for ivory on this coast, at which place they might remain till the arrival of the Portuguese merchants[13]. They preferred the island, where some of them died; and as they were ill accommodated here, they passed over in boats to the continent and renewed their weary pilgrimage to the northward, but separated. Some got to the fort of Sofala, and others to the town of the king of *Innaca*, where they found some Portuguese traders who like themselves had suffered shipwreck. After enduring great hardships, many of them died, and among these was Don Paul de Lima. Those who survived, returned after a long time to Goa, among whom were three ladies. Two of these, Donna Mariana and Donna Joanna Mendoza dedicated themselves to a religious life; but Donna Beatrix, the widow of Don Paul de Lima, having conveyed her husbands remains to Goa, returned into Portugal, and was afterwards married at Oporto.

In May 1591, Matthew de Albuquerque arrived in India as viceroy. About this time the Portuguese met with a heavy loss in Monomotapa in a war with the *Muzimbas*, a savage nation of Kafrs. *Tete*, a fort belonging to the Portuguese high up the river Zambeze, has the command of all the neighbouring district for three leagues round, which is divided among eleven native chiefs, who are all obliged to repair with their armed followers to the fort when ordered by the Portuguese commandant, to the number of 2000 men. Pedro Fernandez de Chaves, who commanded in Tete, with these Kafrs

11 Probably the country and river now called Inhambane.—E.

12 These five last mentioned kingdoms, probably named from the barbarous chiefs of roving savage tribes, are now unknown to geography.—E.

13 Manica is far inland, but the place indicated in the text was probably near the mouth of the river of that name, on the north side of Delagoa bay.—E.

Kafrs and some Portuguese marched against *Quisura* chief of the *Mumbos* at *Chicaronga*, a town on the north of the Zambeze about 30 miles from Tete. He defeated these Mumbos in battle and relieved many prisoners who would otherwise have been slaughtered like cattle for the shambles, as the Mumbos feed on human flesh. The chief *Quisura* was slain, who used to pave the way to his dwelling with the skulls of those he had overcome. About the same time Andrew de Santiago, who commanded in *Sena*, another Portuguese fort lower down the Zambeze, marched against the *Muzimbas* a barbarous race of Kafrs on the river *Suabo* which runs into the northern side of the Zambeze; but found them so strongly fortified that he sent to Chaves for aid. Chaves accordingly marched from *Tete* with some Portuguese and the Kafrs under his command; but the Muzimbas fell upon him unexpectedly and slew him and all his Portuguese, being advanced a considerable way before the Kafrs, who got time to escape. The victorious Muzimbas quartered the slain for food, and returned to their fortified post. Next day the Muzimbas marched out against Santiago, carrying the head of Chaves on a spear. Santiago was so astonished at this sight that he endeavoured to retire in the night, but was attacked by the Muzimbas in his retreat, and he and most of his men slain. In these two unfortunate actions, above 130 of the Portuguese were cut in pieces and buried in the bellies of these savage cannibals.

Don Pedro de Sousa commanded at this time in Mozambique; and as Tete and Sena were under his jurisdiction, he set out with 200 Portuguese soldiers and 1500 armed Kafrs to take revenge upon the Muzimbas and succour the two forts on the Zambeze. He battered the entrenchments of the barbarians to no purpose, and was repulsed in an attempt to take them by assault. Having nearly succeeded by raising a mount of fascines as high as the works of the enemy, he was induced to desist by some cowards among his men, who pretended that the fort of Sena was in danger of being taken. He drew off therefore to its relief, and was attacked by the Muzimbas who slew many of his men, and took all his cannon and baggage. Yet the enemy offered peace, which was concluded. Soon afterwards one of the chiefs of the Muzimbas, having gathered about 15,000 men, marched to the south wards destroying every thing in the way that had life, and invested *Quiloa*, which he gained possession of through the treachery

treachery of one of the inhabitants, and put all to the sword. After this he caused the traitor and all his family to be thrown into the river, saying that those who had betrayed their country deserved to die, yet were unfit to be eaten, as they were venomous, and therefore fit food for the fishes. The Mozimba chief endeavoured to destroy Melinda in the same manner, but the sheikh was assisted by 30 Portuguese, which enabled him to hold out till 3000 *Mosseguejo* Kafrs came to his relief, when the Mozimbas were defeated with such slaughter that only 100 of them escaped along with their chief, after they had ravaged 300 leagues of country.

We now return to the affairs of India, where Chaul was again besieged. *Malek*[14] had erected a new city opposite to Chaul and bearing the same name, well peopled with Moors who carried on an extensive trade, as it had an excellent port and the inhabitants were famous silk-weavers. The commander of this new city was an eunuch, who had been formerly a slave to the Portuguese and now to Malek. Immediately to the north of the Portuguese fortress of Chaul, from which it was divided by the river of that name, is a noted promontory called *Morro*, on which the eunuch took post with 4000 horse and 7000 foot, and cannonaded the Portuguese fort of Chaul from that commanding ground with 65 pieces of large cannon. These hostilities were countenanced by the Nizam, though contrary to the peace which had been established when Francisco Barreto was governor, but were now justified by some complaints against the conduct of Albuquerque the present viceroy, and in addition to the siege of Chaul several military parties belonging to the Nizam infested the districts dependent upon the Portuguese forts of Basseen and Chaul. As the Moors considered the capture of Chaul to be near at hand, seeing that their cannon had made considerable impression on its walls, *fourteen* Mogul chiefs came to be present at its reduction; but in a sortie made by the Portuguese, *nine* of these were slain and *two* taken. Talador the eunuch commander of the besiegers was wounded, and died soon afterwards, as did a Turk who was next in command, on which Farete Khan succeeded in the conduct of the siege, and gave the Portuguese no respite by day or night, continually battering their works with his powerful artillery. The garrison in

14 This unusual name seems from the context to be here given to the Nizam-al-mulk or sovereign of the Decan.—E.

in Chaul consisted of 1000 men, to which place Alvaro de Abranches brought 300 from Basseen and 200 from Salcete; and being now at the head of 1500 Portuguese troops and an equal number of natives, so brave and faithful that they often voluntarily interposed their own bodies to protect their masters, Abranches appointed a day for making an attack upon the enemy. Having all confessed, the Portuguese embarked in a number of small vessels and crossed the river, after which they forced their way to the plain of Morro on the top of the promontory, where the battle was renewed. Ten elephants were turned loose by the Moors, in expectation that they would force the Portuguese troops into disorder; but one of these being severely wounded by a Portuguese soldier, turned back and trampled down the enemy, till falling into the ditch he made a way like a bridge for passing over. Another of the elephants forcing his way in at a wicket in the works of the enemy, enabled the Portuguese to enter likewise, where they slaughtered the enemy almost without opposition. Some accounts say that 10,000 men were slain on this occasion, and others say no less than 60,000. Farate Khan with his wife and daughter were made prisoners, and only 21 Portuguese were slain in this decisive action. The principal booty consisted of 75 pieces of cannon of extraordinary size, a vast quantity of ammunition, many horses, and five elephants. Farate Khan became a Christian before he died, as did his daughter, who was sent to Portugal, but his wife was ransomed.

Section XI.

Continuation of the Portuguese Transactions in India, from 1597 to 1612.

In May 1597, Don Francisco de Gama, count of Vidugueyra, grandson to the discoverer, arrived at Goa as viceroy of India, but carried himself with so much haughty state that he gained the dislike of all men. During his government the *scourge* of the pride and covetousness of the Portuguese came first into India, as in the month of September news was brought to Goa that the two first ships of the *Hollanders* that had ventured to navigate the Indian seas had been in the port of *Titangone* and were bound for the island of *Sunda*. In a grand

grand council held upon this important event, it was ordered to fit out a squadron of two galleons, three gallies, and nine other vessels to attack the intruders, and the command was given on this occasion to Lorenzo de Brito, an ancient and experienced officer. The two Holland ships did some small damage on the coast of Malabar and other places, and when off Malacca fell in with six ships bound from that place for India, commanded by Francisco de Silva. They immediately engaged and fought the whole of that afternoon and part of the night. Next morning the engagement was renewed, and was repeated for eight successive days; till finding themselves too weak, the Hollanders drew off and made for the port of Quedu, many of their men being slain and most of the rest wounded. At that place they quitted the smallest of their ships for want of men, and the other was afterwards cast away on the coast of Pegu.

In this same year 1597 the Hollanders fitted out a squadron of eight ships at Amsterdam for India, with 800 men and provisions for three years, under the command of the admiral Jacob Cornelius van Nec. The object of this expedition, besides hostility to the king of Spain, was that they might purchase the spices and other commodities of Asia at a cheaper rate than they had hitherto been accustomed to in Portugal. The fleet sailed from Amsterdam on the 13th of May 1598; arrived at Madeira on the 15th, and at the Canaries on the 17th, where they both took in wine. On the 29th they were in the latitude of 6° S. and passed the line on the 8th of June; *a wonderful swiftness, to me incredible!* On the 24th July they saw the Cape of Good Hope, where three of the ships were separated in a violent storm and arrived at the island of *Banda* in *April*[1]. The other four ships under the admiral discovered the island of Madagascar on the 24th of August, coming to Cape St Julian on the 30th of that month. On the 20th of September they came to the island of *Cerne* or *Cisne*, in lat. 21° S. to which they gave the name of *Mauritius*. Here they found tortoises of such magnitude that one of them carried two men on its back, and birds which were so tame as to allow themselves to be killed with sticks,

1. We have no means of correcting the strange chronology of this voyage, *wonderful* even in the opinion of De Faria. He names the Dutch Admiral *Neque*; but as *qu* in Portuguese is used to mark the sound of *k* or hard *c*, we have ventured to give this first successful rival of the Portuguese trade in India the name of *Van Nec.*—E.

sticks, whence they concluded that the island was not inhabited. At Banda they joined the other three ships, and having laded four with spices they were sent away to Holland, while the other three went on to the Moluccas. On the 21st January 1598, they discovered the *Great Java* [2], and touched at the port of *Tuban*; after which they came to *Madura* an island in lat. 2° 30 S. on the 27th of that month. At this place they endeavoured to ransom some of their countrymen who had been cast away in their former ships, and some others who had been made prisoners for endeavouring to pass false money; but as the natives demanded too high a ransom, they attempted to rescue them by force; but two boats full of armed men being sunk in the attempt, they were forced to comply with the terms demanded. They settled a trade at Amboina, and two of the ships opened a factory at Banda, where they loaded with spice and returned into Holland on the 20th of April 1600. Those who were left in the remaining ship at Amboina went to Ternate in the Moluccas where they were well received by the king, and after procuring a lading of cloves returned home.

Don Alexius de Menezes archbishop of Goa went about this time to visit the Christians of St Thomas, who lived dispersedly in the mountains of Malabar, in *Muli*, *Turubuli*, *Maota*, *Batimena*, *Diamper*, *Pimienta*, *Tetemute*, *Porca*, *Paru*, and *Cartuti*. These Christians continued stedfast in the faith till about the year 750, yet with some tincture of error. About the year 810 the second *Thomas*, formerly mentioned, came to this country, where he repaired the churches that had been erected by the apostle and restored the true doctrine; but about the year 900 this church was overrun by the *Nestorian* heresy. In the year 890 two *Chaldeans* came here from *Babylon*, named *Mar Xarsio* and *Mar Prod*, who divided the district into two bishoprics, and were ever afterwards prayed to as saints, till our archbishop ordered this to be discontinued, as he much suspected they had not been legitimately canonized. After these Chaldeans came one *Mar Joanne*, who was sent by the Greek Patriarch, and resided at *Cranganor* where he introduced the *Chaldean* ritual. His successor was *Mar Jacob*, who died in 1500, and was succeeded by *Mar Joannato*. Thus the bishops and heresies continued

2 Borneo is probably here meant, as they could not have been in Banda without seeing both Sumatra and Java.—E.

continued among the *Thomists* till 1536, when Pope Paul IV. appointed Juan Bermudez patriarch of *Ethiopia*, Simon Sulacca bishop of *Caheremit* the metropolis of *Mesopotamia*, *Mar Elias* as patriarch of *Mosul*, and *Mar Joseph* bishop of Nineveh, whom he ordered to govern the Christians of Malabar, with the bishop *Ambrose Montecelli* for his coadjutor. By this interference of the Pope there were two patriarchs of the East, one *orthodox* at *Mosul*, and the other *heretical* at Antioch. Joseph and Ambrose went over to the mountains of Malabar, to assume the pastoral charge of the Thomists; but the latter separated from the former and went to Goa, where after reading divinity for some time he died at Cochin in the year 1557. As Don George Temudo bishop of Cochin perceived that Joseph *spread the poison of Nestorius* among his flock in Malabar, he contrived to have him apprehended and sent in chains to Portugal, were he was permitted to return to his bishopric on promise of amendment [3]. On his return he found *Mar Abraham* officiating as bishop of the Thomists, who had chosen him in the absence of Joseph; and as Abraham found himself persecuted, or disturbed in the exercise of his functions by Joseph, he went to Rome where he got a brief from Paul IV. appointing him bishop of the Thomists, having engaged to reduce that people to the orthodox faith. Yet neither he nor Joseph adhered to their engagements, but continued in their heresies. After this one *Mar Simon* came to Malabar, saying that he was sent by the patriarch of Babylon to officiate as bishop of Malabar. He was received by the queen of Pimienta and placed at *Cartuse*, where he exercised episcopal functions; till *being carried* to Lisbon he was sent thence to Rome, where he was condemned by Pope *Sixtus Quintus* as a mere Nestorian and not even a priest. After the death of *Mar Abraham* his archdeacon governed the diocese, *as no Babylonian prelates dared to come to Malabar*, Don Alexius, the archbishop of Goa, using his utmost endeavours to keep out all such heretical

3 Under this story we may presume without any lack of Christian charity, that these promises were extorted by means best known to the inquisition, that diabolical instrument of the pretended disciples of the Prince of Peace, and eternal opprobrium of the Peninsula. With regard to Joseph there was some shadow of excuse, as he seems to have accepted his appointment from the *orthodox* pope, though secretly attached to the *heretical* Nestorian patriarch.—E.

tical prelates, which was the particular occasion of his present visitation.

This prelate found that, among other errors, the Thomists denied the virginity of our blessed lady [4]: They rejected the use of images: they believed the souls of the just did not enjoy the beatific presence of God till after the general judgment: they allowed only of three sacraments, baptism, ordination and the eucharist: instead of confession they used perfuming in their churches: the wine employed in the sacrament was made from cocoas: their host was a cake made with oil and salt: their priests were ordained at seventeen years of age, and were permitted to marry after ordination: fathers, sons, and grandsons administered the sacrament in the same church: the *Catatorias* or *Caffaneras*, so they called the wives of priests, wore a distinguishing mark to be known by: in matrimony, they used no other formalities except the consent of parties and consummation: the women observed the time prescribed by the law of Moses in regard to churching: no sacraments were administered gratuitously: holy water was mixed with some powder of frankincense, and some of the soil on which St Thomas was supposed to have trodden: they used sorcery and witchcraft: In fine, that all was error, confusion, and heresy.

Don Alexius with much labour and toil convinced them of their errors and converted them to the true faith, so that whole towns were baptised and reconciled to the Roman see. He even held a provincial synod at *Diamper*, all the decrees of which were confirmed by the Pope; and Francisco Rodriguez, a Jesuit who had assisted the archbishop on this important visitation, was made bishop of that diocese. On the breaking up of the synod, Don Alexius visited all the churches in these parts. While in the country of the queen of *Changanate*, visiting the church of *Talavecare*, one of the most ancient in those parts, they shewed him three plates on which were engraven certain privileges and revenues granted by the king of Ceylon, at the time when the Babylonians *Zabro* and *Proo* [5], were in that country. At this place likewise

4 This probably refers to her supposed immaculate purity even after the birth of the Saviour.—E.

5 Only a few pages before these men are named *Xarsio* and *Prod;* but we have no means of ascertaining which are the right names.—E.

wise Don Alexius met *Topamuta Pandara,* king of *Gundara*[6] in the neighbourhood of *Changanate,* to whom he presented a letter from king Philip giving him the *title of brother,* for having allowed liberty for the exercise of the Christian religion in his dominions [7].

In the year 1596, a Moor, named *Pate Marcar* obtained leave from the zamorin to build a fort in the peninsula of Pudepatam, 77 leagues from Goa and 33 from Cochin, where was a most convenient station for piratical paraos, to annoy the trade of the Malabar coast; and having built a square fort at this place, he went thither with all his kinsmen and followers, and did much injury to the Portuguese and their allies, even making incursions upon their maritime possessions, whence, on several occasions, he carried off much spoil. Pate Marcar soon died, and was succeeded in the sovereignty of the fort by his nephew Mahomet Cuneale Marcar, who added greatly to the strength of the fort; and foreseeing that the Portuguese might seek to be revenged for the injuries they had sustained, he fortified the town both by sea and land, which he named *Cuneale* after himself. On the land side he made a deep ditch with a double wall above seven feet thick, flanked at regular distances with towers called *zarames,* all of which were mounted with small cannon. Between the two creeks forming the peninsula, he built a strong wall with two towers to secure the town, and lined the sea-shore with strong palisades, flanked by two bastions, one of which, considerably larger than the other, was mounted with heavy cannon to defend the entrance of the harbour, which was farther secured by a boom of masts strongly chained together. Having thus, as he thought, provided a secure retreat, he continued his uncle's enterprises against the Portuguese with much success, assisting all their enemies against them, even robbing the Malabar traders on the

6 These petty kings of small districts in the South of India are now known by the titles of Polygars; and the hereditary female chiefs are stiled *Rana*. It is prostituting the dignity of king to give that denomination to the chiefs of small villages and trifling districts, often not so large as parishes in Europe. They are mere temporary chiefs, occasionally hereditary by sufferance; indeed such could not possibly be otherwise, when all the larger dominions and even empires have been in perpetual fluctuation from revolution and conquest for at least 3000 years.—E.

7 The history of this ancient Christian church of Malabar has been lately illustrated by the Christian Researches of Dr Buchannan, who seems to have opened a door for the propagation of the gospel in India infinitely promising, if judiciously taken advantage of.—E.

the coast, and filled his residence with rich plunder. The viceroy Albuquerque had endeavoured to destroy this nest of pirates, so prejudicial to the Portuguese trade, and had even prevailed on the zamorin to concur in the destruction of Cuneale, so that a treaty had been entered into, by which the zamorin engaged to besiege Cuneale by land, while the Portuguese fleet attacked him by sea. Both parties provided according to stipulation for this joint expedition; but it was postponed for some time, in consequence of the change in the government by the arrival of the Count of Vidigueyra as viceroy, and even by the secret concurrence of the zamorin in the piracies of Cuneale, who communicated to him a share of the plunder.

At length, however, the zamorin became incensed against Cuneale, who assumed the title of king of the Malabar Moors, and lord of the Indian Sea; but chiefly because he had caused the tail of one of his elephants to be cut off, and had used one of his Nayres in a cruel and scandalous manner. Laying hold of this favourable opportunity, the viceroy, De Gama, probably in 1598, renewed the league with the zamorin against Cuneale, and sent some light vessels under Ferdinand de Noronha to blockade the entrance into the port of Cuneale, till a larger force could be provided to co-operate with the zamorin, who was marching to besiege it by land with 20,000 men and some cannon.

That part of the western coast of India, which is properly called the coast of Malabar, extends from Cananor to Cochin for the space of 42 leagues. From Cananor it is two leagues to the small island of *Tremapatan*, within which is a good river; thence half a league to the river of *Sal;* thence one and a half to the river *Maim;* one to the town of *Comena*, a small distance beyond which are the towns of *Motangue*, *Curiare*, and *Baregare;* thence to the river *Pudepatan;* two leagues farther the town of *Tiracole;* other two leagues the town of *Cotulete;* one league from this the river *Capocate;* one league farther *Calicut;* two more to the river *Chale;* two to the city *Pananor;* two thence to *Tanor;* two more to *Paranora;* one more to the famous river *Paniane;* thence nine to *Paliporto;* four to the river of *Cranganor;* and five more to *Cochin.* At the mouth of the river *Pudepatan* the fort of *Cuneale* is seated in a square peninsula formed by several creeks, and joined to the land on the south side, the length of the four sides being about a cannon shot each. Just within the bar there is suffi-

cient water for ships of some size, which may go about half way up the port; beyond that it is only fit for *almadias* or boats. The river runs first towards the north-east, then turning to the south forms the peninsula in which the fort is built, the isthmus being secured by a strong wall about a musket-shot in length, reaching between the creek and the river, at the mouth of which is the small island Pinale. The fort was large, strongly built, well manned, and had abundance of cannon, ammunition, and provisions.

In this emergency, Cuneale was well provided for defence, having a force of 1500 choice Moors, well armed, whom he distributed to the different posts. The small vessels under Noronha cannonaded the fort, principally on purpose to draw off the attention of the Moors, that they might not interrupt the zamorin on the land side, who was establishing his camp for the purpose of the siege. At the same time, Noronha scoured the coast, taking some of the piratical vessels belonging to Cuneale, and preventing the introduction of provisions into the fort. After some time, Don Luis de Gama, brother to the viceroy, arrived with four gallies and 35 smaller vessels, ten more being brought by private gentlemen at their own charge, and three full of men and ammunition sent by the city of Cochin. Besides these, there were two large barks mounted with heavy cannon to batter the fort.

The rajah of Cochin, being apprehensive that the great power which was now employed against Cuneale might prove his ruin, by uniting the zamorin his ancient enemy with the Portuguese, circulated a report that the zamorin had entered into a secret agreement with Cuneale to cut off the whole Portuguese when engaged in the assault on the fort. The archbishop of Goa, who was then at Cochin on his way to the Malabar mountains to visit the Thomist churches, was at first much alarmed by this report, fearing it might be true; but on mature consideration was satisfied that it was only a political contrivance of the rajah, and prudently advised the rajah to desist from the propagation of any such false reports. He then assured the principal persons of Cochin that their ships might safely proceed against Cuneale, yet recommended that they should conduct themselves with much caution. All the fleet being now united before the fort, it was found that Cuneale had drawn up a line of armed galliots on the edge of the water under the wall of his fort, in case of being attacked that way. It was resolved in a council of war to force an en-

 trance

trance into the river, after which to draw up the Portuguese vessels in a line with their bows to the shore, that they might cover the debarkation of the troops for the purpose of assaulting the fort. This proposition was transmitted to Goa and approved by the viceroy, yet Don Luis was persuaded by some gentlemen who wished to disgrace him, to attack on the side of *Ariole*, under pretence that the passage of the bar might prove fatal. At this time the zamorin was battering the walls of the town or *petah*, and desired that some Portuguese might be sent to his assistance. Don Luis being suspicious, demanded hostages for their safety, and accordingly six principal nayres were sent, among whom were the rajahs of *Tanor*, *Chale*, and *Carnere*, and the chief judge of Calicut. Don Luis then sent 300 Portuguese under the command of Belchior Ferreyra.

By previous concert, a combined assault was to be made on the night of the 3d of May, the troops of the zamorin attacking on the land side, and the Portuguese on the sea front, at the same time, the signal for both to commence at once being by means of a flaming lance. But Belchior Calaca, who was appointed to give the signal, mistook the hour, and gave it too soon, so that every thing fell into confusion. Immediately on seeing the signal, Ferreyra, who commanded the Portuguese troops along with the zamorin, fell on with his men and 5000 Nayres, but lost 28 of his men at the first onset. Luis de Silva, who was appointed to lead the van of the Portuguese sea attack with 600 men, though ready and observing the concerted signal, did not move till past midnight, which was the appointed hour, by which the enemy were left free to resist the land attack with their forces undivided. At length when it was towards morning, de Silva passed the creek of *Balyzupe* with 500 men in 60 almadias or native boats. But immediately on landing de Silva was slain, and his ensign Antonio Diaz concealed his death by covering his body with the colours, which he stripped for that purpose from the staff. Thus landing without commander or colours, the Portuguese fell into confusion, and the two next in command were both slain. Don Luis de Gama, leaving his fleet under the next officer, had landed with a reserve on the other side of the river opposite the fort, but for want of boats was unable either to cross to assume the command, or to send assistance. The Portuguese troops were forced to retreat disgracefully with the loss of 300 men, most of whom were drowned; though even

even in this confusion a part of them forced their way into the fort and burnt the mosque and part of the town, where they slew 500 Moors and Malabars, above 20 of whom were men of note. After this discomfiture, Don Luis de Gama retired to Cochin with the greater part of the fleet, leaving Francisco de Sousa to continue the blockade, who persuaded the zamorin to assault the town, as he believed the defenders had been so much weakened by the late slaughter that it might be easily carried. But though the zamorin gave the assault with 2000 men, he was repulsed.

On the receipt of these bad tidings at Goa, Don Luis de Gama was ordered back to Cuneale, to settle a treaty with the zamorin, and to continue the siege during the winter, till the Portuguese fleet could return at the commencement of the next fine season. A treaty to this effect was accordingly concluded, by one of the articles of which the zamorin consented that the Christian religion might be preached in his dominions, and churches erected. After this Don Luis returned to Goa, whence he went to command at Ormuz, and Ferdinand de Noronha remained before Cuneale with twelve ships to prevent the introduction of provisions or other supplies.

Cuneale was so much elated by his success in repelling the Portuguese, that, in addition to his former titles, he stiled himself *Defender of the Mahometan Faith and Conqueror of the Portuguese*; but when the season returned for maritime operations on the coast, the viceroy sent Andrew Furtado against him with three gallies, 54 other vessels, and a powerful military force. In the mean time Antonio de Noronha continued to blockade the port all winter, taking several vessels laden with provisions, and on different occasions slew above 100 Moors who opposed him in taking fresh water for his ships. While on his way from Goa, Furtado dissuaded the rajah of *Banguel* and the queen or *rana* of *Olala* from sending aid to Cuneale as they intended, and cut off five ships from Mecca that were going with relief to the enemy. When Furtado came to anchor in the port of Cuneale, he sent to treat with the zamorin, who had continued the siege on the land side all winter according to his engagement, and an interview took place between them on the shore where the zamorin came to meet him. The zamorin was naked from the waist upwards. Round his middle a piece of cloth of gold was wrapped, hanging to his knees and fastened by a girdle of inestimable value, about the breadth of a hand. His arms were covered from

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the elbows to the wrists with golden bracelets adorned with rich jewels, and so heavily laden that two men supported his arms. He wore an extraordinarily rich chain about his neck, and so many diamonds and rubies hung from his ears that they were stretched down almost to his shoulders by their weight. He seemed about 30 years of age, and had a majestic presence. A little on one side stood the prince, carrying a naked sword. Behind him were many of his nobles; among whom was father Francisco Rodriquez, the new bishop of the Thomists in Malabar. The zamorin and Furtado embraced in token of friendship, on which all the cannon in the fleet fired a salvo. After this friendly meeting they retired into the tent of the zamorin, where they had a long conference about their future operations; and on taking leave, Furtado put a rich collar about the neck of the zamorin, and they parted in a most amicable manner.

The rajah of Tanor and other great men were sent by the zamorin on board the admiral ship, having full powers from their sovereign to treat and conclude on all things concerning the joint interests of both parties, and every thing was settled to mutual satisfaction. There now arrived from Goa and other places, a galley and galleon, with 11 ships and 21 smaller vessels, bringing ammunition and 790 soldiers, upon which Furtado commenced the active operations of the siege, raising entrenchments and batteries, and taking absolute possession of every avenue leading to the fort and peninsula by water. He likewise caused some advanced works belonging to the enemy to be assaulted, on which Cuneale came in person to assist in their defence, and for a time repulsed the assailants, till Furtado landed with a reinforcement, on which the Portuguese remained victorious, slaying 600 of the Moors, with the loss of two officers and nine privates on their side. Fort *Blanco* or the white tower was next assaulted, but with more bravery than success. Yet Cuneale seeing that he could not much longer hold out, offered rich presents to the zamarin to admit him to surrender upon security of his own life and the safety of his garrison. But on this secret negociation coming to the knowledge of Furtado, he made a furious assault on the works, which were at the same time assailed on the land side by 6000 Nayres, by which joint attack the lower town or petah was taken, plundered, and burnt. Batteries were immediately erected against the upper town and fort, and as their fire soon ruined the defences, Cuneale was constrained

strained to surrender at discretion, merely bargaining that his life should be saved. He accordingly marched out having a black veil on his head, and carrying his sword with the point downwards, which he surrendered to the zamorin, who immediately delivered it to Furtado. According to one of the articles of agreement the spoil was to have been equally divided; but Furtado dealt generously by the zamorin, alleging that this was to be understood only in respect to the artillery, and appeased his own soldiers who expected that reward of their labour. The fort and all other works were levelled with the ground, and Furtado returned with the fleet and army to Goa.

Cuneale was about 50 years of age, of a low stature, but strong and well made. He and his nephew *Cinale*, with other forty Moors of note, were sent as prisoners on board the fleet, where they well treated; but as soon as some of them were set on shore at Goa, they were torn in pieces by the rabble; and Cuneale and his nephew were both publicly beheaded by order of the viceroy, so that the government and the mob went hand and hand to commit murder and a flagrant breach of faith. How can those who are guilty of such enormities give the name of barbarians to the much more honourable Indians!

In the year 1600, Ayres de Saldanna arrived at Goa as viceroy to supersede the Count de Vidugueira, who was universally disliked by the Portuguese inhabitants. The marble statue of the great Vasco de Gama, his grandfather, stood over the principal gate of the city, fastened to the wall by a strong bar of iron. At the instigation of some enemies to the count, a *French* engineer named Sebastian Tibao applied to the iron bar during the night *a certain herb* that has the quality of eating iron, so that the statue fell down next night, and its quarters were hung up in different parts of the city. On the day when the count was to embark for his return to Portugal, a party of armed men went on board before him, and hung up his effigy at the yard arm, made exactly like him both in face and habit. Just as he was going on board they returned; and on seeing the effigy he asked what it was, when some one answered, "It is your lordship, whom these men have hung up." He made no reply, but ordered the figure to be thrown into the sea and immediately set sail; but two days afterwards had to return to port for a new stock of fowls, as all these he took with him were poisoned. He was better

better beloved by the elements than by those whom he had governed; for he went all the way from India to Lisbon without once needing to furl a sail. By the constant chafing of the yards on the masts, it was found impossible to lower the yards in the usual way when the ship arrived at Lisbon, insomuch that they had to be cut down. Sailing from Goa on the 25th December 1600, he arrived at Lisbon on the 27th May 1601, having spent only five months on the voyage.

During the administration of Ayres de Saldana, *Xilimixa* king of Aracan, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pegu, gave the port of *Siriam* to the Portuguese in grateful acknowledgment of their services. That town and port is at the mouth of the river Siriam which flows within a league of the city of *Bagou*, the capital of Pegu. This grant was obtained by Philip Brito de Nicote, who proved false and ungrateful to the king of Aracan, who had raised him from the lowest rank to his favour and esteem. By his persuasion, Xilimixa erected a custom-house at the entry to the river Siriam to increase his revenues; which Brito meant afterwards to seize, and to build a fort there, on purpose to give a footing for the Portuguese to conquer the kingdom. Xilimixa accordingly built the custom-house, which he gave in charge to one *Bannadala* who fortified himself and suffered no Portuguse to enter there, except a Dominican named Belchior de Luz. Nicote, seeing his purposes likely to be defeated by Bannadala, determined to gain possession by force before the works were completed. He had along with him at this time three Portuguese officers and fifty men, whom he ordered to surprize the fort and turn out Bannadala, trusting to his great credit with Xilimixa to bear him out in this procedure. The Portuguese officers accordingly executed their orders so effectually, that they used to be called the Founders of the Portuguese dominion in Pegu, and Salvador Ribeyro their commander was like to have got the whole credit of the exploit, as some even affirmed that he was its author, though in reality all was due to Nicote. Bannadala being expelled from his fort, fortified himself with 1000 men in a neighbouring island of the river Siriam, and seized the treasures of the pagoda of Digan to maintain his troops. Xilimixa was much offended by the conduct of thePortuguese in this affair, and resolved to support Bannadala, but was disuaded by the contrivances of Nicote, who represented that he was about to favour a sacrilegious robber, and offered to arrange matters with the Portu-

guese

guese to his entire satisfaction. He accordingly went to Siriam, where he ordered every thing to his own mind; and when the fort was nearly finished, he went to Goa, where he offered to deliver up the fort to the viceroy, whence the Portuguese might easily conquer the kingdom of his master, to whom he represented his voyage to Goa as intended to procure an auxiliary force which would enable him to make a conquest of Bengal. At the same time Nicote negociated with all the princes in the provinces adjoining the dominions of Xilimixa, persuading them to confederate with the Portuguese viceroy, by which means they might easily conquer the kingdom of Pegu; and several of them sent ambassadors along with him to Goa for this purpose.

Hardly had Nicote set sail for Goa, when Xilimixa became sensible of his error in confiding in him, and sent a fleet of war boats down the river Siriam with 6000 men under Bannadala to expell the Portuguese from their fort. Salvador Ribeyra met this great armament with only three small vessels and thirty men, and, without the loss of one man, took forty vessels of the enemy and put the rest to flight. Then calling in the aid of the king of *Pram*, Xilimixa beset the fort with 1200 vessels by water, while 40,000 men surrounded it by land; but as Ribeyra learnt that the enemy observed no order or discipline, he boldly fell upon them with his handful of men, and having slain their general put that army to flight. Bannadala rallied 8000 of the fugitives, with which he again besieged the fort, lodging his men in good order, and having battered the place for some days, he ventured to make a fierce assault in the dead of night; but he was bravely repelled by the Portuguese, and above 1000 of his men were found dead next morning in the ditch. The enemy continued the siege however for eight months, and though some of the garrison deserted, Ribeyra defended the place with great resolution; and to take away all hopes of escape from his men, burnt all the vessels that were in the port. Hearing of these proceedings, Ayres de Saldanna the viceroy, sent a considerable reinforcement, along with which came so many volunteers, ambitious either of honour or profit, that Ribeyra found himself at the head of 800 men. With these he attacked the enemy, whom he drove from their works with great slaughter, and Bannadala had the mortification to see the works which he had been constructing for almost a year destroyed in a day. After this success, the Portuguese volunteers withdrew, only 200 that had

had been sent by the viceroy remaining in the fort with Ribeyra.

The enemy returned a fourth time against the fort, which they now assailed with many moving castles and various kinds of fireworks, and soon reduced the fort to great extremity; but were so terrified by a fiery meteor, that they fled leaving their castles behind, which were soon reduced to ashes by the garrison. Soon afterwards the Portuguese obtained a great victory over king *Massinga* in the province of *Camelan*; after which the natives flocked to their standard to the number of above 20,000 men, and proclaimed Nicote king of Pegu, calling him *Changa*, which signifies good man. Nicote was at this time absent, but Ribeyra accepted the proffered crown in his name, on which account it was reported in Spain that Ribeyra had been proclaimed king. Nicote afterwards, as a loyal subject, received the kingdom in the name of his sovereign, and was the first of the Portuguese that rose to such high fortune in Asia. Rodrigo Alvarez de Sequeyra succeeded Ribeyra in command of the fort of Siriam, and defended it bravely till it took fire by accident, only the bare walls being left standing.

In the mean time Nicote solicited succours at Goa, where the viceroy married him to a niece he had born in Goa of a woman of Java; after which he gave him powerful succours, and sent him to Siriam with six ships, with the title of Commander of Siriam, and General for the conquest of Pegu. On his arrival at Siriam, Nicote repaired the fort, built a church, and sent a splendid present to the king of Aracan who had sent a complimentary message on his arrival. At Siriam Nicote regulated the custom-house pursuant to the instructions of the viceroy, obliging all vessels that traded on the coast of Pegu to make entry at Siriam, and pay certain duties. As some of the Coromandel traders refused obedience to these orders, Nicote sent Francisco de Moura against them with six vessels, who took two ships of Acheen on the coast of Tanacerim richly laden. As the king of Aracan was desirous of recovering possession of the fort and custom-house of Siriam, he sent an ambassador to the king of *Tangu* with twenty *jalias* or small ships, to prevail upon him to join in that enterprize. But Nicote sent Bartholomew Ferreyra, who command the small craft, who put them to flight, and they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the king of Jangona. Upon this, the enemy collected 700 small vessels and 40,000 men,

men, under the command of the son of the king of Aracan, accompanied by Ximicalia and Marquetam, sons to the reigning emperor of Pegu. Paul del Rego went against them with seven ships and a number of war boats, and defeated the prince with great loss, taking all his vessels, and obliging him to make his escape by land. After this Paul took the fort of *Chinim* with a great number of prisoners, among whom was the wife of Bannadala.

At this time Nicote was abroad with fourteen small vessels, in which were 60 Portuguese, and 200 Peguers; and learning that the prince was on shore with 4000 men, 900 of whom were armed with firelocks, he landed and attacked him, gaining a complete victory, and even taking the prince. When the Peguers saw their prince carried off, they were all eager to have accompanied him into captivity, and entreated to be received into the Portuguese vessels, such as were refused bewailing that they could not follow, as prisoners, him whom they had served faithfully while at liberty. On this occasion Nicote gave a notable example how brave men ought to use their victories. Remembering that he had formerly been slave to the prince who was now his prisoner, he served him with as much respect as he had done formerly; watching him while asleep, and holding his buskins in his hands with his arms across, as is done by the meanest servants of princes in that country, and continually attended him on all occasions.

While these transactions were going on in Pegu, Don Martin Alfonzo de Castro came to Goa as viceroy, to replace Ayres de Saldanna, in 1604. Ximilixa, king of Aracan, sent to treat with Nicote for the ransom of the prince, his son, and accordingly paid 50,000 crowns on that account, although Nicote was ordered by the viceroy to set the prince free without any ransom. Ximilixa afterwards besieged Siriam in conjunction with the king of Tangu, who brought a great army against the town by land, while Ximilixa shut it up by sea with 800 sail, in which he had 10,000 men. Paul del Rego went against him with 80 small vessels; and failing of his former success, set fire to the powder and blew up his ship, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The siege continued so long, that the garrison was reduced to extremity, and on the point of surrendering, when the king of Tangu retired one night with his army upon some sudden suspicion, on which Ximilixa was likewise obliged to draw off with his fleet.

fleet. Several of the neighbouring princes were now so much alarmed by the success of Nicote, that they solicited his friendship, and to be admitted into alliance with the king of Portugal. The first of these was the king of Tangu, and afterwards the king of Martavan, who gave one of his daughters as a wife to Simon the son of Nicote. Soon after, the king of Tangu being overcome in battle by the king of *Ova*, and rendered tributary, Nicote united with the king of Martavan, and invaded the dominions of Tangu, though in alliance with that prince, took him prisoner and plundered him of above a million in gold, although he protested that he was a faithful vassal to the king of Portugal.

About this time another low adventurer, Sebastian Gonzalez Tibao, raised himself by similar arts to great power in Aracan. In the year 1605, Gonzalez embarked from Portugal for India, and going to Bengal, listed as a soldier. By dealing in salt, which is an important article of trade in that country, he soon gained a sufficient sum to purchase a *Jalia*, or small vessel, in which he went with salt to Dianga, a great port in Aracan. At this period, Nicote, who had possessed himself of Siriam, as before related, wishing to acquire Dianga likewise, sent his son with several small vessels thither on an embassy to the king of Aracan, to endeavour to procure a grant of that port. Some Portuguese who then resided at the court of Aracan, persuaded the king that the object of Nicote in this demand, was to enable him to usurp the kingdom; upon which insinuation the son of Nicote, and all his attendants were slain, after which the same was done with the crews of his vessels, and all the Portuguese inhabitants at Dianga, to the number of about 600 were put to death, except a few who escaped on board nine or ten small vessels and put out to sea. Among these was the vessel belonging to Sebastian Gonzalez, who assumed the command; and as the fugitives were reduced to great distress, they subsisted by plunder on the coasts of Aracan, carrying their booty to the ports of the king of Bacala, who was in friendship with the Portuguese.

Not long before this had died Emanuel de Mattos, who had been commander of *Bandel* of *Dianga*, and lord of *Sundiva* [8], an island about 70 leagues in compass, the subordinate command

8 It is highly probable, though not mentioned by De Faria, that this Portuguese was in the service of the king of Aracan, under whom he had held these offices. Sundiva or Sundeep is a considerable island to the south east

mand of which he had confided to a valiant Moor named Fate Khan. On learning the death of Mattos, Fatecan murdered all the Portuguese on the island of Sundiva, with their wives and children, and all the Christian natives; and gathering a considerable force of Moors and Patans, fitted out a fleet of 40 small vessels, which he maintained by means of the ample revenue of the island he had now usurped. Understanding that Sebastian Gonzalez and his small squadron was cruizing near Sundiva, Fatecan went out to seek them with such assurance of success, that he inscribed upon his colours, "Fate Khan, by the grace of God, Lord of Sundiva, Shedder of Christian Blood, and Destroyer of the Portuguese Nation." Sebastian and his companions had put into a river called *Xavaspur*, where they quarrelled about the division of their spoil, and one Pinto sailed away from the rest in disquiet; but meeting the fleet of Fatecan, who had hoped to surprize the Christians he returned and gave his companions notice of their danger. After a severe conflict, the 10 small vessels in which were only 80 Portuguese, proved victorious over the 40 vessels belonging to Fatecan, though manned with 600 Moors, not a single vessel or man escaping. After this great victory, the Portuguese agreed to appoint Sebastian Gonzalez to command over the rest. Sebastian entered into a treaty with the king of Bacala for his assistance to reduce the island of Sundiva, engaging to pay him half the revenues of that island, and accordingly procured from him some vessels, and 200 auxiliary horse. Having likewise gathered a number of Portuguese from Bengal and other parts, he saw himself, in March 1609, at the head of 400 Portuguese troops, and had mustered a fleet of 40 small ships. In consequence of the delay necessary for making these preparations, the island of Sundiva was provided for defence, under a brother of the late Fatecan, who had raised a respectable force of Moors. Sebastian, however, attempted its conquest, and had nearly been forced to desist for want of provisions and ammunition, when he was reinforced by a Spaniard named Gaspar de Pina, who brought 50 men to his aid, after which they carried the fort by assault, and put all its garrison to the sword. Having formerly been subject to the Portuguese under de Mattos, the islanders immediately submitted to Gonzalez, to whom they delivered upwards of 1000 Moors who were

east of the mouth of the Burrampooter, near the coast of Chittagong, and to the east of the Sunderbunds or Delta of the Ganges.—E.

were scattered about the country, all of whom he put to death. Thus Gonzalez became absolute master of the island, and was obeyed by the natives and Portuguese like an independent prince.

Gonzalez having now a considerable revenue at his command, raised a respectable military force of 1000 Portuguese, 2000 well armed natives, and 200 horse, with above 80 sail of small vessels well provided with cannon. He erected a custom-house, and encouraged the resort of merchants to his dominions, and became so formidable that the neighbouring princes courted his alliance. Insolent and ungrateful in the progress of his power, he not only refused to give half the revenue of the island to the king of Bacala according to agreement, but made war upon his benefactor, from whom he conquered the islands of *Xavaspur* [9] and *Patelabanga*, and other lands from other neighbouring princes; so that he became suddenly possessed of vast riches and great power, and acted as an independent sovereign, having many brave men at his command. But such monsters are like comets that threaten extensive ruin, yet last only for a short time, or like the lightning, which no sooner expends its flash but it is gone for ever.

Soon after the elevation of Gonzalez to the sovereignty of Sundiva, a civil war broke out between the king of Aracan and his brother Anaporam, because the latter refused to resign a remarkable elephant, to which all the other elephants of the country were said to allow a kind of superiority. Being unsuccessful in the contest, Anaporam fled to Gonzalez for assistance and protection, who demanded his sister as an hostage. Gonzalez and Anaporam endeavoured, in conjunction, to fight the king of Aracan, who had an army of 80,000 men, and 700 war elephants; but being unsuccessful, were obliged to retreat to Sundiva, into which Anaporam brought his wife and family, with all his treasure, and became a subject of Gonzalez, who soon afterwards had the sister of Anaporam baptized, and took her to wife. Anaporam soon died, not without suspicion of poison; and Gonzalez immediately seized all his treasures and effects, though he had left a wife and son. To stop the mouths of the people on this violent and unjust procedure, he wished to have married the widow of Anaporam to his brother Antonio Tibao, who was admiral

9 Shabapour is an island to the west of Sundeep, at the principal mouth of the Barrampooter.—E.

admiral of his fleet, but she refused to become a Christian. Sebastian continued the war against the king of Aracan with considerable success; insomuch that on one occasion his brother Antonio, with only five sail, defeated and captured 100 sail belonging to Aracan. At length the king of Aracan concluded peace, and procured the restoration of his brother's widow, whom he married to the rajah of Chittigong.

At this time, the Moguls undertook the conquest of the kingdom of *Balua* [10], and as Gonzalez considered this conquest might prove dangerous to his ill-got power, Balua being adjoining to his own territories, he entered into a league with the king of Aracan for the defence of that country. Accordingly, the king of Aracan took the field with an immense army, having 80,000 of his own native subjects, mostly armed with firelocks, 10,000 Peguers who fought with sword and bucklers, and 700 elephants with castles carrying armed men. Besides these, he sent 200 sail of vessels to sea, carrying 4000 men, ordering this fleet to join that of Gonzalez, and to be under his command. According to the treaty, Gonzalez, with the combined fleet, was to prevent the Moguls from passing to the kingdom of Balua, till the king of Aracan could march there with his army for its protection; besides which it was agreed, when the Moguls were expelled from Balua, that half the kingdom was to be given up to Gonzalez; who, on this occasion, gave as hostages, for the safety of the Aracan fleet, and the faithful performance of his part of the treaty, a nephew of his own, and the sons of some of the Portuguese inhabitants of Sundiva.

According to treaty, the king of Aracan entered the kingdom of Balua with his army, and expelled the Moguls; but Gonzalez did not perform his part of the agreement in preventing the Moguls from penetrating into that kingdom, some alleging that he had been bribed by the Moguls to allow them a free passage, while, according to others, he did so from revenge against the king of Aracan, for the Portuguese who had been slain by that king in *Banguel* of *Dianga* [11]. However this may have been, Gonzalez was guilty of a most execrable treachery, as, by leaving open the mouth of the river *Dangatiar*, he left a free passage to the Moguls. After this he went with his fleet

10 There still is a town named *Bulloah*, to the east of the Barrampooter and directly north of Sundeep, which may then have given name to a province or small principality, of which Comillah is now the chief town.—E.

11 Perhaps the island now called Balonga on the coast of Aracan.—E.

fleet into a creek of the island *Desierta* [12], and assembling all the captains of the Aracan vessels on board his ship, he murdered them all, seized all their vessels, and killed or made slaves of all their men, after which he returned to Sundiva. Soon afterwards the Moguls returned in great force to the kingdom of Balua, where they reduced the king of Aracan to such straits that he made his escape with great difficulty on an elephant, and came almost alone to Chittigong. Immediately upon this discomfiture of the Aracan army, which was utterly destroyed by the Moguls in Balua, Gonzalez plundered and destroyed all the forts on the coast of Aracan, which were then unprovided for defence, as depending on the peace and alliance between their king and Gonzalez; he even went against the city of Aracan, where he burnt many merchant vessels, and acquired great plunder, and destroyed a vessel of great size, richly adorned, and containing several splendid apartments like a palace, all covered with gold and ivory, which the king kept as a pleasure-yacht for his own use. Exasperated against Gonzalez for his treachery, the king ordered the nephew of that lawless ruffian, who was in his power as a hostage, to be be impaled. But Gonzalez, being a person utterly devoid of honour, cared not at whose cost he advanced his own interests; yet the guilt of so many villanies began to prey upon his conscience, and he became apprehensive of some heavy punishment falling upon him, which he had little means to avert, as all men considered him a traitor unworthy of favour; those of Aracan, because he had betrayed them to the Moguls; and the Moguls, because he had been false to those that trusted him. He afterwards met his just reward under the government of Don Jerom de Azevedo [13].

The Hollanders, becoming powerful at the Molucca islands, and forming an alliance with these islanders, who were weary of the avarice and tyranny of the Portuguese, expelled them from Amboyna and established themselves at Ternate, whence the

12 Probably a desert or uninhabited island among the Sunderbunds, in the Delta of the Ganges. Indeed the whole geography of this singular story is obscure, owing to the prodigious change in dominion and names that have since taken place in this part of India.—E.

13 Owing to the want of interest in the transactions of these times, as related in the Portuguese Asia, and the confused arrangement of De Faria, we have in this place thrown together the principal incidents in the extraordinary rise of these two successful adventurers, Nicote and Gonzalez, leaving their fate to be mentioned in the succeeding section.—E.

the Portuguese had been formerly expelled by the natives. By the aid of the king of Ternate, the Hollanders likewise, about 1604, got possession of the fort of Tidore, whence about 400 Portuguese were permitted to retire by sea to the Phillipine islands, where they were hospitably received by Don Pedro de Cunna, who commanded there for the Spaniards. In February 1605, Cunna sailed from the Philippines with 1000 Spanish and 400 native troops, and recovered the fort of Ternate, chiefly owing to the bravery of Joam Rodriguez Camelo, who commanded a company of Portuguese in this expedition. De Cunna thence proceeded for Tidore, which he likewise reduced, by which conquest the Molucca islands became subject to Spain.

The viceroy, Don Alfonso de Castro, dying in 1607, was succeeded as governor by Alexias de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, pursuant to a patent of succession. Next year, 1608, Don Joam Pereyra Frojas, count de Feyra, was sent out from Portugal as viceroy of India, but died on the voyage. After administering the government for two years and a half, the archbishop was succeeded as governor by Andrew Furtado de Mendoza in 1609, who was soon afterwards superseded in the same year by Ruy Lorenzo de Tavora, who came out from Portugal as viceroy. At this time, Don Jerome de Azevedo commanded in Ceylon, who, with an army of 700 Portuguese troops and 25,000 Cingalese took and burnt the city of Candy, on which the sovereign of that central dominion made peace with the Portuguese, consenting to the ministry of the Franciscans in his dominions, and even placed two of his sons in their hands, to be instructed in the Christian religion.

About this time, a large *English* ship and a ketch had an engagement with two Portuguese ships beyond the Cape of Good Hope, which escaped after suffering a severe loss. These English ships went afterwards to Surat, where they were found by Nunno de Cunna, who had four well-manned galleons, but ill provided with gunners, who were ignorant and cowardly. On descrying these large ships, though the English had reason to be afraid of their number, they undervalued them as heavy sailors, and immediately engaged and fought them till evening, killing 30 of the Portuguese. The engagement recommenced at daylight next morning, and two of the Portuguese galleons, endeavouring to run on board the large English ship, got aground, on which the pink or ketch, belonging to the enemy, kept firing its cannon upon one of the grounded galleons, till

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it floated off with the evening tide. The other two galleons fought the large English ship all day. On the third day, all the four galleons being afloat, endeavoured to board the enemy, who relied on their cannon and swiftness, and sailed away to Castelete, a bay of the pirates near Diu. De Cunna followed them thither, and again fought them for two days, in all which time the Portuguese ships could never board them by reason of their unwieldy bulk. At length the English stood away, shewing black colours in token that their captain was slain. In these long indecisive actions, the English and Portuguese both lost a number of men. The English made for Surat, followed still by De Cunna; on which they left that port, and De Cunna returned to Goa.

Section XII.

Continuation of the Portuguese Transactions, from 1512 *to* 1517.

Towards the close of 1511, orders came to India for Don Jerome de Azevedo to succeed Tavora as viceroy. Azevedo had acquired a high character by many years service, eighteen years of which he had spent in Ceylon, where he had acquired great riches, and yet preserved a good name. The report of his riches contributed, as much as the fame of his valour, to his present promotion, as it was thought that he who had so much already, would be less inclined to covetousness; though experience shews, that those who have much still covet more. Azevedo had likewise offered to serve the office of viceroy without the usual salary, but afterwards accepted it. Among the first actions of his administration was to send home Danish Beg, ambassador from Shah Abbas, king of Persia, who had been in Spain at the court of King Philip. Shah Abbas treated, at the same time, both with King Philip, and James king of England, endeavouring to influence both to the furtherance of his own designs; having taken the island of Bahrayn from the Portuguese, and was now endeavouring to gain Ormuz. Along with this Persian ambassador, Antonio de Guovea, titular bishop of *Sirene*, went for the purpose of propagating Christianity in Persia; but, finding that the Persian government was inimical to his mission, he went no farther than Ormuz. Shah Abbas was so much displeased with his

ambassador for not succeeding in his negociation for the surrender of Ormuz, that he caused him to be beheaded; and was so much exasperated against the Christians, that he forced many of his Armenian subjects to renounce the faith.

The fortune of Nicote in Pegu now declined as swiftly as it had risen. In 1513, the king of *Ova*, being provoked at the violence which Nicote had been guilty of against the king of Tangu, who was under his protection, made a vow that he would revenge his injuries. Having assembled an army of 120,000 men, and 400 vessels of considerable strength, in which were above 6000 of those Moors so noted for valour, called *Caperuzas* from their wearing caps, he marched against Siriam, where he burnt every thing beyond the walls of the fort. Nicote made a brave resistance though taken unawares, as he had suffered most of his men to go to India, and was very scarce of powder. In this distress, he sent a soldier to purchase powder at Bengal, who ran away with the money; and sent likewise to San Thoma for the same commodity, but was refused any supply. For want of powder he was unable to fire his cannon against the enemy, and was reduced to the expedient of pouring boiling pitch and oil on their heads. At length, Nicote was taken and carried to the king of Ova, who ordered him to be impaled on an eminence in view of the fort, where he lived two days in torment. His wife, Donna Luisa de Saldanna, was kept three days in the river to be purified, as the king designed her for himself; but when brought before him, she upbraided him for his cruelty, and he ordered *her leg to be bored*, and that she should be sent to Ova along with the other slaves. A native named *Banna* who had betrayed Nicote, demanding his reward from the king of Ova, was ordered to be torn in pieces, the king alleging, that he who had been false to his benefactor would never be true to him. The son of Nicote resided, at that time, in Martavan, having married the daughter of the king of that place; but the king of Ova caused him to be put to death, that no one of the race might remain alive. Thus ended Nicote, who, from the lowest poverty, had raised himself to great power and prodigious riches, being worth three millions[1]. The enemy allowed of having lost 30,000 men in this siege. The viceroy on hearing of the danger of Siriam, had dispatched Diego de Mendoza to

1 Probably ducats are here meant.

to its relief with five galliots; but having put off his time by the way on other objects, he was too late.

In the year 1614, the viceroy resolved to go in person to the sea of Guzerate to meet the *English* and *Hollanders*, who were then strong in these seas. He sent before him Emanuel de Azevedo with 22 sail, who was joined at Surat by two other squadrons, after which he landed and destroyed the lands of *Cifandam* and *Diva*. The towns of *Baroach* and *Goga* were plundered, with six large ships in the bay, as was likewise the city of *Patane*. Having completed his preparations, the viceroy sailed from Goa with seven galleons, one of which was so large that it easily carried 230 men besides mariners, 30 of them being gentlemen. Besides the galleons, there were two pinks, one galley, one caravel, and five other vessels, on board of which were 1400 Portuguese soldiers, with a great number of cannon, but the gunners were very unskilful. At Surat the viceroy was joined by the squadron under Emanuel de Azevedo, the chief design of this large armament being to destroy four English vessels then in that port. The preparations for this purpose seemed disproportionately large, yet the event proved the contrary. Being come in sight of the English, the viceroy ordered the two pinks with the caravel and other smaller vessels to close with one of the English vessels which lay at some distance from the rest. Having all grappled with the enemy and almost carried her by boarding, the other three ships came up and drove them all off. The first of the three vessels which had attacked the English ship took fire, and being attempted to be steered on board the English ship to set her on fire was destroyed without doing the enemy any harm. In this manner the first day was expended to no purpose, and next day, on proposing to attack the English ships, they were found riding in a place to which the entrance was so narrow that one galleon only could come at them at once, which might therefore have been disabled by the English cannon, for which reason no attempt was made to attack them; but some alleged that this was only a pretence set up by those who had no mind for the enterprise. A fruitless endeavour was made to destroy them by means of fire-ships.

Perceiving that he only lost his labour at this place, the viceroy went to Diu, whence he dispatched relief to Ormuz; and on his return from Diu towards Goa, the four English ships were seen at a great distance from Surat in full sail to the south. The viceroy pursued, and towards evening came up

up with the sternmost, having left his own fleet far behind. The head gunner offered to sink the English ship by means of two 40 pounders; but the officers who accompanied the viceroy opposed this, alleging that the other three English ships would come upon him while alone and the galleon might be lost. The viceroy accordingly submitted to their opinion, but neglected to make them give it under their hands; and when he was afterwards accused for having neglected to do what the gunner proposed, they denied having ever given him any such advice. The English were so thankful for this forbearance, that they fired their cannons without ball as if saluting.

In the year 1615, Sebastian Gonzalez Tibao, formerly mentioned, who had raised himself from a poor dealer in salt to be an absolute sovereign by treachery and ingratitude, and who had neglected to submit himself to the Portuguese viceroy in the height of his prosperity, finding himself now in danger of losing his ill got power, sent to request succour; but even now proposed terms like an independent prince, and offered in return for assistance and protection to deliver a large ship load of rice yearly at Goa as an acknowledgement of vassalage. He urged that all he had done was to revenge the murder of the Portuguese in *Banguel of Dianga* by the king of Aracan, and hinted that the vast treasures of the king might easily be taken by a very moderate effort. This blinded the viceroy, who immediately fitted out 14 of the largest galliots with a fliboat and a pink, and sent them to Aracan under the command of Francisco de Menezes Roxo, who had formerly commanded in Ceylon. Roxo sailed from Goa about the middle of September 1615. On the 2d of October he arrived at Aracan, the chief port and residence of the king, having detached a galleon to *Sundiva* to give notice to Gonzalez of his arrival and intentions. Having opened his instructions in presence of all the captains, they directed him to proceed against Aracan without waiting for Gonzalez; which was highly improper, as that man knew the country and was acquainted with their manner of fighting, besides that the force he was able to bring was of importance. But God confounded their councils, having decreed the ruin of that vile wretch, and of the unjust succours that were now sent to his aid.

On the 15th of October, the Aracan fleet was observed coming down the river to attack, so numerous that they could not

not be counted. The foremost vessel was a Dutch pink, and many of the other vessels were commanded by Hollanders. All that could be seen appeared full of men well armed and equipped, and seemed a prodigious overmatch for the small number the Portuguese had to oppose them, as besides the galliot sent to Sundiva another had been dispatched in search of the pink, so that only 12 galliots remained and the fliboat. The Dutch pink fired the first gun, and then the fight began with great fury, the Portuguese galliots bravely advancing against the vast hostile fleet. Four of the galliots got before the rest, and in the very beginning of the action their captains and many of their men were slain, but the other eight came up to their rescue, and great execution was done among the enemy, many of whom were drowned by oversetting their vessels in their haste to escape from the destructive fire of the Portuguese. The battle raged the whole day, but the enemy drew off in the evening, thinking that a reinforcement was coming to the Portuguese, as they saw the galliot approaching which had been sent in search of the pink. In this engagement the Portuguese lost 25 men of note besides others.

Next morning the pink joined the fleet, on board of which all the wounded men were put, and those that were fit for service in that vessel were distributed among the others. Roxo now resolved to remain at anchor at the mouth of the river till Gonzalez came to join him, and then to attack the enemy. At length Gonzalez made his appearance, with 50 vessels well manned and equipped, and on being told the orders of the viceroy and what had been already done, he expressed much displeasure at the viceroy for giving such orders, and at Roxo for imprudently fighting before his arrival. About the middle of November the combined fleets sailed up the river and discovered the vast fleet of Aracan at anchor in a well chosen situation, where it was resolved immediately to attack them; Roxo took half of the ships belonging to Gonzalez under his immediate command, giving Gonzalez half of these he had brought from Goa, so as to make two equal squadrons. Thus arranged they advanced against the enemy, firing against those vessels they could reach, but none of the enemy ventured to advance. The king of Aracan viewed the engagement from the shore to encourage his people, and caused the heads of such as fled to be cut off and exposed on spears as a terror to the rest. About noon when the heat of the sun was so great as to scorch the Portuguese, the Aracan ships came

on

on in three numerous squadrons. Sebastian Gonzalez put to flight those of the enemy that were opposed to him, and the Portuguese pink compelled that belonging to the Hollanders to draw off. On that side where Roxo commanded there was much slaughter on both sides without any evident superiority; but about sunset, when the advantage was obviously leaning to the Portuguese, Roxo was slain. Being informed by signal of this mischance, Gonzalez was obliged to discontinue following up his good fortune; and on the tide ebbing the fleet separated, one of the Portuguese galliots being left aground among the enemy, who tore her to pieces and slew all her crew. The Portuguese fleet retired to the mouth of the river, where care was taken of the wounded men, and above 200 dead bodies were thrown into the sea. Don Luis de Azevedo succeeded in the command of the Portuguese squadron, and they all retired to Sundiva, whence Don Luis sailed back to Goa, in spite of everything that Gonzalez could say to detain him. Soon after the departure of the Portuguese ships, the king of Aracan invaded and conquered the island of Sundiva, by which Sebastian Gonzalez was reduced to his original poverty, his sovereignty passing away like a dream, his pride humbled in the dust, and his villainous conduct deservedly punished.

In 1616, Don Nunno Alvarez Pereyra succeeded Emanuel Mascarennas Homem as general of the Portuguese in Ceylon, and made several successful inroads into the kingdom of *Candy*, whence he brought off many prisoners and great numbers of cattle. From the commencement of the Portuguese dominion in that island, they had been engaged in almost perpetual wars with the different petty sovereigns who ruled over its various small maritime divisions, and with the central kingdom of Canea, most of which have been omitted in this work as not possessing sufficient interest. At this time a dangerous commotion took place in the island, occasioned by a circumstance which, though not new in the world, is still admired though often repeated. Some years before, *Nicapeti* the converted king of Ceylon died without issue, and left the king of Portugal heir to his dominions. A poor fellow of the same name got admittance to one of the queens of *Valgameme* from whom he learnt several particulars respecting the deceased king, taking advantage of which he determined to assume the character of the late sovereign, and to endeavour to persuade the people that he was their prince who

 had

had come again to life. For this purpose he feigned himself a *jogue*, similar to a hermit among the christians; and making his appearance in the neighbourhood of Mareguepora, he gave out that he came to free his country from the tyranny of the Portuguese. Finding credit among the people, many of whom flocked to him, he entered the *seven corlas* during the absence of the *Dissava* Philip de Oliveyra, and being assisted by 2000 men sent to him by the king of Candy, he was acknowledged as king by most of the country. Hearing of this commotion, Pereyra sent a force under Emanuel Cesar to suppress the insurrection. Cesar encountered the false *Nicapeti* at *Gandola* a village on the river *Laoa*, where the insurgents had collected a force of 6000 men. In the heat of the battle, 1000 Chingalese troops who served under Luis Gomez Pinto deserted to the enemy; but Don Constantine, a native Christian of the blood royal who served the Portuguese, called them back by declaring himself their lawful king, on which they immediately returned and proclaimed him their sovereign. After a long engagement the enemy was defeated and fled across the river.

Philip de Oliveyra returned at this time from Candy to his command in the *seven corlas*, having heard of the insurrection but not of the victory at Gandola, to which place he immediately marched with about 800 Chingalese lascarins. On reaching the field of battle above 1000 men were found slain, but no indication by which he could ascertain which party had gained the victory. An inscription was found on a tree, signifying that all the Portuguese were slain, none of that nation remaining in Ceylon, and that Columbo had surrendered to Nicapeti, which startled the Portuguese who accompanied Oliveyra, and gave great satisfaction to his Chingalese troops. Continuing his march he was attacked in the rear by 300 of the enemy, but on facing about they all fled; soon after which he joined Emanuel Cesar on the river Laoa, and the insurgents fled to the woods. Cesar and Oliveyra by way of obliging the insurgents to return to their duty, seized above 400 of their women and children; but it had the contrary effect, as all their Chingalese troops immediately deserted with their arms, leaving only about 200 Portuguese. In this dilemma Cesar marched to the pagoda of *Atanagala*, not far from *Maluana* where the general resided, who sent him a reinforcement of 500 men, 200 of whom were Portuguese.

Nicapeti had so much success with the natives that he collected

lected an army of 24,000 men, with which he marched against Columbo, and was so vain of his good fortune that he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of Ceylon, and transmitted an order to the king of Candy to send him one of his two wives. The answer on this occasion was, That it should be done when the Portuguese were subdued. Nicapeti was so enraged at this answer, that he threatened to use the king of Candy like the Portuguese; and on this threat coming to the knowledge of the 2000 auxiliaries from Candy, they immediately returned home. By these means the two enemies of the Portuguese became at variance with each other, to the great benefit of the Portuguese interests. Emanuel Cesar being joined by a considerable reinforcement, marched against Nicapeti, and found the road by which Nicapeti intended to march clean swept and strewed with flowers. A *Chingalese* who carried intelligence of the approach of Cesar to Nicapeti, was ordered to be impaled, the tyrant declaring there were no Portuguese in Ceylon; but he was soon undeceived, as the van guards of the two armies came in sight of each other. Nicapeti immediately took possession of a hill with 7000 men, where he entrenched himself; but his works were soon carried, 1000 of his men slain, and the usurper was forced to flee into the woods, laying aside his regal ornaments for better concealment. The rest of the insurgent army immediately fled on seeing their chief defeated, and the morning after the battle 500 of the Chingalese deserted from the enemy and joined the victors.

At this time a native Chingalese of low birth, named Antonio Barreto, who had been a Christian and in the service of the Portuguese, but had gone over to the king of Candy, who appointed him general of his forces with the title of prince and governor of the kingdom of Uva, took advantage of the revolt of Nicapeti to seize upon the Portuguese fort of *Sofragan*, which he got possession of by treachery and slew the Portuguese garrison. This was a severe but just retribution upon the Portuguese, as they had slain an ambassador sent by the king of Candy to treat of an accommodation, that they might jointly carry on the war against Nicapeti. After this the king of Candy marched against the Portuguese fort of Balane, which he reduced; yet immediately sent a message to the general Pereyra, offering to treat of peace.

In 1617, the Portuguese affairs were in a dangerous situation in Ceylon, having at the same time to make war on the king

king of Candy, Antonio Barreto, and Nicapeti, who was still in considerable strength notwithstanding his late defeat. Pereyra divided his forces with considerable hazard, and put all to the sword in the revolted districts, sparing neither age nor sex; but neither will mercy and kind usage conciliate the Chingalese, nor cruelty terrify them into submission. Part of the forces pursued Nicapeti from *Pelandu* to *Catugambala*, *Devamede* and *Cornagal*, taking several forts, killing many of the enemy, and making 600 prisoners. The usurper retired to *Talampeti* his usual refuge, and the Portuguese advanced to *Polpeti* where they came in sight of the enemys camp, and forcing their works passed on to *Balapane of Religiam*, whence they sent away the prisoners and wounded men. At this time the Portuguese force was divided, one part marching against Barreto while the other continued to follow Nicapeti, but were able to effect very little, and after being quite spent with fatigue went into quarters at *Botale*.

Having received reinforcements, Pereyra marched in person with a considerable force to drive Barreto from *Sofragam* and *Matura*, leaving Gomez Pinto with his regiment to secure *Alicur* and oppose Nicapeti, while Cesar stayed to defend *Botale* with 100 men. The Portuguese were successful on all sides, driving the enemy from their works and slaughtering great numbers of them in the woods. In May the army advanced against Nicapeti, who was strongly entrenched at Moratena, yet fled towards Candy with such speed that he could not be got up with. He was at length overtaken in the desert of *Anorajapure*, when after losing 60 men his troops dispersed and fled into the woods. On this occasion the wives of the usurper, a grandson of *Raju*, and the nephew of *Madune* were all made prisoners. The fame of this victory induced the inhabitants of the *Corlas* to submit, and they plentifully supplied the army then at Malvana with rice. The news of this victory induced the king of Candy[2] to sue for peace, sending by his ambassadors 32 Portuguese who had been made prisoners during the war. The terms agreed upon were, that he was to repair and restore the fort at Balane, and permit another to be constructed at Candy, and was to deliver yearly as tribute to the crown of Portugal four elephants

2 In the translation of the Portuguese Asia, this sovereign is here named *Anaras Pandar* king of *Pandar;* but from every circumstance in the context it appears that we ought to read *Anaras Pandar* king of *Candy*.—E.

elephants and a certain stipulated quantity of cinnamon. Finding afterwards that the Portuguese affairs in Ceylon were less prosperous, he receded from these conditions and would only agree to give two elephants as the yearly tribute, but the peace was concluded.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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Printed by George Ramsay & Co.
Edinburgh, 1812.

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It.coll. 38 r-6
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10465516-6